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OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
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"	"	"	*khawass*	"	*khawaṣṣ.*
"	xx,	"	*shurḥ*	"	*sherḥ.*
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"	105,	"	Σενραστρηνή	"	Σευραστρηνή.
"	116,	"	*Büchen*	"	*Bücher.*
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"	496,	"	*Dhu-l-karnain*	"	*Dhu-l-ḳarnain.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present publication forms the first number of the Journal proposed to be issued by the *American Oriental Society*, which has been lately established in this city.

The plan and objects of the Society, are particularly stated in the following Extract from a Report made by a Committee of the Society, and in the accompanying Address, delivered on the occasion of their first Annual Meeting.

It should be stated, that the Address was originally intended for the members of the Society only; but afterwards a different arrangement was deemed expedient, and a wish was expressed that it should be delivered in some place open to the public. In consequence of this, a departure from the original plan of the Address, in some respects, became necessary; and some parts of the subject are treated in a more popular form, than would otherwise have been the case. This, it is hoped, may be a sufficient apology for any portions of it, which may not have been expected in an address intended for an association of scholars.

It should be stated also, that parts of it, which were omitted in the delivery for want of time, are here retained.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

"Some time in August last [1842] an informal meeting of a few gentlemen, interested in Oriental Literature, was held at the office of John Pickering, Esq. in Boston, to consider the practicability and expediency of forming an American Oriental Society. After some conversation it was decided to make the experiment, and a committee was appointed to report a Constitution; and the meeting was adjourned to the 7th of September. A Constitution was accordingly reported at the adjourned meeting; and, after some discussion of its details, was recommitted for the purpose of introducing some amendments suggested in the course of conversation. The Society was then organized by the choice of officers, and proceeded to the election of members.

"On the 13th of October, a meeting of the Society was held, (at the office of John Pickering, Esq. the President,) and the amended Constitution, with a code of By-Laws, was reported and accepted. At this meeting additional members were elected, and the President of the Society was requested to deliver a discourse at the first annual meeting to be held in May.

"An act of Incorporation having been applied for, and obtained from the Legislature at the last Session, the first meeting of the incorporated Society was held on the 7th of April, at the house of J. J. Dixwell, Esq. the Treasurer; the Constitution was re-adopted, with some amendments, and the Society was organized under the act by the election of officers."

AN ACT

TO INCORPORATE THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

SECT. I.

John Pickering, William Jenks, John J. Dixwell, their associates and successors, are hereby made a corporation, by the name of the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, for the purpose of the cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages.

SECT. II.

The said corporation is authorized to hold real or personal estate, the clear annual income of which shall not exceed the sum of three thousand dollars. (*Approved by the Governor, March 22*, 1843.)

OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

1842.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN PICKERING, *of Boston, Massachusetts.*

VICE PRESIDENTS.

WM. JENKS, *of Boston.*
MOSES STUART, *of Andover.*
EDWARD ROBINSON, *of New York.*

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

WM. W. GREENOUGH, *of Boston.*

RECORDING SECRETARY.

FRANCIS GARDNER, *of Boston.*

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JOHN JAMES DIXWELL, *of Boston.*

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FRANCIS GARDNER, *of Boston.*

DIRECTORS.

RUFUS ANDERSON, *of Boston.*
BARNAS SEARS, *of Newton.*
C. C. FELTON, *of Cambridge.*
SIDNEY WILLARD, *of Cambridge.*
BELA B. EDWARDS, *of Andover.*

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY;

ADOPTED APRIL 7, 1843.

ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II.

The objects contemplated by this Society shall be: 1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian Languages. 2. The publication of Memoirs, Translations, Vocabularies, and other works relating to the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages. 3. The collection of a Library.

ARTICLE III.

To become a member of the Society, a candidate must be proposed by the Directors, and must receive the votes of three-fourths of the members present at a meeting.

ARTICLE IV.

Foreigners shall be eligible as Honorary Members, on being proposed by the Directors. The votes of three-fourths of the members present, at an annual or stated meeting, shall be necessary to their election. Foreigners, however, having a permanent residence in the United States, shall be eligible as members.

ARTICLE V.

The Government of the Society shall consist of a *President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian,* and *five Directors,* who shall be annually elected, and such elections shall be made at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.

The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII.

The Secretaries and Librarian shall perform their duties under the superintendence of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII.

It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general superintendence over its affairs. Three Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX.

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in Boston, during the last week in May; at such time and place as shall be determined by the Directors.

ARTICLE X.

The Constitution may be amended on recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

ARTICLE XI.

The election of officers and members shall be in all cases by ballot.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings in a book provided for the purpose, and shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

III. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments, shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At the annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, and shall be governed in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All Manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors.

VI. The admission fee shall be Five Dollars, and the annual assessment Two Dollars; but on the payment at one time of Fifty Dollars, a member shall be exempted from both of these assessments.

VII. Stated meetings of the Society shall be held on the first Wednesday of January, July, and October; the place and hour of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. The Directors may call special meetings.

VIII. Six members shall form a quorum for transacting business, and THREE, to adjourn.

IX. The Society shall appoint some member to pronounce a discourse at the annual meeting.

MEMBERS.

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SAMUEL WELLS WILLIAMS, *Canton.*
Rev. MIRON WINSLOW, *Madras.*
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Rev. THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, LL. D., *President of Yale College, New Haven.*
JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, *Cambridge.*

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*Prof. W. Gesenius.
Prof. Jacob Grimm, *Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin.*
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James Bird, Esq., *Bombay.*
Prof. Forbes Falconer, *London.*
Count Graeberg da Hemsö, *Florence.*

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The American Oriental Society acknowledges the following donations of books, pamphlets, etc., from the date of its establishment to January, 1847.

By Rev. W. Jenks, D. D.

A set of the "Chinese classics," comprising the Ta-hyoh, Choong-yoong, Mung-tse, Lun-yu, the Ee-king, Shee-king, &c. In 21 vols.
De Guignes's Chinese Dictionary. Paris: 1813.
The Chinese Imperial Lexicon. In 32 vols.
The San-kwo-che. In 20 vols.
Fung-chow's History of China. In 36 vols.
Dr. Marshman's Chinese Grammar. 1814. With the Ta-hyoh, and a translation in an Appendix.
Roderiguez's Japanese Grammar. Paris: 1825.
Medhurst's Vocabulary.
An Historical Sketch of Sanscrit Literature, from the German of Adelung. Oxford: 1832.

By W. W. Greenough.

Gramatica Arabigo Española por Fray Francisco Cañes. Madrid: 1785.

The History of the Revolution of Persia, from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski. London: 1728. 2 vols.
Bocthor's Dictionnaire Français-Arabe. Paris: 1828. 2 vols.
Book of Numbers, with Rabbinical Commentaries. Amsterdam: 1768.
Ludolfi Jobi Historia Æthiopica. Frankfort: 1781.

By JOHN P. BROWN.

A General History of the World, down to the Reign of Sultan Mahmoud II. (In Turkish.) 2 vols.
Moses of Khoren's History of Armenia. (In Armenian.)
Two Arabic-Turkish Vocabularies.
Knowledge in Verse. (In Turkish.)
Poems of Fitnet, a Turkish poetess.
Poems of Raghib Pacha.
A Persian and Turkish Vocabulary, in rhyme.
A Turkish Commentary on the Koran.
Hadisi Nevnam; a History of the New World. (In MS.)
A Turkish History of Affghanistan. (In MS.)
An Arabic Grammar, in Turkish.
Young's Night Thoughts, in Turkish-Armenian.
The Gulistan of Saadi.

By REV. JUSTIN PERKINS, D. D.

A portion of the Old Testament in the Ancient Syriac, (in a MS. supposed to be not far from 600 years old.)
The Gospel of Matthew, in Modern Syriac.
The Gospel of John and the Scriptural History of Joseph, in Modern Syriac.
The Four Gospels, in Modern Syriac.

By THE AUTHOR.

Notes on Northern Africa, the Sahara and Soudan. By W. B. Hodgson. New York: 1844.
The Foulahs of Central Africa. By W. B. Hodgson. New York: 1843.

By REV. J. B. ADGER.

The Pilgrim's Progress, with Notes, in Modern Armenian. Smyrna: 1843.
The Old Testament, in Armeno-Turkish. 2 vols.

By THE AUTHOR.

Crania Ægyptiaca. By S. G. Morton. Philadelphia: 1844.
An Inquiry into the Distinctive Characteristics of the Aboriginal Race of North America. By S. G. Morton. Philadelphia: 1844.

By GEORGE R. GLIDDON.

Ancient Egypt. By George R. Gliddon. New York: 1843. (3 copies.)
Lettre á Mons. Guignaut sua le texte démotique du décret de Rosette, par F. de Saulcy.

By Rev. Miron Winslow.

The Madras Christian Instructor. 3 vols.

By Hon. Caleb Cushing.

Thirty volumes of Chinese books.

By R. K. Haight.

Les Livres Sacrés de l'Orient, comprenant le Chou-king, les Sse-chou, les lois de Manou, le Koran de Mahomet, traduits par G. Pauthier. Paris: 1842.

A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church. By Samuel F. Jarvis, D. D. London: 1844.

By Henry R. Schoolcraft.

Notes on the Iroquois. New York: 1846.

By Rev. Elias Riggs.

New Albanian Alphabet.

Spelling Book, in new Albanian Characters. By Mr. Nahum Vekyllargg.

By Rev. S. F. Jarvis, D. D.

A Synoptical Table of Egyptian and Sacred History.

By Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1842, and to Oregon and North California in 1843–44. By Brevet Captain J. C. Fremont. Washington: 1845.

By The American Ethnological Society.

Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. I. New York: 1845.

By The National Institute.

The First, Second, and Third Bulletins of the Proceedings of the National Institute. Washington: 1841–45.

Discourse on the Objects of the National Institute. By Joel R. Poinsett. Washington: 1841.

By the Author.

A Chinese Chrestomathy. By E. C. Bridgman. Macao: 1840.

By The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, from 1834–44.

By James Bird, Esq.

Ellis's Madagascar. London: 1833. 2 vols.

Avdall's History of Armenia. Calcutta: 1827. 2 vols.

By the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. 7 Nos.

By Messrs. Madden & Co., London.

Selections from the Kur-án. By Edward William Lane. London: 1843.

By the Author.

Grammaire Persane de Sir William Jones, seconde édition Française, revûe, corrigée et augmentée, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris: 1845.

By the Author.

Sinico-Ægyptiaca. Essai sur l'Origine et la Formation Similaire des Écritures Figuratives Chinoise et Égyptienne, par G. Pauthier.

Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Philosophie Chinoise, par G. Pauthier.

Réponse à l'Examen Critique de M. Stanislas Julien, par Mons. G. Pauthier. Paris: 1842.

Vindiciæ Sinicæ. Dernière Réponse à Mons. Stanislas Julien, par G. Pauthier.

Supplement aux Vindiciæ Sinicæ. Paris.

Le Tá-Hio où la Grande Étude, trad. par G. Pauthier.

Documents Statistiques Officiels sur l'Empire de la Chine, traduits par G. Pauthier.

Thian-Tchu ou l'Inde, traduit par G. Pauthier.

Documents Officiels Chinois sur les Ambassades Étrangères, trad. par G. Pauthier.

Premier Livre du Tao-te-King de Lao-Tseu.

La Collection Géographique de la Bibliothèque Royale. 1845.

By the Author.

Lettre à M. Ph. Fr. de Siebold sur les Collections Ethnographiques, par M. Jomard. Paris: 1845.

Seconde Note sur une Pierre gravée, trouvée dans un ancien Tumulûs Américain, par M. Jomard.

Observations sur le Voyage au Darfour, par M. Jomard.

By the Author.

Rapport fait à la Societé Asiatique, 1844, par M. J. Mohl. Paris: 1844.

By the Author.

Hamzæ Ispahensis Annalium Libri X. Edidit J. M. E. Gottwaldt. Lipsiæ: 1843.

By the Author.

A Grammar of the Berber Language. By F. W. Newman.

By the Author.

Vocabulary of the Names of Places, &c. in the Empire of Marocco. By the Chevalier Count Gräberg of Hemsö.

Descrizione delle orde e delle steppe dei Kirghizi-Kazaki. Par Jacobo Gräberg da Hemsö. Milan: 1840.

Specchio Geografico e Statistico dell 'Impero di Marocco, del Cavaliere Conte Jacopo Gräberg da Hemsö. Geneva: 1834.

Nouvelles Recherches sur l'Inscription en Lettres Sacrées du Monument de Rosette, par le Chevalier Comte Gräberg de Hemsö.

Cenni Geografici e Statistici su l'Asia Centrale, per Jacopo Gräberg da Hemsö. Milan: 1840.

Remarks on the Language of the Amazirghs, commonly called Berebbers. By Jacob Gräberg of Hemsö; with Observations and Notes, by Rev. G. C. Renouard. London: 1836.

By the Author.

Die Einfälle der Normannen in die Pyrenäische Halbinsel, von Ernst Friedrich Mooyer. Munster: 1844.

Beiträge zur Geschichte der vormaligen Benediktener-Abtei Tegernsee, von E. F. Mooyer. Minden: 1843.

By the Author.

Mémoire sur le lac Mœris, par Linant de Bellefonds. Alexandria: 1845.

By the Author.

Essai sur l'Histoire de la Philologie Orientale en France, par M. Léon Vaïsse. Paris: 1844.

By Joseph. Hume, Esq., M. P.

Observations on the Means of Forming and Maintaining Troops in Health. By Assistant Surgeon E. Balfour, Madras Army.

Observations on the Means of Preserving the Health of Troops. By the same Author.

By Prof. Edward Robinson, D. D.

Revue de l'Orient. 3 vols.

By Prof. E. Roediger.

Gesenius, Hebräische Grammatik neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben. Von E. Roediger. Leipsic: 1845.

By the Author.

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. By A. H. Everett, LL. D.

By Rev. William Adam.

Report upon Public Instruction in Bengal. Calcutta: 1841.

By the Author.

Recherches sur les Inscriptions Himyariques de San'â, Khariba, Mareb, etc., par M. F. Fresnel. Paris: 1845.

By William C. Waters.

The Parsi Religion, Unfolded and Contrasted with Christianity. By John Wilson. Bombay: 1843.

The Gospel according to Matthew and Mark, the Acts of the Apostles, and three elementary works, in the Mahratta tongue.

An Ethiopic book.

By the Secretaries of the A. B. C. F. M.

Genesis, Deuteronomy, the Psalms, the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and the Acts of the Apostles. Jaffna: 1837–41. 5 vols.

Proverbs in Tamil, with their translation into English. By P. Percival. Jaffna: 1843. (6 copies.)

Phrase Book in Tamil and English. Jaffna: 1841.

A Compendium of Scripture History in Tamil. Jaffna: 1839.

Tamil Instructor. Jaffna: 1841.

Tamil Hymns. Jaffna: 1841.

An Abridgement of Rhenius's Tamil Grammar. Madras: 1838.

Select Tamil Tales. Madras: 1839.

The Hindoo Traveller. Manepy: 1839.

The Epistles to Timothy in Tamil. Jaffna: 1837.

Grammar of the Armenian Language. 1835.

Ἀποθήκη τῶν Ὠφελίμων Γνώσεων. Smyrna: 1836–39. 2 vols.

Scripture Precepts, Hymns, Simple Questions, and Colloquial Sentences in the Gaboon Language. Cape Palmas: 1843.

The Pentateuch in Armenian-Turkish. Smyrna: 1840.

Ke Kumū Hawaii. Oahu, Honolulu: 1834.

Ka Palapala Hemolele. Oahu: 1838.

Rev. Dr. Hawes's Sermon before the A. B. C. F. M. 1846.

Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the A. B. C. F. M. 1846.

By the Bequest of Hon. John Pickering, LL. D.

Recueil d'Observations et de Mémoires sur l'Égypte Ancienne et Moderne, par M. Jomard. 5 vols.

Sketch of a Hieroglyphical Dictionary. By Samuel Birch. Part I. London: 1838.

Égypte, par M. Jomard. Paris: 1829.

Description de la Ville et des Environs du Kaire. Paris: 1829.

Description des Antiquités de l'Heptanomide. Paris.

Remarques sur les Signes Numériques des Anciens Égyptiens.

Études Géographiques et Historiques sur l'Arabie. Paris: 1839.

Pyramides, Delta Oriental, Hieroglyphes, Inscriptions, Pierre de Rosette, etc.

An oblong folio book, (Specimens of Oriental Writing.)

Specimens of Mummy Cloth.

Fragments of Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts.

A Plaster Cast from an Antique Fragment, bearing a hieroglyphic inscription, (from Carthage.)

A Plaster Cast from an Antique Stone, with Egyptian figure and Greek inscription.
Antique Marble, (a mutilated hand holding fruit.)
An Egyptian Measure, copied from Mr. Gliddon's.
Copy of the Inscription on the Rosetta Stone, (on rollers.)
Some Egyptian Papyri, brought from Egypt by Dr. C. Pickering.
Six copies of an Egyptian Deed.
Twelve copies from Mr. Folsom's Hieroglyphic Stone, (on paper.)
Morocco case containing Egyptian Linen, from Thebes; and beads, found on the neck of a mummy.

FRANCIS GARDNER, *Librarian.*

ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS.

By R. P. WATERS, Esq., of Salem, Mass., late Consul of the U. States, at Zanzibar, the American Oriental Society has been put in possession of fifteen Arabic manuscripts, the contents of which are briefly indicated in the following notes drawn from the MSS. themselves and other sources.

E. E. S.

[I.] درة الغوّاص فى اوهام الخواص, *Durret el-ghauwâs fy auhâm el-khawâss*, i. e. "The pearl of the diver, respecting the mistakes of the well-born;" by ابو محمّد القاسم بن على بن محمّد بن عثمان الحريرى البصرى, *Abû-Muhammed El-Kâsim Ibn-'Aly Ibn-Muhammed Ibn-'Othmân El-Hariry El-Basry.* Date A. H. 1194, or A. D. 1780—81.

A highly esteemed work on the faults of language of the higher classes, by a celebrated author who died A. H. 515 or 516, according to Ibn Khallikan's *Vies des hommes illustres de l'Islamisme*, ed. De Slane. p. 588. A large extract from this work was published by De Sacy in his *Anthologie Grammaticale Arabe*, p. 25.

[II.] An anonymous commentary on the poem rhyming in *lâm*, entitled: ابنية الافعال فى علم التصريف, *Abniyet el-af'âl fy 'ilm et-tasrîf*, i. e. "The grammatical formation of verbs in the science of etymology;" by جمال الدين محمّد بن عبد الله بن ملك بن حمد الله, *Djemâl ed-din Muhammed Ibn-'Abdallâh Ibn-Mâlik Ibn-Hamdallâh.* Date A. H. 1021, or A. D. 1612–13. The author of the work commented upon was a distinguished grammarian, a native of Spain, who died A. H. 672. S. Bibliothecae Bodleianae Catalogi. II. 284,

note (d). This Manuscript contains, also, an anonymous fragment, written by the same hand as the preceding, entitled: نبذة في التصريف, *Nebdhet fy et-tasrîf*, i. e. "A fragment on etymology;" and, also, some anonymous verses, entitled: قصيدة في تفسير الرؤيا, *Kaṣîdet fy tafṣîr er-ruyâ*, i. e. "A poem on the interpretation of dreams." Neither of these last named pieces is dated.

[III.] كتاب النحو وتفسير شئ من القران, *Kitâb en-nahw wa tafsîr shay min el-Kurân*, i. e. "The book of syntax and an explanation of some portions of the Kurân;" by ابو نصر احمد بن محمّد بن سدّان بن محمّد الحدادى, *Abû-Naṣr Aḥmed Ibn-Muḥammed Ibn-Seddân Ibn-Muḥammed El-Ḥaddâdy*. Without date.

An introduction to the interpretation of the Kurân, as appears from what we read on fol. 1 recto, of the MS.: لمّا فرغت من تصنيف كتابى الموضح لعلم القران صنفت كتابى هذا منى لولدى ولساير المسلمين وجعلته مدخلا لتفسير كتاب اللّه ومعانيه وتنبيها على طرقه ومبانيه وردّا على الملحدين والطاعنين فى كتاب اللّه, i. e. "Having finished composing my book explanatory of the science of the Kurân, I composed this book for my child and other Muslems, intending it to be an introduction to the explanation of the Book of God, and its doctrines, and an awakener of attention to its precepts and principles, and an answer to heretics and free-thinkers respecting the Book of God."

[IV.] كتاب الترتيب من الصحيح فى حديث رسول اللّه, *Kitâb el-tertîb min es-ṣaḥîḥ fy ḥadîth Resûl Allâh*, i. e. "The book of arrangement, from the Ṣaḥîḥ, respecting the traditions of the Apostle of God;" by ابو يعقوب يوسف ابن ابى ابراهيم بن منادى السدراتى الاباضى, *Abû-Y'aḳûb Yûsef Ibn-Abû-Ibrâhîm Ibn-Munâdy Es-Sedrâty El-Abâdhy*. Date A. H. 1114, or A. D. 1702–3.

A collection of traditions which have come down from Muhammed, classified according to the subjects to which they refer.

[V.] بصيرة الاحكام, *Baṣîret el-aḥkâm*, i. e. "The perception of

judgments;" by ابو محمّد عثمان بن عبد اللّه الاصمّ, *Abú-Muhammed 'Othmân Ibn-'Abdallâh El-Aṣamm.* Date A. H. 1149, or A. D. 1736–37.

A work on some topics of Muhammedan jurisprudence. This MS. contains, also, a short piece by itself on a case of inheritance.

[VI.] A manuscript in three parts: (1) An anonymous fragment without title, treating of the impurity of women in child-birth, according to the Muhammedan law. Date A. H. 1046, or A. D. 1636–37. (2) Another anonymous fragment, being a part of كتاب بيان الشرع, *Kitâb beyân esshar'*, i. e. "The book of exposition of the Law," as we learn from the following note at the end of the piece: الجزوٌ الرابع والخمسون فى الحيض وهو الثامن من النكاح من كتاب بيان الشرع, i. e. "The fifty-fourth section, on the monthly courses, which is the eighth on marriage, of The book of the exposition of the Law." Without date. (3) Another fragment on the same subject, without title, or the name of the author, or date.

[VII.] كتاب خزانة الاخيار فى بيوعات الخيار, *Kitâb khazânet el-akhyâr fy buyu'ât el-khiyâr*, i. e. "The book of the treasury of the good, respecting optional sales;" by عبد اللّه بن محمّد بن غسّان بن محمّد بن غسّان, *'Abdallâh Ibn-Muhammed Ibn-Ghassân Ibn-Muhammed Ibn-Ghassân.* The date has been torn off.

This MS. treats of the Muhammedan laws of trade.

[VIII.] كتاب الحايم شفاء الحايم فى شرح بعض الدعايم, *Kitâb el-ḥâim shefâ el-ḥâim fy shurḥ ba'ḍ' ed-da'âim*, i. e. "The book of the thirsty man, being the thirsty man's cure, explanatory of a part of The columns;" by ابو القاسم بن ابراهيم البرادى المغربى النفسى, *Abúl-Ḳâsim Ibn-Ibrâhîm El-Burâdy El-Meghraby En-Nefûsy.* Without date.

Ed-da'âim, i. e. "The columns," is the title of a work in verse, on the principles of the Muhammedan religion, of which احمد بن النظر العمانى, *Aḥmed Ibn-En-Naḍhir El-'Omâny* was the author.

[IX.] The first part (القطعة الاولى) of كتاب الضياء فى القلوب, *Kitâb ed-ḍhiyâ fy el-ḳulûb*, i. e. "The book of light in the heart;" by

ابو المنذر سلمة بن مسلم بن ابراهيم العمانى العويبى الصحارى, *Abû'l-Mundhir Selmet Ibn-Muslim Ibn-Ibrâhîm El-'Omâny El-'Uweiby Es-Ṣuḥâry.* Date A. H. 1127, or A. D. 1714–15.

A treatise on Muhammedan science and theology.

[X.] A manuscript in ten parts: (1) الفتح المبين لشرح قصيدة الامام ضياء الدين, *El-feth el-mubîn li sherḥ ḳaṣîdet El-Imâm Ḍhiyâ ed-dîn*, i. e. "The distinct exposition, explanatory of the Poem of the Imam Ḍhiyâ ed-dîn." An anonymous commentary on the Poem of ضياء الدين على بن محمّد بن ابراهيم بن ابى القسم مطير الحكمى الشافعى, *Ḍhiyâ ed-dîn 'Aly Ibn-Muhammed Ibn-Ibrâhîm Ibn-Abû'l-Ḳâsim Muṭair El-Ḥikmy Es-Shâfi'y.* Without date. (2) حكم ابى مدين و شرحها, *Ḥikem Aby-Medyan wa sherḥuhâ*, i. e. "The judgments of Abû-Medyan with a commentary." An anonymous commentary on *Ḥikem Aby-Medyan*, i. e. "The judgments of Abû-Medyan." Date A. H. 1226, or A. D. 1811–12. (3) A fragment containing two legends of the life of Jesus. (4) كتاب اصلاح الاعمال و تريأق القلوب, *Kitâb iṣlâḥ el-a'mâl wa tiryâḳ el-ḳulûb*, i. e. "The book of the rectification of actions, and the antidote of hearts;" by an anonymous author. Without date. (5) رسالة المذاكرة مع الاخوان و المحبّين, *Risâlet el-mudhâkaret ma' el-ikhwân wa el-muḥabbîn*, i. e. "The treatise of conversation with brethren and beloved ones:" by an anonymous author. Date A. H. 1226. (6) كتاب رسالة المعاونة و المظاهرة و الموازرة للراغبين فى طريق الاخرة, *Kitâb risâlet el-mu'âwanet wa el-mudhâharet wa el-mawâzaret lir-râghibîn fy ṭarîḳ el-akhiret*, i. e. "The book of the treatise of rendering aid, and affording succor, and taking charge, for those who are zealous in the way of the future life;" by عبد الله بن علوى بن محمّد الحداد باعلوى, *'Abdallâh Ibn-'Alawy Ibn-Muḥammed El-Ḥaddâd* [*Bâ'alawy?*] Without date. (7) رسالة الوفاء فى الوصيّة, *Risâlet el-wefâ fy el-waṣîyet*, i. e. "The treatise of the fulfillment of enjoined duty;" by عبد الله بن علوى الحداد باعلوى الحسينى, *'Abdallâh Ibn-'Alawy El-Ḥaddâd* [*Bâ'alawy?*] *El-Ḥuseiny.*

Without date. (8) كتاب الدعوة التامّة و التذكرة العامّة, *Kitâb ed-da'wet el-tâmmet wa et-tedhkiret el-'âmmet*, i. e. "The book of the perfect suit, and the general memorial;" by عبد اللّه بن محمّد بن احمد الحدّاد باعلوى, *'Abdallâh Ibn-Muḥammed Ibn-Aḥmed El-Ḥaddâd [Bâ-'alawy?]* Date A. H. 1226. (9) كتاب النصايح الدينيّة و الوصايا الايمانيّة, *Kitâb en-naṣâih ed-dîniyet wa el-waṣâyâ el-imâniyet*, i. e. "The book of admonitions relative to religion, and precepts relative to faith;" by عبد اللّه الحدّاد باعلوى, *'Abdallâh El-Ḥaddâd [Bâ'alawy?]*. Date A. H. 1169, or A. D. 1755–56. (10) مقاصد الرعاية, *Makâṣid er-ri'âyet*, i. e. "The objects of consideration;" by محمّد بن محمّد بن محمّد الغزالى, *Muḥammed Ibn-Muḥammed Ibn-Muḥammed El-Ghazâly*. Date A. H. 1121, or A. D. 1738–39. The work of a very eminent author, who died A. H. 504, or 505, according to D'Herbelot: Bibliothèque Orientale. p. 337. Our Manuscript begins with quoting a passage, on the means of obtaining happiness, from ميزان العمل, *Mizân el-'amal*, i. e. "The balance of conduct," by the same author, of which a Hebrew translation was published by Goldenthal at Leipzig, in 1839, under the title: "Mizân Ol'aml, sive compendium doctrinae ethicae auctore Alghazali hebraicè conversum."

This volume treats of subjects of morals and jurisprudence, as most of the titles of its several parts indicate.

[XI.] كتاب دلايل الخيرات و شوارق الانوار فى ذكر الصلاة على النبى, *Kitâb dalâîl el-khairât wa shawârik el-anwâr fy dhikr eṣ-ṣalât 'ala en-neby*, i. e. "The book of indications of good things, and risings of luminaries, respecting the benediction upon the Prophet; by ابو عبد الله محمّد بن سليمان الجزولى, *Abû-'Abdallâh Muḥammed Ibn-Sulciman El-Djazwaly*. Date A. H. 1151, or A. D. 1738–39.

A treatise on the form of prayer commonly pronounced by the orthodox Muslems, when Muhammed is named, or referred to: صلّى اللّه عليه و سلّم. S. Bibl. Bodl. Catalogi. II. 75; and D'Herbelot: Bibl. Orient. p. 376.

The same volume contains, also, a piece entitled: دعوة السباسب *Da'wet es-sabâsib*, i. e. "The invocation of the feast of palms."

[XII.] كتاب نضرة الاغريض فى نصرة القريض, *Kitâb naḍhret el-ighrîḍh fy naṣret el-ḳarîḍh*, i. e. "The book of the elegance of the palm-blossom, on the superiority of poetry;" by ابو علّى المظفر بن السعيد ابى القسم الفضل بن ابى جعفر يحيى ابن ابى على عبد اللّه بن ابى عبد اللّه جعفر العلوى الحسينى, *Abû-'Aly El-Muḍhaffer Ibn-Es-Sa'id Abû'l-Ḳâsim El-Faḍhl Ibn-Abû-Dja'fer Yahya Ibn-Abû-'Aly 'Abdallâh Ibn-Abû-'Abdallâh Dja'fer El-'Alawy El-Ḥuseiny.* Date A. H. 1139, or A. D. 1726–27.

A treatise on the art of poetry. S. D'Herbelot: Bibl. Orient. p. 653.

[XIII.] كتاب ديوان الصبابة, *Kitâb dîwân es-ṣabâbet*, i. e. "The book of the divan of tender sentiment;" by شهاب الدين ابو العباس احمد بن ابى حجلة التلمسانى, *Shahâb ed-dîn Abû'l-'Abbâs Aḥmed Ibn-Abû-Ḥadjlet Tilimsâny.* Date A. H. 1123, or A. D. 1711–12.

A collection of amatory poetry. S. Moeller: Catologus librorum Bibl. Gothanae. II. 235. The author of this collection died A. H. 776, according to Hadji Khalfa: Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopedicum. ed. Fluegel. III. 290.

[XIV.] لوامع الاسرار فى شرح مطالع الانوار, *Lawâmi'· el-asrâr fy sherḥ maṭâli' el-ànwâr*, i. e. "The gleamings of mysteries, explanatory of The risings of luminaries;" by يوسف بن الشيخ على بن جعفر البربورى الاوالى, *Yûscf Ibn-Es-Sheikh 'Aly Ibn-Dja'fer El-Barbûry El-Awâly.* Date A. H. 1108, or A. D. 1696–97. *Matâli' el-anwâr*, i. e. "The risings of luminaries," is a work on moral and theological science, by سراج الدين محمود بن ابى بكر الارموى, *Sirâdj ed-dîn Maḥmûd Ibn-Abû-Bekr El-Ormawy*, as we learn from a comparison of Bibl. Bodl. Catal. II. 292, 93 (7) with the passage on folio 4 verso of this Ms. beginning: قال بعد فهذا مختصر فى العلوم الحقيقيّة والمعارف الالهيّة — which is thus rendered by Prof. Nicoll of Oxford, one of the compilers of the Bodleian Catalogue: "Hoc est compendium de scientiis

quibus virtus exquiritur et cognitionibus divinis, quod inscripsi: Ortus Luminum, quodque disposui in duas partes. Harum altera est de Logica, altera verò continet quatuor partitiones, quarum prima est de rebus generalibus, secunda de substantiis speciatim, tertia de accidentibus speciatim." The author *El-Ormawy* died, according to Hadji Khalfa, A. H. 682. A commentary on *Matâli' al-anwâr*, having the same title of *Lawâmi' al-asrâr* is ascribed by Hadji Khalfa to *Kutb ed-din Muhammed Ibn-Muhammed Er-Râzi*. S. Bibl. Bodl. Catal. II. 582 (a note on I. 116).

[XV.] حلّ الموجز, *Hell el-mûdjaz*, i. e. "The explication of The compend;" by الاقصرانى, *El-Aksarâny*. Date A. H. 1126, or A. D. 1714–15. A commentary on *El-mûdjaz*, i. e. "The compend," which is an abridgement of the medical Canon of Avicenna, by ابو الحسن القرشى المعروف بابن النفيس; *Abû'l-Hasan El-Karshy, known by the name of Ibn-En-Nefis*, who died A. H. 687, or 696.

This is the best commentary on a medical work of high repute among the Muhammedans. S. Wüstenfeld: Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher. p. 147; also: Steph. Evod. Assemann: Bibl. Mediceae Catalogus. p. 372.

A collection of Muhammedan coins has been received from John P. Brown, Esq., of Constantinople, of which a descriptive account may be given in some future number of our Journal.

F. G.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

PREPARED FROM THE RECORDS.

May 24. 1847.—The Annual Meeting of the Society was held this day, at the Rooms of the American Academy in Boston. Rev. Dr. *Jenks* in the Chair.

The Treasurer presented his account for the past year, showing $507.15 received, $364.32 expended, and a balance on hand of $142.83, which having been audited by Mr. *J. W. Jenks*, was accepted.

The Annual Report of the Directors was presented by the Corresponding Secretary, in substance as follows:—

The Board of Directors of the American Oriental Society respectfully submit a report of their proceedings, for the year 1846–7:

It is to be hoped that occasions similar to the present will be, hereafter, enlivened by the retrospect of important progress; but what we have to say at this time will relate chiefly to measures, adopted during the past year, to revive the drooping spirit of our Association. One of these has been the publication of some papers recently placed at our disposal, and the other the opening of communication with several kindred Societies in Europe and the East, as well as with individuals, at home and abroad, who are known to be interested in whatever concerns oriental researches.

Our publication of the Swahere translation from Genesis may be considered as very opportune. For the only article relating to the Swahère dialect, previously published, which appeared last year in the first Number of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, though based upon communications received from the same source to which we are indebted for that paper, the missionary Dr. Krapf, and enriched as it is by the genius of Von Ewald, gives but a brief specimen of the dialect. We direct attention to this circumstance, merely to illustrate the sort of service which our Society may often render, indirectly, to the cause of learning, by publishing the materials of knowledge, even in a crude state.

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Letters have been addressed in the name of this Society, to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Syro-Egyptian Society of London; the Asiatic Society of Paris; and the German Oriental Society. To each of them has also been sent a copy of the last Number of our Journal. These letters were written with a view to intercourse between our Society and those abroad having similar objects, in the hope that the particular path for us to pursue might thus be made more plain, and that this intercourse might serve to strengthen and encourage our small beginnings.

Several distinguished foreign orientalists have also been written to, and invited to lend the light of their mature studies, through this Society, to the cause of oriental learning in the United States.

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In conclusion, the Directors beg leave to add a word respecting the duties of those members of this Society whose avocations do not permit them to engage directly in oriental studies. For their coöperation is important to the prosperity of the Society, as they form a connecting link between the few in this country who give themselves to oriental researches, and the literary public of the country, at large, and may be expected to spread the interest in such pursuits, more widely, among our men of education. We hope from them, therefore, that while they liberally appreciate these branches of learning, they will also cherish them with some personal interest.

May we be allowed one word more? Possibly not a few of the members of this Society have friends commercially connected with the East,

if they are not so themselves; we would therefore submit, whether they might not very essentially promote the objects of the Society, by procuring, through their correspondents, information on various subjects, as well as books, manuscripts, and other things adapted to stimulate and aid oriental research.

In behalf of the Directors.

This report having been accepted, the following persons, recommended by the Directors, were chosen members of the Society, viz.: Signor *Pascal de Gayangos*, late Professor of Arabic in the Athenæum of Madrid; Dr. *Holt Yates*, late Corr. Secretary of the Syro-Egyptian Society; Rev. Dr. *Krapf*, missionary of the English Church Missionary Society in Abyssinia; Baron *Mac Guckin de Slane* of Paris; and Rev. Dr. *John Wilson* of Bombay,—honorary members;—and Mr. *Stanislas Hernisz*; Dr. *Azariah Smith*, missionary in Turkey;—Rev. *David Stoddard*, missionary in Persia;—Rev. *Ebenezer Burgess*, missionary in India; Rev. *David O. Allen*, missionary in India; Rev. *Cyrus Hamlin*, missionary in Turkey; Rev. *Elias Riggs*, missionary in Asia Minor; and Mr. *John M. Forbes* of Boston, —immediate members.

Letters were then read: From Rev. *W. Adam*, giving notice of a donation to the Society of Arabic and Persian books;—From Hon. *Alexander H. Everett*, accompanying two maps for the Society's Library, by a Chinese amateur in geography resident in Canton, which were placed at Mr. Everett's disposal by Rev. Dr. Bridgman;—and From Mr. *John P. Brown*, Dragoman of the Embassy of the United States at Constantinople, relative to an accompanying translation from the Turkish, of Et-Tabary's account of the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. The Corr. Secretary, Dr. *Anderson* and the Librarian then presented books for the Library, in the names of the donors.

The following persons were chosen Officers of the Society for the ensuing year;

President.—Prof. EDWARD ROBINSON, LL.D., *New York.*

Vice Presidents.—Wm. Jenks, D.D., *Boston.*
Prof. Moses Stuart, *Andover.*
Hon. Alexander H. Everett.

Corresponding Secretary.—Edward E. Salisbury, *New Haven.*

Recording Secretary.—Francis Gardner, *Boston.*

Treasurer.—William W. Greenough, *Boston.*

Directors.—Prof. Charles Beck, P.D., *Cambridge.*
Barnas Sears, D.D., *Newton.*
Rufus Anderson, D.D., *Boston.*
Prof. B. B. Edwards, D.D., *Andover.*
William W. Greenough, *Boston.*

The Society then adjourned.

September 29. 1847.—A Quarterly Meeting of the Society was held this day at the Rooms of the American Academy in Boston. Rev. Dr. *Jenks* in the chair.

Letters were read: From Mr. *S. Hernisz*, acknowledging his election into the Society;—From Professor *De Wette* of Basle, of like purport, and expressing a desire to promote the objects of the Society in any way possible;—From *Richard Clarke*, Esq., Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of like purport, in which he says:

"I beg you will assure the honorable Society, that it will afford me the highest gratification if by any acts, in my power, I may be able to further the cordial cooperation and extend the beneficial intercourse between the two Societies.

"You will be gratified to learn that another Number of the very important labors of Major Rawlinson will be very soon issued,* and that the

* This has since been published, containing a concise analysis of all the Persian cunëiform inscriptions as yet discovered.

untiring efforts of that zealous and successful investigator promise to afford the most valuable assistance in deciphering the important inscriptions lately discovered by Mr. Layard at Nimrud, in the vicinity of ancient Nineveh."

From Professor *Garcin de Tassy* of Paris, giving notice of his having sent to the Society a copy of his Rudiments of the Hindui;—From Professor *Mohl*, Secretary-Adjunct of the Asiatic Society of Paris, accompanying copies of two of his Reports to that Society, on the progress of oriental knowledge, and a copy of Fresnel's Researches on the Himyaritic inscriptions;—From Mr. *John P. Brown*, accompanying a translation by himself from the Turkish, of a narrative of the discovery of the New World, entitled *Târikh Hind Gharby*, which has long been a popular book among the Turks; and a list of the books printed at the Sultân's press during the year 1845, with a short notice of the subject of each. Respecting the *Târikh Hind Gharby*, Mr. Brown says:

"It was quite the first book ever printed at Constantinople by the Turks. I can not learn the name of the author, nor the sources from which he collected his information. I found it when in search of something in Arabic, written here, or in Spain, or Barbary, by Muslims, on the subject of the discovery of the New World. But it was a troublesome period for both the Moors of Spain, and the Turks of Asia Minor: the former were being driven from their country, the latter were busy conquering one; so that it is not surprising that little is found on this subject, in the language of either people. The printed copy of the History of Western Hind says, that it was printed in Constantinople A.H. 1142, (A.D. 1726,) by Ibrahim Effendy, a learned Hungarian renegade. Printing owes its origin in this country to this individual, and to another, named Sayd Effendy, who conceived the idea from what he had seen in France during the reign of Louis XV, to whose court he made a visit with his father, the Turkish ambassador. On his return home, Sayd joined with Ibrahim Effendy in petitioning the Grand Vezir, Ibrahim Pasha, for permission to establish a Press, when the matter was referred to the Shaykh ul-Islâm and the 'Ulemâ, who granted a fetwâ in their favor, to

publish works not religious. * * * * * * I am informed that the *Târikh Hind Gharby* existed in manuscript many years before the introduction of printing, but was taken up and printed on account of its popularity as a curious and amusing book."

Speaking of the yearly issues from the press of Constantinople, Mr. *Brown* says:

"I will endeavor for the coming year to be able to tell you more about the more important of the books published; it is not, however, easy to do so, without purchasing them, for the booksellers in the Bazar are forbidden by the Government to dispose of books, at all, on religious subjects, and infidels cannot therefore examine them sufficiently to know much of their contents. I go however to the Press, and purchase such as I wish, and find the Director very liberal and tolerant. I hope the prohibition referred to will ere long be removed, and then *infidels* may find something of interest in the heaps of manuscripts on the shelves of the booksellers. The present administration is very liberal, and tolerates entire liberty of conscience and inquiry on religious subjects, so that this and other similarly ridiculous prohibitions will doubtless ere long be removed."

The Corr. Secretary then read a Paper upon Mr. Brown's translation of Et-Tabary's conquest of Persia by the Arabs.

Professor *Edwards* afterwards gave an interesting account of a meeting of the German Oriental Society, held in Jena, at which he was present.

Professor *Edwards* and Rev. Mr. *Treat* made remarks on certain supposed discoveries of Rev. *J. L. Wilson*, missionary on the Gabûn, in Western Africa, tending to establish the fact of an affinity between all the Negro dialects spoken in that part of Africa south of the Mountains of the Moon, and relative to certain peculiarities of the Mpongwe, the dialect of the Gabûn.

A letter from the President was read, recommending that the Society hereafter hold only annual meetings, and these in different places from year to year.

The Corr. Secretary and Dr. *Anderson* then presented books for the Library, in the names of the donors.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were chosen members of the Society, viz.: Rev. *Chandler Robbins*, of Boston; Rev. *J. L. Wilson*, missionary in Western Africa; and Rev. *Samuel R. Brown*, missionary in China.

The Chairman mentioned the report of a discovery having been recently made by *W. Winthrop Andrews*, Esq., American Consul on the island of Malta, of a monument there, supposed to be Phœnician, which has never been described; and the Corr. Secretary was requested to communicate with Mr. *Andrews* on the subject.

The Society then adjourned.

Jan. 5. 1848. — A regular Quarterly Meeting of the Society was held this day, at the Rooms of the American Academy in Boston. Professor *Felton* in the Chair.

Letters were read: From Rev. Messrs. *Wilson*, *Brown*, and *Robbins*, acknowledging their election into the Society;—From Rev. *H. A. Homes*, missionary in Turkey;—From Rev. *H. G. O. Dwight*, missionary in Turkey, accompanying a beautifully written and original Hatti Sherif of the last Sultân, by which an Armenian Patriarch was commissioned. It was presented by Mr. *Sarkis*, Secretary of the Armenian Protestant Community of Turkey, to Mr. *Dwight*, and by him to the Society.—From Mr. *John P. Brown*, announcing the continuation of his translation from Et-Tabary, down to the times of the Khalîf 'Aly, and promising to make search for a copy of Et-Tabary's Annals in the original Arabic;—From Rev. *W. G. Schauffler*, missionary in Turkey;—and From the President, accompanying a com-

munication from Mr. *W. Roth*, relative to a copy of Dr. *Roth's* Essay on the Origin and History of the Vedas, sent by the author for the Society's Library.

The Corresponding Secretary then submitted the Report of a Committee of the Directors, appointed to consider the expediency of making some special arrangements in the Society, for the promotion of classical learning as auxiliary to oriental research, as follows:

The Committee of the Directors on the propriety of making the cultivation of classical learning, so far as auxiliary to oriental research, a special object in this Association, respectfully report:

The Committee consider it unnecessary, and beyond the demand of the present occasion, to attempt any thing like a full exposition of the relations between oriental and classical studies. A volume would not more than suffice for that, and no proficient in either branch of learning needs to be instructed on the subject. Yet it seems proper for us to allude to some of those points on which light has been thrown, by bringing classical knowledge into combination with oriental, as well as to a few of the topics which wait to be illustrated, by means of this union of intellectual forces, carried still farther than heretofore.

To begin then with what this has already effected, relative to philology, we may safely say, that the principles of Greek and Latin conjugation and declension, both as to form and signification, have been reduced to a science, as far as they are so, chiefly through the applications which classical scholars have made of Bopp's comparison of the principal members of the Indo-European family of languages with the Sanskrit as their common progenitor; though it may not be true that the particular views of Bopp have been uniformly adopted. Nor could the system of Sanskrit inflection have been drawn out as it is in Bopp's Comparative Grammar, without regard to those phenomena which the classic languages present.

So the Greek and Latin radicals have been marked with precision, only as lately dissected out, from derived forms of language, with an eye fixed on the results obtained by the analysis of Sanskrit words. A knowledge of the signification of Sanskrit roots as well as forms, has also not only facilitated the tracing back of the more ordinary expressions of thought in the classic languages to their most ancient known sources,

but has led to important suggestions with regard to the exacter meaning of certain Greek and Latin words, the force of which is not apparent, if those languages alone are considered.

Let it be observed also, how much the older forms of the Greek and Latin alphabets, and the Phœnician from which they are derived, illustrate one another. To such an extent is this the case, that the interpretation of the older Greek and Latin inscriptions could not have been attempted, without a knowledge of the Phœnician character. Even the want of the slight acquaintance with oriental peculiarities, which is implied in knowing that the Shemites write from right to left, could it be supposed on the part of any classical scholar, would of itself disqualify him for interpreting, intelligently, such ancient Greek and Latin tablets as are engraven in the manner called *βουστροφηδόν*, not to speak of the difficulty of his reading those of which the letters follow each other from right to left in every line.

But the philological relations between oriental and classical studies, though important, are not so numerous as the historical, since the classic languages are connected with oriental, radically, only by a common descent from the Sanskrit; while, as explorations extend, almost every part of the East is found to reflect light upon the historical records handed down to us in the classic languages, besides being made more luminous itself, by means of information which they impart. For example, how little was clearly ascertained with regard to the kingdom established by the Greeks in Bactria, in consequence of Alexander's invasion of the East, until the Generals Ventura and Allard, and others after them, made that great collection of Bactrian coins, bearing legends as well in Greek as in an oriental character and language, which have been explained by Grotefend, Lassen and others, during the last seventeen years. But these coins have contributed something towards making out a new chapter in the history of Hellenism, revealing to us the circumstances of its conflict with that eastern civilization it encountered on the sides of the Indian Caucasus. Here, however, was an occasion for the uniting of oriental and classical learning; and the oriental legends themselves of the Bactrian coins might never have been deciphered, without the aid of those in Greek accompanying them, and the lists of names of Bactrian kings which we find in classic authors.

We might, in this connection, refer to several instances in which the mere fact of Greek inscriptions being coupled with oriental, and the par-

allelism between them consequently supposed, has led to very important discoveries. Thus, it was by means of Greek proper names on the famous stone of Rosetta, and on other Egyptian monuments, that Champollion was enabled to verify his ingenious conjecture of the fact of a phonetic character having been in use among the ancient Egyptians, which carried the light of day into the dark chambers of hieroglyphic writing.

But as, in such cases, the labor of investigation has been wholly in an oriental field, they are not so much to our present purpose. We therefore pass them by, and advert next to the fact, that the chronology of the ancient times of the Hindus, so far as it may be said to have been critically determined, is founded upon the identification of a certain sovereign named in the royal lists of the Purânas, Chandragupta, with one whom the historian Justin speaks of as contemporary with Seleucus Nicator, under the name of Sandracottus, and who is mentioned also by other classic writers;—an identification which could not have been established without applying to the name of the individual, certain consonant-changes common in the classic languages as compared with the Sanskrit, besides bringing together the statements respecting him, of both oriental and classical authorities.

It deserves our notice, farther, to how great an extent that illumination, as it may well be called, of the pages of Herodotus in recent times, is to be ascribed to oriental researches, by which narratives, long regarded as the fabrications of his own fancy, have been transformed into truthful, if not always intelligible accounts; while some of them have assisted orientalists to derive important additional information, from various monuments and writings which they have been called to investigate.

Again, we may advert to the increase of knowledge respecting the Parthian and Sasanide kingdoms, which has resulted from bringing together the circumstances of their history related by Latin authors and the Byzantine historians on the one hand, and commemorated by oriental writers, or in oriental inscriptions, on the other. By this means, views have been obtained of the part which those kingdoms acted in the history of the East, and of their relations to the Romans, and to the Greek Empire, from the middle of the first century before Christ to the middle of the seventh of our era, at once broader and more accurate than could have been formed, if either the oriental, or the classical materials had been exclusively regarded.

To all these considerations, it may be added, that by geographical researches in the East, particularly in Western Asia, many deficiencies

and errors of the oriental geography of classic authors have been supplied and corrected; while these authors are constantly contributing to the settlement of obscure points in the ancient topography of the East. We will only specify the illustrations which Arrian's Expedition of Alexander and Periplus of Nearchus have received through Sir Alexander Burnes's exploration of the Indus, and the amplification of the data of classic geographers which respect Southern Arabia, consequent upon the coast-surveys made by the British, within the last few years, between the Persian gulf and the straits of Bab el-Mandeb.

But we have called to mind subjects enough from among those which have been already cleared up by the combination of oriental and classical learning. It now remains to specify some topics on which it is reasonable to anticipate, that this association of knowledge will yet throw a new light. There is something still to be accomplished by means of it, on points of research to which we have alluded; but not to dwell longer on these, we will here mention first, the subject of the commercial connections of the Greeks and Romans with eastern nations. It is generally admitted, that many articles of luxury and use, known in Greece and Italy, in ancient times, were products of the East, or of Eastern *labor and skill*. But through what channels these reached the West, and from *what particular countries they came*, are questions as yet involved in much obscurity; nor may this obscurity be dissipated, except by connecting, with the representations and intimations of classic writers, the results of the ever-widening exploration of the East, by which are revealed to us, more and more, its varieties of climate, the natural productions and domestic arts of the different regions it includes, the policy of its various Governments at certain ascertained periods, in respect to communication with foreign nations, and the routes marked by nature, or otherwise determined, along which its ancient commerce extended.

There are, however, subjects of higher interest which remain to be cleared up by a similar process of combined research; as for example, that of the indebtedness of the Greeks and Romans to oriental sources for the groundwork of their civilization,—whether each nation received it independently of the other, or not,—or for conceptions of after-times among them, by which either their religious, or their philosophical views, or both together, were affected. That the Greeks and Romans were indebted, in these respects also, to the East, may be considered as settled among the learned; but the extent of the obligation, the special agencies by which an oriental influence was exerted upon

the civilization of ancient Greece and Rome, and the forms which it took, are yet to be ascertained, and that, by comparing with each other the different phases of oriental and classic civilization, in the light of a more extended and precise analysis of their respective elements and history, than has been hitherto effected.

Another field in which, probably, a fresh harvest of knowledge is ere long to be gathered, by the united labors of the orientalist and the classical scholar, is that of Egyptian chronology. Every one knows how much ingenuity has been vainly expended upon the data of Greek writers relative to the sovereigns of Egypt anterior to the Ptolemies, with a view to deriving from them, either considered by themselves, or taken in connection with certain historical allusions in the Scriptures, a consistent chronology of the Pharaohs. Now, however, since the monuments of Egypt have begun to give up the records which they have so long preserved only to baffle every attempt to discover their meaning, there is abundant reason to hope, that by combining these new materials with the old, not only the chronology, but the history, at least in outline, of the more ancient Egyptian dynasties, will be placed beyond controversy.

One other subject must here be mentioned. If we consider the extent of the late discoveries of Botta and Layard, near where Nineveh is supposed to have stood, and especially the very great number of inscriptions in the arrow-headed character, brought to light there, some of which the French Government has already published in a work only too costly to be as accessible as it should be, thus adding to the extensive series copied by Schultz, from ruins on the lake of Van with which local tradition connects the name of Semiramis, and published some years ago in the *Journal Asiatique*; and if we consider, also, the progress which has been made, within a short time, towards deciphering that character even in its more complicated forms, it seems not improbable that, in the course of a few years at most, the scanty and disjointed information of Greek writers and of the Scriptures, respecting the ancient Assyrian Empire, will be transformed into something like a proper historical view of it. But as an indispensable condition of this advance of knowledge, the writings of the Greeks and the Biblical records, relating to Assyria, and the data of the newly-discovered Assyrian monuments, must all be brought together, for mutual explanation, and to supply each other's deficiencies.

The foregoing statements, imperfect as they are, may serve to strengthen the conviction, that the concentration of oriental and classical studies has shed light upon many obscurities, and is destined to do this still more in future. There is, then, an evident propriety in oriental and classical scholars being associated together, for the more successful prosecution of those investigations in which they have a common interest; and accordingly this Society embraces classical members, besides such as interest themselves in oriental researches, specially considered.

But something more seems necessary, in order that these two elements united in our association may be brought to a reciprocity of action. It has, therefore, been proposed to establish within this Society a special organization for the promotion of classical learning, in its various bearings upon oriental; and the Committee beg leave to offer several reasons in favor of adopting some plan to this effect.

In the first place, it would secure to the Society the benefit of talent and information among its classical members, only requiring to be elicited, which is applicable to many topics of oriental research, as we have endeavored to show in this Report, with the most gratifying results. In the second place, it would encourage those members of the Society whose tastes and opportunities lead them to study the East in its own records and phenomena, by bringing their studies into an acknowledged relation to branches of learning which are generally appreciated. In the third place, should it draw from oriental fields, as it is to be hoped it might, some valuable contributions to the understanding of classic authors, it would tend to inspire the educated men of this country with a higher estimation of the great object of our Society. It might, perhaps, be the means of at length procuring for that department of knowledge which this Association primarily contemplates, an appreciation for itself, somewhat proportioned to its claims upon the attention of all who would be liberal scholars.

The simplest mode of proceeding would seem to be to form by election from among the members of the Society, a Classical Section, the duty of which shall be to consult for the advancement of the classical side of oriental researches, communicating, through a Secretary of its own, with a Board which shall perform the same part with respect to investigations properly oriental. We are not clear, however, whether these two bodies should be coördinate, or whether the Classical Section should be attached to the Board of Directors now provided for in our Constitution, as a sort of supplement; and the detail of the arrangements to be made,

in case the leading measure we have suggested is adopted, being dependent upon the decision of that question, we have nothing to add, but that we now refer the whole matter to the wisdom of the Society at large.

In behalf of the Directors of the American Oriental Society,

CHARLES BECK,
EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

It was then *Voted*: That this Report be accepted; and That the plan of a Classical Section be farther drawn out by the same Committee, with Professor Felton joined to it, and be presented at the next Annual Meeting.

Professor *Edwards* submitted the Report of a Committee of the Directors, appointed to consider whether the Annual Meetings of the Society should be hereafter held in different places, and whether its Quarterly Meetings should be continued, as follows:

The Committee of the Directors on the expediency of discontinuing the quarterly meetings of the Society, and altering the arrangements, as to time and place, for the annual meeting, respectfully report:

That it is expedient that Article IX. of the Constitution be so altered as to read: "The annual meeting of this Society shall be held in the month of ———, at such place as the Directors shall determine."

In support of this alteration, the Committee would state—

1. That the German Oriental Society holds its meetings in different and, in some cases, widely distant places;

2. That the facilities for intercommunication in our own country are so great now, as to remove what would have been once a very serious difficulty;

3. That the proposed change would be likely to increase the interest in the objects of our Association in various ways:—by relieving it of the *local* aspect which it has now,—by enlarging the number of *active* members,—by bringing its objects prominently before a greater number of literary and intelligent men, not directly concerned in oriental pursuits,—by interesting to some extent the students in our Seats of learning, (where our annual meetings might sometimes be held,) in the great

objects which it aims at,—and by introducing, to a limited degree, the social element into our meetings, thus divesting them of their cold, hurried, and mere business character,—and in short, by securing the mutual acquaintance and fraternal coöperation of all the friends of oriental learning.

To accomplish this, it would be necessary to select the most favorable time for the annual meeting, and to secure the attendance of the active members of the Association, some of whom should be prepared to read papers on topics selected either by themselves, or by the Society. There should also be an annual address by the President, or some other member, a report by the Corresponding Secretary, on the general state and prospects of oriental studies, and some subjects of discussion provided, to be named in part at the previous annual meeting. A full record of these meetings should be kept, and inserted in the Journal of the Society. It would always be practicable, probably, to secure the attendance of some of our learned foreign friends, or of missionaries temporarily in their native land.

The Committee would also recommend, that such an alteration be made in By-law VII, as that the three quarterly meetings provided for, may be held in various places. These meetings might be in rotation, e. g., at Cambridge, New Haven, Providence, Newton, Andover, Roxbury, etc. This alteration is recommended for substantially the same reasons as have been stated in favor of a movable annual meeting. A great city, with its hurry and noise, is not the most favorable place for an interesting and profitable meeting of a quiet, literary Society. The atmosphere is quite uncongenial.

It would be perfectly practicable to secure entertaining and useful quarterly meetings, on this plan of rotation, provided the number of members be somewhat enlarged, so as to embrace our principal classical professors and teachers, and provided, also, that considerable latitude be allowed in the choice of subjects to be presented,—that being left, in part at least, to the convenience and discretion of individuals.

It may here be mentioned, that there are many subjects of a *semi*-oriental character, which may fairly be considered as within the province of the Society. A few of these may be suggested as specimens: The influence of the Arabs on the Spanish Character; The Arabic Language in Spain; The Exertions of the Papal Government in the Middle Ages in opposition to the Ottoman Power; The Conquests of Venice in the East; The Extent and Value of the Translations from the Greek into

Arabic; Relations between the Egyptian Antiquities and the Etruscan in Italy; The Oriental Origin of the Greek Alphabet; Alphabetic Writing, where and when invented? Comparison of Greek, Hebrew and Egyptian Music and Musical Instruments; The Origin of the Germanic Nations; The Sclavonic Languages; The Asiatic Policy of the Russian Government; The Present State of the Excavations of Ancient Ruins in Asia Minor; The Extent to which we may expect valuable Discoveries of Antiquities in Macedonia, and the northern parts of Greece, etc.

In conclusion, we may be allowed to ask, whether the great interests of learning and humanity, as well as our national character for scholarship, and our own individual advancement, do not call upon us to cooperate more than we have done, to give the objects for which we are associated a higher place in the regards of scholars, and of the guardians of our literary Institutions, and to raise our Society to an honorable rank among kindred Associations in other countries? Our great and almost unsurpassed facilities by means of the foreign commerce of our country, and the foreign missions of various denominations of Christians in America, certainly impose upon us important and obvious duties which we cannot well neglect. From these, the pressure of personal and professional engagements cannot release us. In many cases, the two classes of duties are coincident, and the performance of the one might be made to aid that of the other.

In behalf of the Directors,

BARNAS SEARS,
B. B. EDWARDS.

Andover, Jan., 1848.

It was then *Voted*: That this report be accepted.

Rev. Dr. *Anderson*, in behalf of the Directors, submitted an informal statement of the relations of the Society to the operations of American missionaries in the East, and was requested to prepare a full report on the subject. This he subsequently communicated to the Committee of publication, as follows:

In reporting how far the Oriental Society may expect to receive aid in its researches from American missionaries in foreign lands, I ought, perhaps, to suggest all the more important topics on which we desire information from them. But this would require more time for reading and re-

flection, than I have now at command. A general statement is all that is possible; and even such a statement will show, that American missionaries are likely to be our most productive source of information, and that it is among the more important duties of the Society to render their labors, as far as may be, of direct avail to science. The conductors of missions will doubtless take a comprehensive view of this matter. While experience has shown, that the Gospel is the only effective instrumentality for awakening the lethargic heathen mind, and giving it a healthful excitement and direction, it has also shown, that the best use of this instrumentality involves more or less attention, on the part of missionaries, to nearly all the departments of knowledge contemplated by the American Oriental Society. The missionary, for instance, is under the necessity of acquiring the language of the people to whom he is sent, in order that he may give them religious instruction, and it is almost equally necessary that he make himself acquainted with their intellectual and social condition. As his mission is generally undertaken for life, and as he must cultivate intimacy with the people, he has motives and advantages for these researches, such as men of no other class can have. And who is more trustworthy in his statements? I can hardly conceive of missionaries being strongly tempted to speak otherwise than correctly of such things as mountains, rivers, plains, climates, governments, languages, manners, habits, and even religious dogmas and rites; nor am I aware that they have often been convicted of essential errors in these matters. In point of fact, the most able, faithful and useful missionary will often, for the very reason that he is so, find it most in his way to render important aid to this Society.

The number of ordained American missionaries residing beyond the bounds of Christendom, not including those among the North American Indians, is two hundred and thirty-four. They are distributed as follows, namely, in

Africa, Western,	25
" Southern,	8
Greece,	3
Western Asia,	38
India and Ceylon,	66
Burmah, Siam, Borneo, etc.,	29
China,	43
Sandwich Islands,	27

These are generally men who, in addition to a collegiate education, have spent three years in professional studies in some Theological Seminary. For talents, scholarship, and respectable standing, they will compare well, as a body, with similarly educated bodies of clergymen, even in the most favored portions of our country. I ought to add, that there are about fifty laymen from the United States, residing in the different parts of the world just mentioned, as missionary physicians, teachers, printers, etc.

It will be seen at once, that a great point is gained in having so many of our educated countrymen scattered over the world, whose studies fall so much into the channel of investigation proposed by the Society. I will now state how far we may expect aid from them in our researches.

Africa.

The Grammar of the Mpongwe Language, by the Rev. John Leighton Wilson, of the mission on the Gabún in Western Africa, with the accompanying vocabularies, lately published by the American Board of Foreign Missions, is a specimen of the contributions to ethnography to be expected from that quarter. So also is the Comparative View of the Mandingo, Grebo and Mpongwe languages, by the same missionary, published in a recent number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*; and the mutual relations of the Negro dialects of Africa are yet more fully elucidated by a series of comparative vocabularies, which Mr. Wilson has placed at the disposal of the Society. It already begins to appear probable, from the investigations of American missionaries alone, in Western and Southern Africa, that the same language, as to all substantial characteristics, is spoken over most of the great upland south of the Mountains of the Moon. Nor will the solution of this highly interesting problem come alone. It must bring with it, in the progress of the Gabún, Port Natal, and other missions into the interior, an immense accession to the geography of the world, and to the material of not a few other sciences. Nor can we look with indifference to the American missions situated on the African coast westward of the river Niger, when we think how little is yet certainly known of countries lying beyond the entangled forest by which the tribes of that part of the coast are separated from those in the interior, on the north; and also of the religious, civil and commercial causes, which are destined to put an end to the slave trade, and to lay open to our observation the populous regions enclosed by the Niger and the Gambia.

Greece and Western Asia.

If it be true of Greece, so far as the objects of the Society are concerned, that farther investigations on the spot are unnecessary, this can by no means be said of the countries of Western Asia. The justly celebrated Researches of two of our members in Palestine, are a specimen of what may be done in not a few regions of great historical interest, in that part of the world. There will be contributions to geography, elucidations of history, and facts brought to light illustrating the condition of man, almost without number, in the progress of Protestant missionaries through Western Asia. Those already on the ground have all been liberally educated, and some of them are considerably learned. Among them are men speaking the Arabic, the Turkish, the modern Armenian, the modern Greek, the modern Syriac, and the Spanish as used by the Jews in Turkey. Mr. Riggs, of Smyrna, has also labored usefully on the alphabet of the Albanian language, and on the grammar of the Bulgarian; as two small tracts in the library of the Society will show. The Treatise on Arab Music, by the Rev. Eli Smith, of the Syrian mission, published in the third Number of our Journal, is as good an earnest of communications to be received from that quarter, as the learned world ought to desire; and a valuable article has lately been received from Dr. Van Dyck, of the same mission, on the Present State of Medical Science in Syria.

It should be remembered, that the Arabic has not undergone changes as a spoken language, in the progress of ages, to the same extent as have most of the other languages of Western Asia. The written and spoken Arabic differ indeed so little from one another, that the missionary, having once acquired the ability to preach in that language, has command of the whole range of Arab literature, so far as the books are accessible to him. The original sources of that literature,—the writers of Bagdád, Cairo, Grenada, Cordova, and of a score of other cities, who added the lustre of genius and learning to the courts of the Abbasides, the Fatimites, and the Ommiades,—are all opened. Missionaries will at length discover, if any class of Christian men can make the discovery, what these sources contain of knowledge deserving to be given to the world, which is as yet hidden in oriental libraries.

The Armenian and Syriac languages are both used in church service;—the former throughout the Armenian nation, excepting the lately formed Protestant churches, and the latter among the Maronites, the Syrians of

Mesopotamia and the Nestorians. But these languages, as spoken, have considerably departed from their ancient standards; so far indeed, that the ancient idioms are but partially intelligible to the great body of the people. American missionaries, accordingly, have translated the Old Testament into the modern Armenian language, and have revised and improved Zohrab's version of the New Testament. They have also translated the New Testament into the modern Syriac, as spoken by the Nestorians; and the whole Bible into the Turkish, written in Armenian letters, for the use of a portion of the Armenian people. Besides, they have prepared a version of the Old Testament in the Spanish language, for the descendants of the Jews exiled by Ferdinand and Isabella in the year 1492. These versions, and so also the ancient Armenian version of the Bible, and the Peshito New Testament, have all been printed under the superintendence of the same missionaries.

Such facts prove the competence of these men to render most essential aid to the Society in its researches in Western Asia. They will be able to inform us as to the literature existing in the ancient Armenian language, and in the Turkish language; and whether the catalogue given by Finn of the more important works in Sephardi literature, in his history of the Jews in Spain and Portugal, is sufficiently full. In process of time, they will even be able to inform us what means must be used, as auxiliary to the Gospel, to emancipate the Jewish mind from the Targums, the Talmud, the Cabala, and the Rabbinical commentaries and traditions.

The great work of Assemani, with the recent discoveries in Egypt, show that manuscripts of no small historical value exist in the ancient Syriac language. Now among the Nestorians are found manuscripts of the Peshito version of the Scriptures, more or less ancient, some of which have been sent to this country. It is feared, however, that most of the Nestorian books have perished under the destroying influence of time and barbaric warfare. But as the missionaries have access, at present, to all the Kurdish mountains where the Nestorians reside, they will soon be able to determine whether there are manuscript treasures existing in the old Nestorian churches, which have not yet been brought to light.

India.

There are about one hundred American missionaries in the countries east and west of the Ganges. These have command of the following languages, namely, the Tamil, Mahratta, Telinga, Uriya, Hindustani, Per-

jabi, Burmese, Peguan or Talieng, two dialects of the Karen, Assamese, and Siamese. There are perhaps two or three other languages with which they are acquainted, but I have no certain information of the fact. They have, also, printing establishments for the native languages in the northern province of Ceylon, at Madras, at Kuttak in Orissa, at Lodiana and Allâhabad in Northern India, at Maulmain and Tavoy for the Burmese and Karens, at Sibsagur in Assam, and at Bangkok in Siam.

Where so much use is made of the press, we may be sure there must be study and knowledge, and an ability to promote the objects of the Society. I think it may be safely said, that in the production of a Christian literature in India, the American missionaries have done their full part; and their literary labors on some of the languages alluded to have been nearly or quite exclusive of those of any others. They first reduced the Karen dialects to writing; and some progress has been made, by them, in the publication of a dictionary and grammar for at least one of the dialects. Dr. Judson, in addition to a translation of the entire Bible into the Burmese, has published a Burmese and English, and an English and Burmese dictionary. The American missionaries at Bombay have prepared and printed helps for acquiring the Mahratta, besides a version of the whole New Testament, and a part of the Old in that language, which is now the received one. The missionaries among the Tâmil people have been the chief agents in preparing dictionaries of the Tâmil, the Tâmil and English and the English and Tâmil. The two former have been printed in separate volumes.

The illustration might be here extended to great length, as the amount of printing in several of these languages has been very large; but this must suffice. Before proceeding to another part of the continent, however, I must advert to Mr. Comstock's Notes on Arakan, published in the last Number of our Journal, as a specimen of the authentic and valuable information we may expect to receive, in process of time, through missionaries, concerning Tavoy, Siam, Burmah, Assam, Ghurwal, Lahore, Multân, etc.; not to speak of provinces and countries of India which are better known.

On the western side of the great island of Borneo, several intelligent ministers of the Gospel from our country have resided for some years, who have already thrown much light on the social and religious state of the aborigines of Landak and Sambas.

Eastern Asia.

China is a world by itself, and is full of problems yet to be solved. Some of the most interesting of these relate to the Chinese manner of writing; the spoken dialects, and especially their singular intonations; and the means of approaching the mass of the people with useful truths. The Jesuits and their associates did much for the geography of China, but comparatively little in some more important departments of science. More light is wanting, in order that a correct opinion may be formed as to the real value of the Chinese literature; the practical worth of the education fostered by the Government; the supposed, peculiarly atheistical bent of the Chinese mind, and its possible influence in giving to the Buddhist religion the form which it has among this people; and the nature and power of the great social bond of the empire, keeping together so many states, of dissimilar language, and remote from each other. So the history of the empire doubtless admits of being much amended and enriched by a full and free reference to native authorities. We also need to know whether the various spoken dialects may not be advantageously written in an alphabet more truly phonetic, than the characters now used. To these and a multitude of other similar points of inquiry, the Society may freely call the attention of the American missionaries in China, already representing no less than six missionary Societies, and as many of our larger Christian denominations. One of these missionaries, Mr. S. W. Williams, who went to China twelve years since as a printer, has lately published two elegant volumes descriptive of the Chinese, which take precedence of all similar works relating to that people, and he had before published several elementary works on the Chinese language, beside giving attention to the Japanese language; a font of Japanese types has been also recently cut under his direction.* The Chinese Repository, published in China and now in its seventeenth volume, is a rich storehouse of information, and from the beginning has been edited almost wholly by Dr. Bridgman, an American missionary at Canton.

The prospect is that there will soon be a larger number of American missionaries in China, and they are now found in each of the five provinces which have been opened to the free commerce of the world.

Sandwich Islands.

The Hawaiian nation belongs to the Polynesian family, their language being one of the dialects of the Polynesian. It was first reduced to

* A set of these types is now at New Haven, for the use of our Society.

writing by American missionaries, about twenty-five years ago; and since then, one hundred and sixty millions of pages have been printed in it. There are American missionaries still living, who have been in this great movement from the beginning; and should there be facts not embodied in Dibble's, Jarves's, or Bingham's History of the Islands, which the Society is desirous of obtaining, it should lose no time in securing them by means of appropriate inquiries.

I should not forget to add, in general, that scarcely less than a score of languages have been reduced to writing within the last thirty years, by our countrymen engaged in foreign missions; and for the most part on the principles advocated by the late President of the Society, in his well known *Essay on a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America.* A remarkable simplicity and uniformity of orthography have thus been secured. This is a subject to which the Society will do well to direct its attention; for the facts should be recorded, as the record, besides being useful to those on whom it shall devolve to reduce the yet unwritten languages and dialects of the world to a written form, would show, in a pleasing manner, that the human mind is gradually coming under the influence of truth.

In behalf of the Directors,

RUFUS ANDERSON.

Professor *Edwards* read a part of a letter from Rev. *Thomas Laurie*, late missionary in Syria, giving an interesting and graphic account of some of M. *Botta's* recent discoveries at Khorsabad, on the supposed site of Nineveh, and referring to several passages in the prophetical Scriptures, which they seem to illustrate.

On the recommendation of the Directors, Rev. *John Taylor Jones*, missionary in Siam, was chosen a member of the Society.

The Society then adjourned.

May 31, 1848.—The Annual Meeting of the Society was held this day, at the Rooms of the American Academy in Boston. The President in the Chair.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Annual Report of the Directors was presented by the Corr. Secretary, in substance as follows:

The Directors of the American Oriental Society respectfully present a report of their proceedings, for the year 1847–8:

It seems evident that it must be some time, before there will be any considerable number of persons, in this country, who apply themselves specially to oriental studies; not only because these studies want the attractiveness which general appreciation gives to an object, and the means of prosecuting them exist to a very limited extent, among us; but also because the oriental student in this country finds little sympathy, at present, between himself and the community of literary men, at large, around him, and is obliged to depend almost solely upon the close atmosphere of the narrow circle of personal activity, for the sustenance of intellectual life. But our Society may do much to correct this state of things, by contributing to the naturalization of oriental studies in this western clime; and we think it has advanced, during the past year, a few steps in the direction proper to be given to its operations for this end.

One thing which, almost more than any other, we consider as auguring favorably for its usefulness, is its having begun to place itself in the right position with respect to the already numerous and constantly increasing body of intelligent and educated Americans resident in various countries of the East, chiefly missionaries, who have it in their power to open the field of oriental learning, in an interesting manner, to those who are strangers to it, as well as to afford important materials to others, by communicating personal observations and the fruits of familiar knowledge.

The communications received by the Society during the year, from men of this class in Turkey, Syria and Persia, some of which will be read on the present occasion, satisfactorily indicate what they are ready and willing to do, if sufficient encouragement is given them; and there is reason to expect, that we shall soon have interesting and valuable

communications from Americans in eastern countries, missionaries and others, who have not yet been heard from.

But here we would suggest, whether it may be not advisable to renew, at the present time, a measure once already adopted, though never carried out, which was intended to render the Society's relations with its correspondents in the East, more directly effective for the advancement of knowledge. We refer to the plan of drawing up a series of questions on a variety of topics, to be addressed to our eastern friends, for the purpose of eliciting information from them. In our opinion, this measure might now lead to important results, and we hope it may be taken into consideration. Should it be approved, it would be proper to appoint a committee of several members of the Society to prepare and report such a series of questions, to be printed for distribution, either separately, or in our Journal.

Another movement in the Society the past year, which seems to us to promise well for it, has had for its object to promote the application of the study of classic authors to oriental researches. The accomplishment of this object would, we think, conduce to a wider interest in the Society among the friends of liberal learning in our country, besides being desirable for other reasons which were pointed out on a previous occasion. We hope therefore, that the Society is prepared, at this time, to modify its Constitution with reference to it.

We anticipate an accession of strength to the Society, also, from certain changes in its Constitution to be effected, as we hope, at this meeting, which have been proposed in order to make it a less local institution than it now is.

There are, then, some grounds for encouragement. But, on the other hand, the Directors painfully feel the insufficiency of our Treasury to defray those expenses without which we can not exert the influence appropriate to such an Association. We will not now, though we might, urge the propriety of the Society's having a Room of its own in this city, to be the place of deposit for its library, and a centre of interest with respect to oriental knowledge. It has become necessary, however, to make known on this occasion, that our regular income from year to year does not even enable us to accomplish what we are called to do in the way of publication. The printing of some Vocabularies of African dialects presented by Rev. Mr. Wilson, which was executed last winter, for the sake of Mr. Wilson's personal correction of the press, and of the reports of the Directors lately distributed, when paid for, will exhaust all that portion

of the past year's income, presently to be exhibited in the Treasurer's statement as not already actually expended. So that there is, at this time, no balance to the credit of the Society on the books of the Treasurer, of any amount, which is available for farther expenditures; and yet there are remaining in the hands of the Publishing Committee, unprinted, two important papers from the East, of considerable length, as well as some shorter ones, which ought not much longer to lie unused, if either justice to their authors, or our own reputation as a Society is regarded; while others are expected, which also will without doubt deserve to be printed. Besides, we are just now invited to aid the publication of a work which is thought to have claims to our encouragement, as the Corresponding Secretary will explain in a communication accompanying this report. There has also been an intimation from one of the honorary members of the Society in Paris, which may render it desirable, at no very distant day, to reprint the earlier Numbers of our Journal.

We trust therefore, that attention will be given to devising some plan for the enlargement of our pecuniary resources. May it not be best to attempt to raise a fund, the interest of which, added to the assessment annually levied, would defray all necessary expenses?

At our last annual meeting, it was stated that steps had been taken to establish correspondence with several kindred Societies in foreign countries. This has, without doubt, created some expectation abroad, with regard to what this Society will accomplish for the cause of oriental learning; and it would be highly discreditable to us to disappoint it.

But there is another view of our responsibilities which can not be disregarded. It has been justly said, that the extensive foreign commerce of this country places within our reach important facilities for becoming an organ of communication with the East. The commercial relations, however, of the United States with eastern countries will soon be far more extended and intimate than heretofore, and this country may even become the highway of intercourse between Europe and the East. For a plan was recently proposed in a Report to the House of Representatives of the United States, by Hon. Mr. King of Georgia, to establish a communication by Government steamers between Panama and certain ports of China, by the way of Monterey or San Francisco in California, connecting with the lines of steamers authorized last year, for the purpose of facilitating communication with our possessions on the Pacific,—a plan which, if carried out, will bring New York within thirty-five or forty days of Canton, and make the journey from London to Canton, by

the way of New York, fifteen or twenty days shorter than it now is by the so-called overland route. Nor is this a visionary scheme. On the contrary, the actual growth of our national commerce and reasonable anticipations as to its future development will certainly ere long lead to the establishment of rapid communication, and consequently to close intercourse between this country and the East, across the Pacific. How incumbent is it, therefore, upon us as a Society, to prepare by increasing activity to secure to science the full benefit of the familiarity with eastern countries to which our national commerce is likely to introduce us.

Let us, then, cheered by the light which seems to be breaking in upon us to direct our course, and stimulated by a generous emulation, form wise and liberal plans for the accomplishment of the objects for which we are associated, and pursue them with energy and perseverance. We are pledged to go forward.

We conclude this report by proposing a few changes in our Constitution, some of them merely verbal, which it may be well to consider in connection with those already recommended.

[These changes, so far as approved by the Society, will appear in a re-draft of the Constitution, soon to be published.]

In behalf of the Directors.

This report having been accepted, the proposed changes in the Constitution were severally considered; and some of them being approved, the Corr. Secretary was instructed to re-draft the Constitution in accordance therewith.

The suggestion in favor of appointing a Committee to prepare and report a series of questions, to be addressed to correspondents of the Society in the East, was adopted; and Dr. *Anderson*, Professors *Sears*, *Robinson*, *Beck*, *Edwards* and *Gibbs*, President *Woolsey*, and Mr. *Salisbury*, were appointed to constitute this Committee.

The Corr. Secretary then communicated the particulars of a correspondence with Rev. *J. L. Merrick*, late missionary in Persia, relative to a translation from the Persian, of the *Hyát ul-Kulúb*, a collection of Sheáh traditions of the life and doctrines of Muhammed, which he offers to the Society

for publication; whereupon, this subject was referred to Professor *Edwards*, Rev. *Theo. Parker*, and Mr. *Salisbury*, with instructions to report hereafter what action is expedient on the part of the Society, with respect to it.

The Committee appointed at the last meeting to mature the plan of a Classical Section, for the promotion of classical learning in the Society, as auxiliary to oriental research, submitted a Report through Professor *Felton*, which was referred to Professors *Beck*, *Felton* and *Sears*, and Mr. *Salisbury*, with instructions to draft the By-laws necessary for the organization of a Classical Section.

The Treasurer then presented his account for the past year, showing $268.08 to the credit of the Society, $160.10 expended, and a balance on hand of $107.98, which, having been audited by Rev. Messrs. *Parker* and *Taylor*, was accepted.

On motion of the Treasurer, it was *Voted*: That a Committee be appointed to take into consideration and report at an early day, what measures, if any, are necessary to place the Treasury of the Society on such a footing, as shall secure that degree of usefulness which the position of the Society requires of it; and Messrs. *Greenough*, *Treat* and *Salisbury* were appointed to constitute this Committee.

On motion of Dr. *Anderson*, in accordance with one of the recommendations of the Report on the meetings of the Society, lately presented by Professor *Edwards*, it was *Voted*: That By-law VII. should be altered so as to read:

[For the change here made, the reader is referred to the re-draft of the Constitution, soon to be published.]

The Society then chose for corresponding and corporate members, the following persons recommended by the Directors, viz.: Dr. *Rudolph Roth*, of Tubingen; Rev. *William M. Thomson*, missionary in Syria; and Rev. *Simeon H. Calhoun*, missionary in Syria,—corresponding members;

and Rev. Dr. *Murdock*, of New Haven; Rev. *J. L. Merrick*; Professor *A. Crosby*, of Hanover, N. H.; Professor *R. C. Robbins*, of Middlebury, Vt.; Professor *T. A. Thacher*, of New Haven; Professor *J. L. Lincoln*, of Providence; Professor *E. A. Andrews*, of New Britain, Conn.; Professor *J. Hadley*, of New Haven; Mr. *E. S. Dixwell*, of Cambridge; Mr. *G. B. Dixwell*, of Boston; Mr. *Charles Folsom*, of Cambridge; Professor *C. C. Jewett*, of Washington; Mr. *Charles Short*, of Roxbury, Mass.; Dr. *Charles Siedhof*, of Newton, Mass.; and Rev. *J. J. Owen*, of New York,—corporate members.

The following persons were chosen Officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

President.—Hon. EDWARD ROBINSON, LL.D., *New York*.

Vice Presidents.—William Jenks, D.D., *Boston*.
Prof. Moses Stuart, *Andover*.
President Woolsey, *New Haven*.

Corresponding Secretary.—Edward E. Salisbury, *New Haven*.

Recording Secretary.—Joseph W. Ingraham, *Boston*.

Treasurer.—William W. Greenough, *Boston*.

Librarian.—Francis Gardner, *Boston*.

Directors.—Prof. Charles Beck, M.D., *Cambridge*.
Prof. B. Sears, D.D., *Newton*.
Rufus Anderson, D.D., *Boston*.
Prof. B. B. Edwards, D.D., *Andover*.
Prof. C. C. Felton, LL.D., *Cambridge*.

On motion of Mr. *Greenough*, it was *Resolved*: That having heard with regret of the death of Hon. A. H. Everett, a Vice President of this Society, we in common with all the friends of learning deplore the loss which the world of letters has sustained by that event; and That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the family of the late Mr. Everett.

EVENING SESSION.

The Corr. Secretary read letters from Mr. *John P. Brown*, relative to an exhibition of Professor *Morse's* magnetic telegraph before the Sultân, as follows:

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 1, 1848.

I do myself the pleasure to subjoin herewith, a copy of a diploma, called in Turkish a *berât*, bestowing upon Professor Morse of New York a decoration, or *nichan*, of honor, together with a translation of it into English. As this is the first and only decoration which the Sultân of the Ottoman Empire has conferred upon a citizen of the United States, it struck me, when translating it for the Legation, that some account of it would not prove uninteresting to our Society.

There is a young American in the service of the Sultân as a Geologist, etc., Dr. James L. Smith, who was sent out here by the present Hon. Secretary of State, at the request of the Sultân, made through me during the absence of the Minister Resident. This gentleman, who stands high here in his profession, and has already been able to render the Sultân some important services, being desirous of procuring something from the United States which would be entirely new to His Majesty, and of scientific interest to him, sent for a specimen of the electric telegraph, as perfected by our celebrated countryman Mr. Morse. On its arrival here, the Minister Resident confided its presentation to the Sultân to my care and management; and having soon afterwards an occasion to see His Majesty, I embraced it to inform him of the desire of Dr. Smith to have the honor of exhibiting the telegraph before him. The Sultân immediately named the following day for receiving it; and Dr. Smith, kindly aided by Rev. C. Hamlin of the Armenian Seminary at Bebek, who, to use his own words, lent his assistance on the occasion *con amore*, accompanied me to the palace of the Sultân at Beglerbey, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus.

The wires were stretched from the principal entrance of the palace to its union with the harem, a distance of some thirty or forty paces, and the performers were completely concealed from each other by the angle of a door-way, so that, had the Sultân been disposed to doubt the reality of the powers of the instrument, it would nevertheless have been evident to him, that the operators communicated with each other only by means

of its wires. The Sultân was attended by his own personal employés and domestic officers. He was in excellent spirits, and treated us all with the amiableness and graciousness of disposition for which he is much beloved by all who have the honor of approaching him. I may here add, for your information, that the Sultân, now about twenty-six years of age, is of middle stature, rather lightly built, and thin; simple in his manners, with dark eyes and beard, and a face slightly marked with the small pox; and though he has but little of the dignified air supposed to belong to all sovereigns, his countenance indicates that his feelings all partake of the most pure benevolence and generosity. Indeed, it is quite impossible to converse with his Majesty, and not be forcibly struck with the evidence, in his own demeanor and personal conduct, of the immense change which has taken place in his country, and particularly in the character of its sovereigns, in the course of the past century, or even half century.

The exhibition of Mr. Morse's telegraph, on this occasion, was perfectly successful, and much to the satisfaction of the young Sultân, who remarked that he had often heard of the wonderful invention, but had never been able, until then, to comprehend its nature. I am happy to say, that His Majesty understood very well the properties of the electric fluid, and perceiving that the alphabet used, (which I had explained in Turkish,) was a purely conventional one, composed a few letters himself, which he desired to have used. So much was he gratified with the exhibition, that he requested me, in a very kind manner, to leave the telegraph as it was, and come again on the following day; saying he would send invitations to all his Ministers and other officers to assemble, on the following morning, to witness its operations. I remarked during this interview with the Sultân, that those about him were quite at their ease, and conversed freely with him. He addressed several questions to me about the United States, and its war with Mexico, expressing great regret that there should ever be a necessity for war.

On the following morning, all the officers of the Government, from the Grand Vezir and the Sheikh ul-Islâm down, assembled at the palace; and Dr. Smith and Rev. Mr. Hamlin again worked the telegraph with entire success. Some of those present, such as the Grand Vezir, Reshid Pasha, formerly Ambassador at London and Paris, 'Aly Effendy, now Pasha, also formerly Ambassador at London, and Sarim Pasha, Minister of Finances, formerly Ambassador at London, had already seen electric telegraphs in those places. All, however, seemed

much pleased with that of Mr. Morse. The Grand Vezir, at the close of the exhibition, requested to have written and sent to him, near His Majesty, the following courtier-like compliment: "To-day, the weather is cloudy and dull, but in the presence of His Majesty every one is cheerful and happy." On this phrase being translated to the young Sultân, he looked around upon his Pashas, and asked them if that was indeed the case; to which all having, of course, responded in the affirmative, he broke out in a joyous, though after the oriental manner, a subdued laugh. After this, he held what might be termed an Eastern *levée*: he stood at the entrance of the great hall of the palace, and all his officers then present, except the Sheikh ul-Islâm, including the Grand Vezir knelt down and kissed his foot. This was to me a ceremony equally new and interesting, and one which few Europeans have had an opportunity of witnessing. I was not a little surprised at the dexterity with which some of the very fat officers performed this act of homage to their sovereign, and quite as much so at the perfect unconcern with which the young Sultân regarded the whole matter! One of the officers present, M. Carabet Duz, a Catholic Christian, I remember, did not venture to kiss the foot, but with humility pressed his lips upon the floor a few feet distant from the Sultân. His Majesty then expressed thanks to Dr. S., Mr. H. and myself, and requested me to convey his thanks to the Minister for having furnished him with an opportunity of seeing an electric telegraph.

I was then consulted by the Secretary of the Sultân about offering a recompense to Dr. Smith, for his trouble in procuring the telegraph from the United States. The Doctor, to whom, of course, the matter was left, generously disclaimed all desire of receiving any thing for himself, as he had simply sent for the telegraph, and the honor of exhibiting it before the Sultân was all he wished. He requested that whatever honor the Sultân was disposed to confer upon him, might be given to the talented inventor of the telegraph; and I took occasion to recommend this to the Secretary, as a course which would do honor both to the Sultân as a patron of science, and to Mr. Morse as a person of distinguished talents. The object to be conferred, I thought at the moment, would be a snuff-box in diamonds, but I was agreeably surprised to learn from the Secretary, on his return from reporting the result of our conversation to the Sultân, that he had been pleased to confer upon Mr. Morse a *nichan*, or decoration of a superior grade, in diamonds. The following is a literal translation of the *berât*, or diploma, which accompanied it:

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate:

Sultân 'Abd El-Mejid Khân, son of Mahmûd Khân, son of 'Abd El-Hamid Khân,—may he ever be victorious!

The object of the present sovereign Decoration of noble and exalted glory, of elevated place,—of this illustrious, world-conquering Monogram, is as follows:

The bearer of this imperial Monogram of exalted character, Mr. Morse, an American, a man of talents and science, and who is a model of the chiefs of the nation of the Messiah,—may his grade be increased!—having invented an Electric Telegraph, a specimen of which has been exhibited in my Imperial presence; and it being necessary to patronize knowledge, and express our sense of the value of the attainments of those persons who are the inventors of such objects as serve to extend and facilitate the relations of mankind, as well as to show favor to them;—I have conferred upon him, on my exalted part, an honorable Decoration in diamonds, and issued also the present Diploma as a token of my benevolence.

Written in the middle of the month of Safar El-Khair, the year of the Hegira 1264. In Constantinople the well-guarded."

I enclose also a copy of the diploma, in Turkish, for the Society.

From Rev. *Elias Riggs*, in answer to some inquiries respecting the Albanian language, as follows:

"Respecting the Albanians, I can answer some of your inquiries; with regard to others, it is difficult to get information which can be depended on. I will take them in the order in which you propose them.

To what class of languages does the Albanian belong? In general, no doubt, to the European or Japhetic stock. The mode of declining nouns and verbs; the use of auxiliaries; and the forms of some of the pronouns, as *ti*, thou; *të*, thee; *yu*, you; *më*, me; and *im*, my; also some of the forms of the verb of existence, indicate this general relation. But so far as I know, the Albanian can not be classed with any of the great families of European languages; certainly not with the Slavic, or German, or Latin, or Greek. Its roots appear to be peculiar to itself, and are to a great extent monosyllabic.

What are its different dialects? This question I have not the means of answering. I only know that there is considerable difference be-

tween the language as spoken in Albania, and in Greece. You may not be aware that the Albanian prevails, as a domestic language, over nearly half the Morea, and the adjacent islands. Greek, however, is spoken by all the inhabitants of the larger towns. I have passed through villages in Argolis and Corinthia, where not more than two or three of the men, and none of the women or children, could speak Greek. An unwritten language spread over so large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which have so little intercourse with one another as those of Northern Albania, for instance, have with those of Eubœa, or Hydra, must of course exhibit dialectical differences.

Have the Albanians a liturgical language? They have not. Being connected with the Greek church, their services are in ancient Greek. This very circumstance has tended to rouse a feeling of nationality, and a desire to cultivate their own language. The nation feels the want of a language for the expression of religious ideas, of which they can comprehend at least something. The Greek hierarchy look with jealousy upon any thing of this kind, and endeavor, in respect to the Albanians as they do in respect to the Bulgarians, and others, to suppress and supplant any thing which would tend towards independent nationality. They encourage the study of Greek, and discourage that of the national languages, in schools established for Albanians, Bulgarians, etc.

Have they any literature? I know of none. Some of their scholars maintain that the *Letters of Scander-Beg*, which are preserved in Turkish, were originally written in Albanian, with either the Greek or Turkish character, but from the nature of the case there can not be much evidence on the subject. All education has hitherto been through the medium of the Greek, or, in rare instances, of other European languages. Should the attempt now making by Mr. Vekilhargy and others, to introduce the new alphabet, be successful, their literature must for some time to come consist mainly of translations.

I have just printed, by direction of our Mission, a Vocabulary of such modern Armenian and Armenized foreign words as are not to be found in the Lexicons. I shall do myself the pleasure of forwarding a copy for the library of the A. O. S., as soon as it is bound."

And from Rev. Dr. *Jarvis*, announcing the early preparation, for the Society, of a Paper on some points of Egyptian chronology.

The Corr. Secretary also laid upon the table communications as follows:—From Rev. *C. V. A. Van Dyck*, M.D., missionary in Syria, accompanying a Paper on the present condition of the medical profession in Syria;—From Rev. *H. G. O. Dwight*, accompanying a translation, with notes, of the Hatti Sherif of the last Sultân, previously received, and giving notice of his being engaged in the preparation of a catalogue of Armenian works, ancient and modern, which exist either in print, or manuscript;—From Rev. Dr. *Perkins*, missionary in Persia, who writes that he was expecting soon to make a visit to Vân in ancient Armenia;—From Rev. *D. T. Stoddard*, missionary in Persia;—From Dr. *Azariah Smith*, communicating the fact of his having made a tour of survey in Kurdistân, from which it appears that Dr. Ainsworth's *Account of a Visit to the Chaldeans, inhabiting Central Kurdistân*, published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, vol. xi, places a large part of the country of the Mountain Nestorians about half a degree too far to the South, and offering to present to the Society a map of the country in question, drawn by himself, with some notes on his tour, explanatory of it;—From Mr. *John P. Brown*, accompanying a note on the contents of the first volume of the Turkish Almanac, now annually published at Constantinople by the Ottoman Government;—From Professor *Freytag*, of Bonn, acknowledging his election into the Society as an honorary member, and accompanying a copy of the First Fasciculus of the Second Part of his edition of the *Hamasæ Carmina*, for the Society's Library;—and From Professor *Lassen*, of Bonn, promising a contribution to the Society's Journal, and presenting for its Library a copy of the Second Part of the First Volume of his *Indische Alterthumskunde*.

The President made an oral communication relative to a journey from Beirût to Apamea, by Rev. *W. M. Thomson*, giving some account of discoveries therein made; also, in relation to a journey of Mr. *Schulz*, the Prussian consul at Beirût, and his supposed discovery of the remains of Jotapata and Gabara, places in Galilee, mentioned by Josephus.

The Corr. Secretary then presented books for the Library, in the names of the donors.

October 19 and 20. 1848.—A Quarterly Meeting of the Society was held on parts of these days, at the house of Mr. *Salisbury* in New Haven. The President in the Chair.

After the reading of letters from several new members, acknowledging their election into the Society, a communication from Rev. *Eli Smith*, missionary in Syria, was read, from which the following extracts are made:

Beirût. March 30. 1848.

Your letter of May 8th was received in September last, and ought to have been answered long ago. The delay has been occasioned by an unwillingness to write, until I could find time to comply with some of the requests contained in your communication.

The popular Arab songs I had copied immediately, and they have been waiting several months for some person going to Smyrna, who could be trusted to see them safe through the quarantine there. My friend Mr. Meshâkah is also making additions to the collection, at Damascus, a copy of which I will send you, should you wish it. Whatever can be done by the employment of Arab scribes is easy. We have a literary Society here, the Constitution of which, and one or two interesting papers read before it, I have lately sent to Professor Fleischer for the German Oriental Society; and I will readily send the same and other similar documents to you. . . . . Indeed, there is a variety of floating literature here, of one kind and another, which one might collect, especially if he had a small

sum of money at his disposal, to pay for copying and for the purchase of manuscripts; and if you should desire it, it would give me pleasure to make the collection for you.

But your letter requested of me a more difficult task than this,—more difficult, inasmuch as it would take up my own time, namely, the translation of the songs into English, with notes upon them. This, had I time, I should take an interest in doing, and for a while I vainly flattered myself I might be able to do it. But I am obliged to tell you that it is out of my power. . . . . .

The History of Mahmûd Sebektegin, respecting which you inquire, is entirely different from that of Birûny, if I may judge from the title. The author of it is 'Abd El-Jebbâr El-'Otby. The copy I have is in an antiquated hand-writing, and a small part of it is so defaced as to be illegible. It contains 174 leaves octavo. The style of the composition is very pure Arabic. I enclose a copy of its table of contents.*

Of Druze literature, the last document that has come into my hands is a commentary on one of the epistles of Hamzeh, written by an Emîr of the Tunûkh family, less than two hundred years ago. It contains numerous quotations from other Druze books, designed to show the analogy of faith, and thus would enable one, by comparison, to ascertain whether any books of the Druze religion yet remain unknown to us. On the religion of the Ismailies I have just received a book containing a *dîwân* of poems, and also a long article in prose; both, however, written by their enemies. I have also just got possession of a detailed history of the celebrated Emîr Fukhr ed-dîn Ma'an, written by a contemporary.

The Corr. Secretary then presented several books and manuscripts for the Library, in the names of the donors.

The President read a letter addressed to him by Lieut. *Lynch*, Commander of the Dead Sea Expedition, dated

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*It may interest some of our friends in Europe to know of this copy of El-'Otby's *Kitâb El-Yemîny*, as the original Arabic is believed to be rare, and a translation of the work is announced for publication by The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. The reader unacquainted with the work, and the estimation in which it is held, may be referred to De Sacy's account of a Persian translation of it made in the twelfth century, in *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. iv. The author is believed to have lived contemporaneously with the celebrated conqueror of India, who is the subject of his narrative.—E. E. S.

Beirût, July 12th, and also letters to himself from Rev. Messrs. *E. Smith* and *W. M. Thomson*, of Beirût, of a later date, giving some account of the results of the Expedition, and communicating the melancholy news of the death of Lieut. *Dale*, the second in command, who took a very active part in the business of the Expedition, and is understood to have had the principal charge of the surveys, but whose papers, unfortunately, were not yet fully prepared for publication. It is expected, however, that our Government will in due time publish the results of this important enterprise, under the able supervision of Lieut. *Lynch*.

The letters of Mr. *Smith* spoke also of a journey made by him to Aleppo, in April last, during which he was able to collect some new information respecting the ancient topography of that part of Syria. This he hopes hereafter to communicate.

Rev. Dr. *Jarvis* began the reading of an Examination of ancient Egyptian chronology and the dynasties of Manetho, with reference to the phonetic monuments; in which the names of Manetho's lists not yet identified on any monuments, were set aside as for the present without historical support, and the Scriptural chronology, according to the version of the Septuagint, was shown to harmonize with the latest discoveries of Egyptian antiquarians.

President *Woolsey* read an Abstract of the history of the Greek kings of Bactria and India, as determined by Greek and Latin historians, Chinese annalists, and coins lately discovered.

The Corr. Secretary read portions of a Paper on the identification of the signs of the Persian cuneiform alphabet, intended to be a critical digest of the results arrived at on this subject by Lassen, Burnouf, Rawlinson, Benfey, and other writers, up to the present time.

Professor *Edwards* read a Paper on the expediency and practicability of introducing the Hebrew language into the course of study in our Colleges. The following considerations, among others, were urged:

The Old Testament, in the original, deserves to be made a text-book in Colleges for its literary value, aside from the fact of its inspiration and divine authority. There are compositions here which would be sure of immortality, if they were not in the Sacred Books. They constitute a store-house of sublime and beautiful conceptions which are native only in the soil of true poetry. Portions of the Hebrew Scriptures are incorporated into the poetic literature of the whole Christian world. They have supplied the seeds of thought, the germs, the dim conceptions, the primary outline, to some of the sublimest poems, or parts of poems, to be found in modern literature. This point may be more particularly illustrated by adverting to some of the characteristics of Hebrew literature: (1.) Vivacity is one of its qualities. With whatever defects it is chargeable, it is not dull. Its life and vigor are owing to the nature of the language, particularly the verb, to the external life and active habits of the principal writers, to the condensed brevity of much of the poetry, etc. (2.) Pathos,—deep, undisguised feeling, is another characteristic. Some of the causes of this were the tender attachment of the Hebrews to their native land; their pure domestic affections; their religion, which was fitted to awaken the intensest emotions, etc. (3.) Sublimity is another of its qualities. In this, the Hebrew literature is not approached by that of any other people. Its sublimity may be traced in part to the physical features of Palestine; to the fact that the Hebrew poets were children of nature; and to their religion, which placed them at an immeasurable distance above the Greeks and Romans. (4.) Simplicity is eminently characteristic of much of the Hebrew literature. The Book of Genesis, for example, is attractive in the highest degree on this account. In short, the question of the introduction of the study of the Hebrew into Colleges, might be rested wholly on its literary value.

But the Hebrew is to be viewed, also, as the representative of a wide circle of literature; as a specimen of the modes of thought and speech common to the whole Semitic family; as an introduction to the literature of a large part of Western and Central Asia; and as a key to the Arabic and all the other related dialects. These considerations appeal more

and more, at the present day, to the philologist and the general scholar, as well as to the theologian, as Asia is becoming more and more a center of scientific interest.

In reply to the common objection to the introduction of the study of Hebrew into Colleges, that it is important only for that small proportion of the members of a College who expect to engage in theological study, it may be farther urged, that some of the fundamental principles of law and political science are contained in the Mosaic institutes; that if the preceding statements are true, the study of Hebrew literature would yield as much general benefit, to say the least, in some important respects, as that of any other literature; and that it could be no disadvantage to the members of the medical and legal professions, should they become possessed of some knowledge of, and sympathy with, that which lies at the foundation of the theological profession, as the theologian, in his turn, would find a knowledge of the principles of law and medicine eminently serviceable to him in his sphere.

The other and great objection is, that there is no time for the study of Hebrew in Colleges. To this it may be replied, that there is good reason to hope that an opening for a new study will be made, within a comparatively short period, by the more perfect preparation of students for admission into our Colleges, particularly in Latin and Greek. The standard of preparation is every year gradually rising. When the majority of a class enter College with a mastery of the elements of the two classic languages, as a few now do, it would seem to be practicable to prescribe to a Freshman class the study of the elements of the Hebrew a third of the time, for three or four months, so that an ability might be acquired to read, without the aid of a teacher, the easier portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is well known that the study of Hebrew is made a part of the prescribed course in the German Gymnasia.*

Professor *Gibbs* then read extracts from three papers on African dialects, by Rev. Messrs. *Bryant* and *Grout*, missionaries among the Zulus, presented to the Society by Dr. *Anderson*, and accompanied them with some remarks on the cognation of dialects of Southern Africa.

* The writer seems not to have been aware that the Hebrew has been studied, optionally, for a long time, in some of our Colleges.—E. E. S.

On the recommendation of the Directors, the following persons were chosen members of the Society, viz: Mr. *Fitz Edward Hall*, now at Calcutta; Rev. *George E. Day*, of Northampton, Mass.; Mr. *Edward Moore*, of Newport, R. I.; Professor *Tayler Lewis*, of New York; and Rev. *Mark Murphy*, of New York.

The Society then adjourned.

Extract from a private letter to the Corr. Secretary from Mr. J. P. Brown.

Pera, November 1, 1848.

Dear Sir,

I at length send you the manuscript of my translation from Sulleily, and trust it will reach you in safety. * * * * What may be the fate of my little work, I cannot foresee, nor even imagine. It has given me some trouble, yet it has not been without advantage to me, and has served to employ leisure moments which might have been worse spent. In the endeavor to interest, in the study of Eastern languages, such of my countrymen as may take the trouble to read these "Oriental Sketches" I have united the *dolce* with the *utile*, and though this is a small beginning for one who has been so long in the East as myself, I offer it as a promise of something better in future.

I enclose Herr Von Hammer-Purgstall's commendation of the work translated; but I prefer the good word of my countrymen, in behalf of it, to that of any foreigner, however learned he may be, or however great his reputation. * * * * I feel that I am doing right in sending it to your care, as the Corresponding Secretary of our own Oriental Society; yet I scarce dare venture to ask you to read it over, and if it is found worthy of publication, to offer it to some publisher for me. I have no expectation of profiting by it pecuniarily. * * * * I have not attempted to change the book in any respect, but chose rather to preserve it as much like the

original as possible. In fact, I thought it would do for once to let the reader see what an eastern book is, from its beginning to its close,—index, preface, and ending. I have not even changed its divisions, but have retained them just as they are. Two or three tales or anecdotes I suppressed, as unsuitable to American readers; but I must also add, that I found little of an improper character among the selections of the collector. Some of the poetry may not bear a close criticism, particularly the translations from the Arabic; too often I found the verses of little interest, and yet persevered in translating them, so as to show to the reader even the tastelessness of Arabic poetry. They may be suppressed, if it is thought necessary. * * * * You will be struck with the similarity of some of the Sketches to tales in the "Arabian Nights;" and perhaps, for I have not examined, they may have been already woven into that chain of tales. I suppose that, whoever the compiler of the "Arabian Nights" was, he gleaned the contents from Arab and Persian authors, particularly the latter, and threw in some popular tales which have since then been lost, or might again be found in Persia. There are a great number of tales sold and hired out here, among the people of the city, at a trifle by the night, which might be strung together, so as to form "Turkish Nights," almost as fanciful as the Arabian, though not so original in the design. * * * * It seems to me that the best title the translation can bear, will be "Oriental Sketches," or "Translation of a collection of curious incidents and remarkable occurrences by Ahmed Ibn Hemdem, etc." * * * *

Extract from the enclosed letter from HERR VON HAMMER.

DEAR SIR,

I never saw such a complication of untoward bibliopolic circumstances as that which has prevented me, till this day, from answering your letter of the 4th of May, in a more satisfactory way than I did at first. * * * * It is by far the most interesting book that has been published at Constantinople for a long time, and you could not hit upon a better one for translating. The historical and amusing interest of the two hundred and seven curiosities, which I might call anecdotes, is so obvious that I think more than one orientalist, getting hold of it, would like to translate it. To prevent such concurrence, I think to render you a service by mentioning, in my report to the Asiatic Society at Paris on the books printed at Constantinople last year, that you are already engaged in translating

this. The work is quite new to me, Hadschi Calfa has it not; and if I had known of it, I certainly would have mentioned it in speaking of Suheily in my History of the Ottoman Empire.

I am, with truest regard and esteem, dear Sir,

Yours most truly,

HAMMER-PURGSTALL.

24th July, 1842.

P. S. I open my letter, already put up, to answer yours received this moment. I can but repeat what I have said, that Suheily's work is a most interesting one, and well worth your presenting it to the Asiatic Society. I doubt whether the Akhlaki Ahmedi, which I do not know, is so interesting. * * * *

To JOHN P. BROWN, Esq.,
Dragoman of the Legation of the United States
at Constantinople.

We publish these extracts from correspondence, in order to awaken an interest in Mr. Brown's translation, to which they refer, which it is hoped some enterprising American publisher will soon secure the honor of bringing out, as the first specimen of an original oriental work, ever introduced to readers in the United States directly from the East. To the recent elegant reprint of Lane's translation of the "Arabian Nights," by Messrs. Harpers of New York, this would be a highly interesting supplement. To the recommendations of the work in the letter which has been quoted from that distinguished orientalist, Von Hammer, than whom no scholar in Europe, perhaps, has a more cultivated appreciation of the beauties of oriental literature, we will append a translation of the notice of the work, alluded to in this letter of Von Hammer, which we find in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1843, pp. 265–66.

"*The Wonders of Memorials and the Rarities of Anecdotes*, by Ahmed Ben Hemdem the kiyaya, known under the name of Suheily, printed in the month of Ramadhan 1256, (October, 1840.) This book is one of the most interesting and amusing which has appeared, since it contains two hundred anecdotes drawn from twenty-five historical works, which are those of the best Persian historians, and two works in Arabic by Ibn El-

Jewzi. It is dedicated to Murad IV, under whom the author lived, known by his ancient and modern history of Egypt, printed at Constantinople more than a century ago. The collection of curiosities, (Newadir,) by Nizam 'Arudy of Samarcand, appears to have served as the model of this, the curiosities of which are divided into thirty-three sections, very nearly after the manner of the works called *Mohadhurat*. It is superfluous to say more about it, as Mr. Brown, first dragoman of the Legation of the United States at Constantinople, is now occupied in preparing to publish the translation which he has made of it."

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY,

FROM JANUARY, 1847, TO APRIL, 1849.

Port-Folio Chinensis, or a Collection of Authentic State Papers, illustrative of the present position of affairs in China, with a Translation by J. Lewis Shuck. Macao: 1840. *Presented by the Translator.*

Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, from May, 1846 to January, 1848. *Presented by Prof. Asa Gray.*

Two Turkish Almanacs, for 1847 and 1848. *Presented by John P. Brown.*

Rapport Annuel fait à la Société Asiatique dans sa Séance générale du 14 Juin, 1847, par M. Jules Mohl. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

A Vocabulary of words used in Modern Armenian, but not found in the Ancient Armenian Lexicons, by E. Riggs. Smyrna: 1847. *Presented by the Author.*

De l'Ecriture et de son origine, par Léon Vaïsse. Paris: 1848. *Presented by the Author.*

La Rhétorique des Nations Musulmanes, par M. Garcin de Tassy. 4 Extraits. Paris: 1846. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

Lettre sur l'Interprétation des Hiéroglyphes Egyptiens, par Michelange Lanci. Paris: 1847. *Presented by R. K. Haight.*

Bibliotheca Geseniana. Halis: 1843.

Société de Sunie formée à Smyrne. 3 Nos. Smyrna: 1844. *Presented by Rev. J. B. Adger.*

Hamasæ Carmina versione Latinâ commentarioque illustravit Georg. Guil. Freytag. Pars Post., 2 Fascc. Bonnæ: 1847–48. *Presented by the Author.*

History of the Sandwich Islands, by Hiram Bingham, A. M. Hartford: 1848. *Presented by the Author.*

The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John in the Accra Language, by Rev. A. W. Hanson. London: 1843. *Presented by Rev. William Croswell.*

Bibliothecæ Sanskritæ, auct. Joanne Gildemeister. Bonnæ: 1847. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft für 1846. Leipzig: 1847. *Presented by Prof. Roediger.*

N. Y. Municipal Gazette, from June, 1846 to March, 1847.

Grammaire Raisonnée de la Langue Ottomane, par James W. Redhouse. Paris: 1846. *Presented by Col. Williams, of Erzerûm.*

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. 4 Hefts. Leipzig: 1846–47. *Presented by Prof. Roediger.*

The same work. Hefts 1 and 2. *Presented by Dr. Robinson.*

Opinions of the Press in relation to the Liquor Traffic. Boston: 1846.

Syriac New Testament in both the ancient and modern language. 4to. *Presented by Rev. Dr. J. Perkins.*

Laws of the Sandwich Islands. Honolulu: 1846. *Presented by J. J. Jarves.*

Bhagavad Gita, editio altera, curâ Christiani Lasseni. Bonnæ: 1846. *Presented by the Editor.*

The Polynesian. 2 vols. *Presented by the Editor, J. J. Jarves.*

Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, by A. H. Everett. 2d series. Boston: 1846. *Presented by the Author.*

The Mpongwe Grammar, by the Missionaries of the Gaboon Mission. New York: 1847. *Presented by Rev. Dr. Anderson.*

First Lessons in English and Tamil. Madras: 1846. (2 copies.)

Notes on the Grammar of the Bulgarian Language. Smyrna: 1844. (2 copies.) *Presented by Rev. Elias Riggs.*

A brief Grammar of the Modern Armenian Language, by Elias Riggs. Smyrna: 1847. (2 copies.) *Presented by the Author.*

Toleration in the Turkish Empire, by Rev. Eli Smith. Boston: 1846. (3 copies.)

Die Kaukasischen Glieder des Indoeuropäischen Sprachstamms, von Franz Bopp. Berlin: 1847. *Presented by the Author.*

Indische Alterthumskunde, von Chr. Lassen. Bd. I., 2te Hälfte. Bonn: 1847. *Presented by the Author.*

Precatio viginti quinque linguis exarata. 8vo. Vienna: 1837.

A Turkish MS.: A roll of letters, documents, and other writings, by different hands and of various dates, pasted together. *Presented by J. G. Schwartz, U. States Consul at Vienna.*

Oorjoozeh, or a Treatise on Medicine, by Aboo-Ali Ebn-Sina. 1829. *Presented by Rev. W. Adam.*

Croxall's edition of Æsop's Fables in Persian. Calcutta: 1830. *Presented by Rev. W. Adam.*

The Moolukhkhus-ool-Tuwareekh. 4to. Calcutta: 1827. *Presented by Rev. W. Adam.*

Oriental Eras, by Thomas McCudden. Bombay: 1846. *Presented by the American Mission at Bombay.*

Impressions of cuneiform inscriptions found at Khorsabad, near Mosul.

A Dictionary of the Grebo Language, in two parts. Cape Palmas: 1839. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

A brief Grammatical Analysis of the Grebo Language. Cape Palmas: 1838. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

The First Part of the Grebo Reader, with notes and a dictionary. Cape Palmas: 1841. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

Bibliotheca Orientalis, par J. T. Zenker. Leipzig: 1846. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

Epistola Critica Nasifi el-Iazigi Berytensis ad de Sacyum, illustravit A. F. Mehren. Lipsiæ: 1848. *Presented by the German Oriental Society.*

A. F. Stenzler de Lexicographiæ Sanscritæ principiis. Vratislaviæ: 1847. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

El-Cazwini's Kosmographie, herausg. von Ferd. Wüstenfeld. 2te Hälfte. Göttingen: 1847. *Presented by the German Oriental Society.*

Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale de Sciences des St. Pétersbourg. Tome I. St. Pétersbourg: 1844. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

Schriften in den Sprachen der Nordamericanischen Indianerstämme, *or* Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, Nos. 209 and 210. Halle: 1847. *Presented by Prof. Roediger.*

Verhandlungen der neunten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen, Schulmänner und Orientalisten zu Jena, 1846. Jena: 1847. *Presented by Prof. B. B. Edwards.*

Ueber den Buddhaismus in Hoch-Asien und in China, von Wilh. Schott. Berlin: 1846. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, *or* Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung, Nos. 145, 146, 147 and 148. Halle: 1847. *Presented by Prof. Pott.*

Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg. Tome VII, livrr. 4, 5. St. Pétersbourg: 1847. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

The same work. Tome VII, livr. 6. St. Pétersbourg: 1848. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

Karte von China und Japan, herausg. von H. Berghaus. *Presented by E. E. Salisbury.*

A Turkish MS.: An account of the Emirs of the family of Shirkiz. *Presented by W. L. Ropes.*

A Turkish MS.: Genealogy of the Turkish Sultans. *Presented by W. L. Ropes.*

An Arabic MS.: Selections from the Kuran, being Chapters 15 and 16. *Presented by W. L. Ropes.*

An Arabic MS.: Commentary by El-Azhary, on قواعد الاعراب i. e. The principles of inflection, by Ibn Hisham. Without date. *Presented by W. L. Ropes.*

Géographie d'Aboulfeda trad. de l'Arabe en Français, par M. Reinaud. Paris: 1848. 2 vols. *Presented by the Translator.*

Ethnography and Philology of the United States Exploring Expedition, by Horatio Hale. 4to. Philadelphia: 1846. *Presented by the Author.*

The Works of the Persian Poet Sa'di. *Presented by Rev. D. T. Stoddard.*

The History of Nadir Shah, in Persian. *Presented by Rev. D. T. Stoddard.*

The Works of the Persian Poet Hafiz. *Presented by Rev. D. T. Stoddard.*

Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda, von Rudolph Roth, Doctor der Philosophie. Stuttgart: 1846. *Presented by the Author.*

Futawa Sirajiyeh, an Arabic Treatise on Muhammedan Law. Calcutta: 1827. *Presented by Rev. W. Adam.*

Appendix to the Surah, an Arabic Dictionary. Calcutta: 1831. *Presented by Rev. W. Adam.*

Mill's Translation into Arabic of Bridge's Algebra. Calcutta. (Imperfect.) *Presented by Rev. W. Adam.*

A Grammar of the Mandingo Language, with vocabularies, by Rev. R. M. Macbrair. London. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

Josĕf na awŏńgi yĕ alomi, (in Mpongwe.) Gaboon: 1844. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

Hymns and Catechism, (in Mpongwe.) Gaboon: 1845. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

Sermons in the Mpongwe Language. Gaboon: 1846. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

Child's Book, (in Mpongwe.) Gaboon: 1844. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

Extracts from New Testament, (in Mpongwe.) Gaboon: 1845. *Presented by Rev. J. L. Wilson.*

The New Testament, translated from the original Greek into Persian, by Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. Fifth edition. Edinburgh: 1846. *Presented by Rev. S. H. Calhoun.*

Another copy of the same. *Presented by Rev. D. T. Stoddard.*

Another copy of the same. *Presented by Rev. Dr. J. Perkins.*

The Books of the Old Testament, translated by Rev. William Glen, D.D., from the Hebrew into Persian, with the aid of Zubdah El-'Orafa Fadil Khan Hamadani and other learned men. Edinburgh: 1845. 2 vols. *Presented by Rev. S. H. Calhoun.*

Another copy of the same. *Presented by Rev. D. T. Stoddard.*

Another copy of the same, *Presented by Rev. Dr. J. Perkins.*

Proceedings of the New York Historical Society, 1844-47. 4 vols. *Presented by the Society.*

Charter and By-Laws of the New York Historical Society. New York: 1846. *Presented by the Society.*

Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vol. I. 4to. Washington: 1848. *Presented by the Smithsonian Institution.*

Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in the Modern Syriac language. *Presented by Rev. Dr. J. Perkins.*

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments in Persian. Folio. *Presented by Rev. Dr. J. Perkins.*

Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulman, par M. Garcin de Tassy. Paris: 1848. *Presented by the Author.*

The Wonders of remarkable Incidents, and the Rarities of Anecdotes, by Ahmed Ibn Hemdem the Ketkhoda, known under the name of Suheily. Constantinople: 1840. *Presented by J. P. Brown.*

Wilhelm Gesenius, Hebräische Grammatik, neu bearbeitet und herausgegeben von E. Roediger. Leipzig: 1845. *Presented by the Editor.*

An Arabic MS.: البردة, The striped cloak, (a poem in praise of Muhammed,) by Sharaf ed-dîn El-Busîry. *Presented by John P. Brown.*

Ellis' Madagascar. London: 1833. 2 vols. *Presented by Rev. Isaac Bird.*

Avdall's History of Armenia. Calcutta: 1827. 2 vols. *Presented by Rev. Isaac Bird.*

[The two works last mentioned were erroneously acknowledged in the last Number of our Journal, as a donation by James Bird, Esq.]

FRANCIS GARDNER, *Librarian.*

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY:

We may justly congratulate ourselves on the favorable circumstances, under which our present Association has been formed. All the nations of the world, with whom we hope to be able to coöperate in the investigation of the history, literature, and science of the East, are now at peace with with each other ; the nations of the East itself, who have for ages been estranged in feelings, habits, and manners, from their brethren of the European part of their continent, have become more willing, than formerly, to encourage a free intercourse with them ; modern science and art have lent their aid in affording extraordinary facilities of communication between the most distant countries ; and the comparatively liberalized policy of some of the governments in the East, has ensured to the foreign traveller a greater degree of security than was heretofore attainable ; — all which advantages, combined with the superior knowledge possessed by scholars and travellers of the present day, enable us to accomplish more for the cause of literature and science, in the space of a few years, than could have been effected by our predecessors in the course of many generations.

Without intending to make any invidious comparison in the present case — if we do but bring together the results of the labors of the first Christian missionaries and travellers, who went from Europe to the East two hundred years ago, and the actual knowledge of that quarter of the globe, obtained from similar sources at the present day, particularly from the intelligent and energetic American missionaries and scholars, who are now spread over some of the most interesting re-

gions of the civilized East, and of uncivilized Polynesia — the contrast between the two periods will surprise us. Of this we have an eminent example, and a most honorable one to our country, in the late thorough and extensive investigations made, in the course of two or three years in the Holy Land, by one of our learned members, whose recent and well known "Biblical Researches" comprise a greater body of authentic information on that ever-interesting subject than the works of any of his predecessors.*

And here, as Americans, deeply interested in the reputation of our country, we cannot but take pride in the reflection, that, at the numerous stations of the American Missionaries in the East and other parts of the globe, we have reason to believe there is a greater number of individuals, who are masters of the languages and literature of their pagan and other converts, than are to be found among the missionaries of any one nation of Europe. While these indefatigable men, — aided by the resolute American women, who with characteristic devotedness fearlessly accompany them even to martyrdom, — have been impelled, by a sense of religious duty, to the task of peacefully disseminating the benign principles of Christianity, they have also been making lasting additions to our knowledge of the moral and social condition of those distant nations; and — what more immediately concerns our own Association — they have greatly extended our acquaintance with the languages and literature of the oriental nations, and have furnished the most valuable additional materials towards the history of the human race and the completion of the science of ethnography.

Thus in the wisdom of Providence has it happened, that, while the propagation of Christianity, on the one hand, is opening to us new sources of information in different languages — which are the essential instruments of all knowledge — on the other hand, the progressive acquisition of those languages is constantly placing in our hands new means of disseminating religious instruction.

In connection, however, with the important objects we have in view, I cannot but regret, that, notwithstanding the advan-

* Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, &c., by E. Robinson and E. Smith. Drawn up by Edward Robinson, D. D. 3 vols. 8vo. Boston, United States, 1841. This valuable work has been printed in England and Germany, as well as in America.

tages which we possess, at the present day, for prosecuting researches of this kind, we are yet so circumstanced, in our young country, that the imperative necessity of gaining a livelihood, will not allow, even to the most resolute and zealous student, much leisure for any pursuits which do not directly tend to secure to him that indispensable object. We may, with some qualifications indeed, apply to our own countrymen generally, what was said at the close of the last century by that illustrious English scholar, Sir William Jones, whose devotion to learning led to the establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, which has been the model and precursor of similar societies in other countries. That distinguished man, in speaking of his countrymen, the British residents in Calcutta, from among whom the members of their society were to be selected, observes — that "a mere man of letters, retired from the world and allotting his whole time to philosophical or literary pursuits, is a character unknown among Europeans resident in India, where every individual is *a man of business* in the civil or military state, and constantly occupied, either in the affairs of government, in the administration of justice, in some department of revenue or commerce, or in one of the liberal professions. Very few hours, therefore, in the day or night, can be reserved for any study that has no immediate connection with *business*, even by those who are most habituated to mental application." *

To these remarks we may, in our own case, add the disadvantages incident to all young nations, where the same individual is obliged to know and practise different branches of the same art or business, which, in older and larger states, are divided among several persons.

An elegant writer of antiquity, who has immortalized himself, as well as the subjects on which he wrote, and who flourished four hundred years before the Christian era — ages before the period when the writers of our day have supposed, that the subdivision of labor or any other principle of political economy had ever been thought of — gives the following illustrations of this subject; which are employed by him in speaking of small states or cities, but are alike applicable to new, or young countries, like ours; while, at the same time, they show to what minute subdivisions of the arts the theoretical

* Asiatic Researches, Preface to vol. I.

reasonings and the actual practice of the ancients were carried out. The author I allude to, the classic Xenophon, after informing his readers that the sovereign of Persia, Cyrus, was in the habit of gratifying his favorites by sending to them, from the royal table, dishes of meats that had been prepared for himself with that superior skill which could be found only in the royal household, where there was an extraordinary subdivision of labor, makes the following remarks: —

"In small cities, the same man makes both the frame of a couch, a door, a plough, and a table; and frequently the same person is a builder, too, and very well satisfied he is, if he meet with customers enough to maintain him. Now it is impossible for a man that makes a great many different things to do them all well. But in great cities, because there are multitudes that want every particular thing, one art alone is sufficient for the maintenance of every one: and frequently not an entire art neither, but one man makes shoes for men, another for women. Sometimes it so happens, that one gets a maintenance by sewing shoes together; another, by cutting them out; one, by cutting out clothes only; and another, without doing any of these things, is maintained by fitting together the pieces so cut out. He, therefore, that deals in a business which lies within a little compass, must of necessity do it best. The case is the same with respect to the art of preparing food for the table. He that has the same man to prepare his couch, to set out his table, to knead the bread, and to prepare all the meats, must necessarily, in my opinion, fare in each particular as it may happen. But where it is business enough for one man to boil the meat, and for another to roast it — for one to boil the fish, and for another to broil it — where it is the exclusive business of one man to make bread, and that not of every sort neither, but that only which shall be good, — there every thing will be wrought up in the highest perfection." *

Such have heretofore been the disadvantages under which we have been placed, in our new country, with respect to literary and scientific pursuits. For want of a useful subdivision of literary labor, those scholars, of whom we may justly boast, have been obliged to devote their talents and energies to miscellaneous studies; and accordingly, their works, solid and useful as they are, have had less of the finishing of practised authorship than the same amount of labor would have

* Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. viii. cap. 2.

produced if devoted to fewer objects. To this may be added an important element, in the estimate of causes, which in a greater or less degree counteract our efforts to give a more exclusive attention to literary pursuits. Under a free form of government, like ours, in which almost every man is called upon to have some agency in the management of public affairs, the political concerns of twenty-six different State governments, and of the General Government of the Union, must necessarily absorb no small portion of the time and thoughts of many men of cultivated minds, who, under an arbitrary government, would not only be exonerated from the burdens of public affairs, but would be driven to seek employment for their active intellects in the resources of science and literature.

Yet, notwithstanding all the disadvantages necessarily incident to this state of things, the extraordinary energy and perseverance of our scholars have enabled them to accomplish quite as much as could have been reasonably demanded of them. But I return to the subject immediately before us.

The field of inquiry, which it is the object of our Association to explore, as far as we may have the means of doing it, is one of almost boundless extent — the history, languages, literature, and general characteristics of the various people, both civilized and barbarous, who are usually classed under the somewhat indefinite name of *Oriental* nations; including not only those nations, who at this day are inhabitants of Asia, but those who in ages past had their origin from Asiatic ancestors, and have been driven by wars, or other causes, from their original abode into Africa or Europe, but have still kept up their oriental character, and are properly to be considered as Orientals.

It is also our intention to extend our inquiries beyond the Eastern *continent* to the uncivilized nations, who inhabit the different groups of islands in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, from the eastern coast of Asia to the western coast of America; comprising that region of the globe which has been called Polynesia.

By means of the acquisitions of knowledge to be derived from these researches, we hope to furnish some useful additions to the materials already existing, for the completion of the general ethnography of the globe.

In order, however, to conduct our researches in the various

directions above mentioned, we must elevate ourselves to such a height as is indispensable for the survey of so vast a subject; and, in making this survey, we shall at present only be able to distinguish and trace out the general outlines of the entire subject, and must be reconciled to the omission of numberless details, which in the general view successively fade away and vanish in the distance. Those details, however, may hereafter be separately reviewed, and followed out from time to time as our researches proceed; each new advance in our investigations giving us new aid towards future discoveries.

Now when we elevate ourselves to such a height as I have supposed, and direct our view to the Eastern continent, the cradle of the human race, our attention is at once attracted to two principal countries, which have been the central points of civilization for that portion of the globe, and have shot out the rays of knowledge through the darkness of the surrounding regions. I allude to *Egypt* and *India*; the former of which communicated its influence to Greece and Rome, and the other western nations; and the latter, more immediately to the eastern parts of the continent, including perhaps those portions of the dominions of China, which have felt the influence of civilization.

Whether Egypt communicated its knowledge of the arts and sciences to India, or the reverse, or whether they interchanged their philosophy and the arts with each other, has long been a subject of debate among the learned, and which now hardly admits of being satisfactorily settled. Yet, I think, the farther our researches have proceeded, the more evidence has been found to show, that Egypt has the higher claim to be considered as the source of that knowledge which they have in common; though we can conceive, that it might possibly have happened, that Egypt and India both derived it, in very remote ages, from some common source, of which we have no memorial or tradition. That there was an intercourse between the two countries in ancient times, seems to be beyond dispute.

Without attempting, then, to discuss this controverted point, which, moreover, is aside of our present purpose, I shall ask your attention for a short time to the first of these two central points, EGYPT, and to some of the countries, which have more or less remotely either felt its influence, or

by geographical situation may be considered as having intimate connections with it.

Until the present century our knowledge of Egypt was extremely imperfect. For its ancient history, we had been obliged to depend principally upon two well known Greek historians, Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. But, for a long period of time, while there was in Europe a general ignorance of foreign countries, the narratives of these two writers were deemed unworthy of belief, because they contained many things of an extraordinary character and wholly at variance with the habits and usages of Europeans; and Herodotus, who has been justly called the father of history, has been stigmatized by some predjudiced or ill-informed writers, as "the father of lies;" while Diodorus has been alike a sufferer in reputation for veracity with the same class of critics, who have impugned the statements of Herodotus. Yet among those learned men who best know the real merits of Herodotus, one eminent writer, Frederic Schlegel, observes of him, that "the *truth*, the simplicity, the clearness, the flexibility, and the unsought pathos, which characterize Herodotus, are exactly the qualities which render an historical work perfect in its kind."* And another eminent historical writer of Germany, Professor Heeren, characterizes the authenticity of his accounts by saying, that "they confirm the latest discoveries."† Diodorus, like Herodotus, was, it is true, only a traveller in Egypt; but (as Heeren also observes) where he speaks as an eye witness, there is no reason to suspect him of falsehood or exaggeration; and even when he was obliged to resort to the authority of the native writers of Egypt, he did not take upon trust all that they related, but says — "What is found in the writings of the Egyptian priests I shall set down, *after having carefully examined it.*"‡ And no one (adds Heeren) has accused him of intentional misstatements.

But, that both of these Greek writers, however sincere in their endeavors to arrive at the truth, may have been sometimes misled, or misinformed in their inquiries relative to a country, in which they were only travellers, and whose language was a foreign one to them, cannot be doubted;

* Schlegel's Lectures on the Hist. of Literature, Lect. I.
† Heeren's Researches on the Ancient Nations of Africa, vol. i. p. 2.
‡ Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 80, ed. Wesseling.

yet, that they both intended to relate the truth, cannot reasonably be questioned. I may add, that every new discovery in Egypt affords fresh proof of the general correctness of their narratives. Even during the last year, as we are informed by our intelligent associate from Egypt,* a gold seal or signet, purporting to have been the signet of the Egyptian sovereign, *Cheops* — and containing in hieroglyphics his Egyptian name, *Shoofo* — was discovered in or near the great pyramid ; and if upon further examination it shall prove to be authentic, this will make a new addition to the evidence already found in the hieroglyphic inscriptions and other monuments, that Herodotus was correct, when he informed the world, more than two thousand years ago, that *Cheops* was the builder of that pyramid.

The substance of the narratives of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus (with a few fragments of other Greek writers) has for more than a century past been accessible to the general reader in the well known and popular " Ancient History " of the excellent Rollin ; who candidly and modestly says, that he writes " principally for the instruction of youth and for persons, *who do not intend to make very deep researches* into ancient history."† That estimable author undoubtedly made use of the best materials for Egyptian history, which were then attainable, so far as they came within the plan of his work ; but the extensive researches made in Egypt in our own day show, how many errors — unintentional, and unavoidable a century ago — are scattered through the works of all former writers ; and prove, that the true history of that renowned country still remains to be written.

The discovery of the key to the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt, which has been justly pronounced to be the finest historical discovery of *modern* times,‡ and is not inferior to the most brilliant of the numerous discoveries in Science, has opened new sources of information on that extraordinary country, and afforded the means of correcting numberless errors, which had been long prevalent.

* George R. Gliddon, Esq. ; who delivered a course of lectures in Boston (the first ever delivered in the United States) on the Antiquities and Hieroglyphics of Ancient Egypt. A part of these lectures has been since published, in seven chapters, by the author ; and they have contributed greatly to excite an interest in Egyptian studies among our countrymen.

† Rollin's Anc. Hist. Preface.

‡ Letronne, Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de l'Egypte ; Dedicat. p. 3. 4to. Paris, 1843.

At the period when Rollin wrote his history, and for a long time before and after that, the learned imagined, that the hieroglyphics were "mystical characters, or symbols, used by the Egyptians to *conceal* and *disguise* their sacred things and the mysteries of their theology." * As if it were probable, that the innumerable monuments of that kind, scattered through all the public places in their cities, and constantly exposed to public view, as well as the inscriptions on thousands and tens of thousands of the sarcophagi of their mummies could have been intended to conceal mysteries and secrets! But imagination had usurped the place of sober judgment among the learned of those times; and, if a just respect for ourselves would allow us to ridicule the wild speculations and innocent blunders of our predecessors in literary investigations, we might find ample materials for such an occupation in the present instance. A decent regard for them, however, as well as good policy on our part (if we would entitle ourselves to the respect of those who are to come after us) alike forbid indulging ourselves in such an employment.

It is much to be regretted, that we have received from the Greek writers, after Herodotus, so few and so imperfect memorials of a country, which for a long period was one of their own provinces; a country, too, from which they had derived their own philosophy and the arts; a country, which had for ages been the most civilized of the known world, at least as far as the Indus, and had even completed its career of national glory at a period, when the Greeks and Romans — to whom we look back as our ancients — were just emerging from barbarism.

Yet of the hieroglyphic language of the Egyptians — one of the most remarkable of the arts of that remarkable people — no explanation has come down to us from the Greek writers, except the well known imperfect, and partly apocryphal little tract of Horapollo, and the concise remark of Clemens Alexandrinus; which last, too, was so obscure, that it was unintelligible, until the modern interpretation of the hieroglyphic system, from other sources, enabled us to understand it.

From the Romans, who succeeded the Greeks in the possession of Egypt, we have also received only fragments of information in addition to that which is derived from their

* Rollin's Anc. Hist. vol. i. chap. 2, sec. 1; Millot's Anc. Hist. vol. i. chap. 4.

Grecian masters in learning.* In justice to both of those nations, however, it should not be forgotten, that some of their works relating to Egypt, which might have contained information respecting the hieroglyphic system, have perished; and nothing has come down to our times except the titles of some of those works and the names of their authors.

The perseverance and skill of modern scholars have at last stripped off the mystery, which had so long enveloped this ancient written language; which now appears to have been the parent of the *Coptic* of a later period;† and we are enabled, after the lapse of many ages, to read and interpret it.

This discovery, as I have already intimated, has opened new sources of historical information. In the hieroglyphic monuments we now find (among other things) evidence of the successive Egyptian dynasties, recorded in the history of the Egyptian writer, *Manetho* — whose name, with those of Berosus and Sanchoniatho, I may remark in passing, is as familiar to unlearned persons, who have read the simple tale of the Vicar of Wakefield, as to the most learned of antiquarians; although these dynasties, while they rested upon this Egyptian authority, were deemed fabulous, or "manifest forgeries."‡

Such are the vicissitudes of human opinions; such is the fate of speculative deductions, however ingenious, whose authors employ themselves in framing theories, without submitting to the labor of patiently investigating facts!

The results of this great modern discovery, however, are but just beginning to be developed; and it is fit, that our countrymen should begin to think of taking part in the researches, which are now but just begun and will not be completed for a long period to come. Few individuals among us, it is true, have yet devoted their attention to this deeply interesting subject; a subject, whose importance cannot be fully estimated at present, more particularly in its connection with the history contained in the Scriptures; which sacred volume, I may add, does itself incite us to the study of the arts, sciences,

* Vide Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. cap. 4.

† Quatremère, Recherches Critiques et Historiques sur la langue et la littérature de l'Egypte. 8vo. Paris, 1808.

‡ Rollin's Anc. Hist. Book i. part 3.

and history of ancient Egypt, by the emphatic recommendation, that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*

The illustrations of the Bible, which have already been derived from this source and from the study of Egyptian antiquities generally, possess the highest interest with every Christian as well as every scholar; and so numerous are the works already published in Europe, containing copies of the hieroglyphic and other monuments of ancient Egypt, that American scholars now have it in their power to prosecute these researches with most of the advantages, which are enjoyed by the greater part of the learned men of the old world.

It would be interesting and instructive to follow out these general views of this remarkable country, and its inhabitants, into various details relative to their philosophy and their science in general, as well as the common arts of life, and, above all, their hieroglyphic system; but the limits allowed me on this occasion will only permit me to refer very briefly to two or three of these particulars.

Some of the learned had, in the face of sacred and profane records, rejected the Pharaohs of Egypt from the pages of authentic history, and considered them as fabulous or symbolical beings;† but the hieroglyphics, and the monuments of those sovereigns with their names sculptured upon them, have dissipated these learned dreams and confounded their incredulous authors. The certainty of Egyptian history, as far back as the *nineteenth* century before Christ, is, according to Champollion, now demonstrated by means of the succession of its kings as shown on the public monuments.

Again; in one of Manetho's Egyptian sovereigns, *Sheshonk*, who was the first one of the twenty-second dynasty, and whose name appears on the monuments at Karnak, is now recognised the *Shishak* of the Scriptures; who, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, 970 years before Christ, came up against Jerusalem with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen.‡ This is highly important, as Heeren observes, because it enables us to determine the chronology.

Again; several years ago there was found at Denderah

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* Acts, vii. 22.
† Heeren's Ancient Nations of Africa, vol. ii. p. 10, Engl. edit.
‡ 2 Chron. xii. 2; 1 Kings, xiv. 25.

(the ancient Tentyra) in Egypt on the walls of a temple, a painting now well known by the name of the Zodiac or planisphere of Denderah, in which the twelve signs were depicted in such positions, that, according to astronomical principles, the zodiac must have been of very remote antiquity, and would have reached far beyond the known limits of all our sacred and profane history. But the hieroglyphics upon it can now be read; and they are found to contain the names of *Roman* Emperors of no older a period than the first century of the Christian era!

Some persons may, perhaps, be ready to ask, whether there is still room for discoveries to be made, notwithstanding the extensive investigations of European scholars. This question may be best answered by referring to a late letter (of January 2, 1843) from that eminent German hierologist, Dr. Lepsius, who is at this time employed in Egypt by the enlightened government of Prussia. By that letter you will perceive, that there is still ample room for as many laborers as can be employed in that inexhaustible field. That learned writer, who dates his Letter at Gizeh, "at the foot of the pyramid of Cheops," says —

"We arrived here on the 9th Nov., and here we have passed the first day of the new year. But who can foretell the extent of the rich harvest we may reap on this earliest scene of the history of mankind? It is incredible how little this spot has been explored, though more visited than any other part of Egypt. . . . . The best maps of this site hitherto produced, represent two tombs besides the pyramids, having particular inscriptions and figures. *Now* we have drawn a minute topographical plan of the whole monumental plain; and on this plan there are marked, independently of the Pyramids, *forty-five* tombs whose occupants I have ascertained by the inscriptions. There are altogether *eighty-two* tombs, which, on account of their inscriptions or other peculiarities, demand particular attention. With the exception of about twelve, which belong to a later period, all these tombs were erected contemporaneously with, or soon after the building of the Great Pyramid, and consequently their dates throw an invaluable light on the study of human civilization in the most remote period of antiquity. . . . . The *sculptures* in relief are surprisingly numerous, and represent whole figures, some the size of life, and others of various dimensions. . . . . The *paintings* are on back grounds of the finest chalk. They are numerous and beautiful beyond conception —

as fresh and perfect as if finished only yesterday. The pictures and sculptures on the walls of the tombs represent, for the most part, scenes in the lives of the deceased persons, whose wealth in cattle, fish, boats, servants, &c., is ostentatiously displayed before the eye of the spectator. All this gives an insight into the details of private life among the ancient Egyptians. . . . . By the help of these inscriptions I think I could, without much difficulty, make a Court Calendar of the reign of king Cheops. . . . . In some instances I have traced the graves of father, son, grandson, and even great-grandson; all that now remain of the distinguished families, which 5000 years ago formed the nobility of the land. . . . . I now employ daily 50 or 60 men in digging and other kinds of labor; and a large excavation has been made in front of the great Sphynx."

From this account of the actual state of Egyptian researches, we perceive there is ample opportunity for more extensive discoveries than have yet been made; and the extraordinary character of those already before the public, cannot fail to stimulate and encourage us in our researches. A writer, whom I have before cited, has condensed from Rosellini, and other hierologists, the following remarks: —

"Philologists, astronomers, chemists, painters, architects, physicians, must return to Egypt to learn the origin of language and writing — of the calendar and solar motion — of the art of cutting granite with a *copper* chisel, and of giving elasticity to a *copper* sword — of making glass, with the variegated hues of the rainbow — of moving single blocks of polished syenite, *nine hundred* tons in weight, for any distance, by land and water — of building arches, round and pointed, with masonic precision unsurpassed at the present day, and antecedent, by two thousand years, to the Cloaca Maxima of Rome — of sculpturing a *Doric* column, a thousand years before the Dorians are known in history — of *fresco* painting in imperishable colors — and of practical knowledge in anatomy.

"Every craftsman can behold, in Egyptian monuments, the progress of his art four thousand years ago; and, whether it be a wheelwright building a chariot — a shoemaker drawing his twine — a leather-cutter using the selfsame form of knife of old, as is considered the best form now — a weaver throwing the same hand-shuttle — a white-smith using that identical form of blowpipe, but lately recognised to be the most efficient — the seal-engraver cutting, in hieroglyphics, such names as *Shoofo's*, above four thousand three hundred years ago — or even

the poulterer, removing the pip from geese, — all these, and many more evidences of Egyptian priority, now require but a glance at the plates of Rosellini." *

To this catalogue of Egyptian arts, a long addition might be made of monuments descriptive of the goldsmith and jewellers' work — instrumental music, singing, dancing, and gymnastic exercises, including children's games, like some of the present day — the tasteful furniture of their houses — ship building — drawings in natural history, so true to life, that the French naturalists, by means of them, instantly recognised the several species of Egyptian birds designated by them; and of numberless other branches of art, which time will not permit me to particularize.

Can we wonder, then, at the high eulogium, which I have before cited, from the Scriptures, on the great leader of the Israelites, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; or, at the still higher panegyric on king Solomon, whose wisdom is said to have *excelled* "all the wisdom of Egypt." † Can we any longer feel surprised at the enthusiasm of Champollion, when, on landing for the first time in Egypt, he knelt to the ground and kissed the soil? In his own glowing language, after traversing that country of wonders and arriving at the monuments of Karnak, he says: "All that I had seen, appeared miserable, in comparison with the gigantic conceptions by which I was surrounded at *Karnak*. I shall take care not to describe any thing; for, either my description would not express the thousandth part of what ought to be said, or, if I drew but a faint sketch of it, I should be set down for an enthusiast, or perhaps for a madman." ‡

But I have detained you too long on this inexhaustible portion of our subject, and will now notice some other parts of the eastern continent which will naturally fall within the range of our proposed inquiries. In doing this, the most convenient and clearest method, for our present purpose, will be to proceed, though not with rigorous exactness, in a geographical order.

If, then, we begin at the Straits of Gibraltar, on the southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and proceed east-

* Mr. Gliddon's printed lectures, referred to on p. 8.
† 1 Kings, iv. 30.
‡ Lettres écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie en 1828 et 1829, par Champollion Le Jeune, p. 98. 8vo. Paris, 1833.

ward, towards Egypt, we find the whole line of the African *coast* — once the seat of colonies sent from Egypt — now occupied by a people who, in language, habits, and social institutions, are *orientals;* speaking dialects, more or less corrupted, of the family of languages commonly called (from the patriarch *Shem*) the *Shemitic* or Semitic stock. These modern inhabitants of this whole sea-coast — the ancient Mauritania — have not hitherto, in themselves, been thought a particularly interesting subject of inquiry ; though, in certain relations, which will be adverted to hereafter, their history acquires some importance. Nor is it to be overlooked, that it was from the shores of Africa, that the Egyptian colonies, in remote times, brought to savage Europe the first germs of civilization.*

But the ancient predecessors of the present inhabitants of the Barbary coast, I mean the Carthaginians, who occupied that part of the coast which includes the present kingdom of Tunis, and that remarkable race of men called the *Berbers*, who are supposed to be the descendants of the ancient Numidians, and have, from time immemorial, occupied the highlands of the interior of Northern Africa — from the Atlantic ocean to the borders of Egypt — become extremely interesting in an historical and ethnographical view, on many accounts.

It has been the lot of Carthage, as Heeren justly observes,† to have her decline alone stand conspicuous in the annals of the world, and the preservation of her glory left to foreign historians. That the Carthaginians had writers of their own, we know by direct evidence from Sallust, who speaks of Punic works being interpreted to him ;‡ and also by the fact, that, though they were a commercial people, they had native works on agriculture, which were in so high estimation, even with their bitterest enemies, the Romans, as to be thought worthy of being translated into their own language for the benefit of Roman farmers. Their native works, too, if extant, would doubtless give us full information of the settlements which they possessed, for a long time, on the opposite coast of Spain ; a page of history, which is now a blank.

Now it is familiar to every reader of history, that the Car-

* Malte-Brun's Geog. vol. ii. p. 3, 4to ed.
† Heeren's Researches concerning Africa, &c., vol. ii.
‡ Sallust Bell. Jugurth.

thaginians were a colony from that great commercial people, the Phenicians, whose language the colonists, of course, brought with them from the East, and of which a singularly interesting fragment has come down to our times, in Plautus's well known comedy, called the Poenulus, or Carthaginian, in which a native of the country is introduced, speaking in his own language.* This fragment, and various Punic inscriptions and coins, have lately been most carefully collected and illustrated by that eminent orientalist, the late *Gesenius*, who has entirely confirmed the opinion expressed by the learned Bochart two centuries ago; which was, that the fragment in question was not, as some had supposed, the Numidian, or aboriginal language of Northern Africa, but pure Phenician, or, in substance, ancient Hebrew; and Gesenius has set the question at rest.† This result, I may remark by the way, makes a striking and amusing contrast with the hypothesis of the late well known Irish writer, Colonel Vallancey, who, with more national feeling than cool judgment, maintained, upon the evidence of the very same fragment — what will assuredly surprise every reader of history — that the Carthaginians spoke a language which was no other than good Irish! A strange hypothesis, indeed, but which he sustained with some plausibility by resorting to the common expedient of making very free and numerous emendations of the Punic text, the corrupt state of which enabled him to give full play to an active imagination in making the facts agree with his hypothesis.

Of the Punic and Hebrew affinities many examples might be given; but I will mention only one; which, as it occurs in the Roman histories of Carthaginian affairs, may be interesting even to those, whose attention has not been particularly directed to oriental studies. The Roman historians, in speaking of the Carthaginian form of government, inform us, that their chief magistrates — corresponding to the *consuls* of the Romans — were called *Suffetes*, which is only a Roman plural equivalent to the Hebrew *shophetim*, that is, *rulers*, *princes*, or *judges*; a slight alteration being made by the Roman writers in the first syllable of the Carthaginian name, because, like the Greeks, they had not the sound of

* Plauti Poenul. Act. v. Scen. 2, 73.

† Gesenii Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta, etc. 4to. pp. 481. Lips. 1837.

sh in any Roman words, but substituted for it the simple sound of *s*, when they had occasion to write Punic, Egyptian, or other foreign names.*

The Carthaginians, as colonists of a commercial mother-country, appear to have confined themselves principally to the *coast* of Africa; but they at the same time kept up an active intercourse with the aboriginal inhabitants of the interior, who, as before mentioned, dwelt in the chain of high lands, called the *Atlas Mountains*, (among the most extensive on the globe,) which lie between the coast of North Africa and the great Desert of Sáhara.

These aboriginal people, who have hitherto attracted but little notice, but are now becoming an object of great interest in an ethnographical view, are known, as I have before observed, by the general name of *Berbers*, and are supposed to be the descendants of the ancient *Numidians*, whose name is familiar to us in the Roman writers. They are now found to extend over a belt of land reaching from the confines of Egypt to the western, or Atlantic, coast of Africa; and their language, which the learned professor Vater supposes to have an intermixture of Arabic and other idioms, has been traced by the same author from the highlands of the African continent to the adjacent Canary Islands; which, in a geological view, are perhaps the fragments, or continuation, of the Atlas mountains. Some remains of their language, which Vater had thus traced, were found among the native population of the Canary Islands, who were called *Guanches;* but who, as a nation, became extinct, according to Baron Alexander Humboldt, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.†

We have, then, this interesting result deduced from the comparison of languages and dialects — that one nation, with slightly differing dialects among its different tribes, has for ages extended from the Canary Islands and the neighboring Atlantic coast easterly, through the interior of North Africa, to the borders of Egypt, and speaking a language radically different from all around it, though at this day not unmixed

* Liv. Hist. lib. xxx. cap. 7. Festus.

† The African origin of the inhabitants of the Canary Islands has been long received as an historical fact. Glas, in his history of the Islands, gives, as "the greatest proof" of it, "the similitude of the Canarian and Lybian languages," of which he gives a Vocabulary containing about a hundred words, taken from an old Spanish author, who maintained the same opinion. See Glas's Hist. of the Canary Islands, p. 174. 4to. London, 1764.

with Arabic. This result has been justly considered as one of the interesting discoveries in ethnography, but which we had not the means of making, until so lately as the years 1797 and 1798, when the well known traveller, Hornemann, made his journey through a part of the territory in question, from Cairo to Mourzouk in the kingdom of Fezzan, and furnished the learned with a specimen of the dialect of the most easterly Berber tribes, called the *Siwahs*, who extended to the frontiers of Egypt.

I have occupied the more of your time on this subject, because the scholars of our own country have borne an honorable part in the recent investigations, which have been made in respect to the Berber nation and language, and to which I shall ask your further attention a few moments longer.

Our veteran philologist, Mr. Du Ponceau, was the first who instituted the late investigations of this subject (in the year 1822) through the late intelligent and public-spirited American Consul, William Shaler, Esquire, at Algiers; and their correspondence was published in the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.* Those inquiries were further prosecuted by Mr. Du Ponceau afterwards (in 1828) through our accomplished Orientalist, Mr. Hodgson, late Consul at Tunis, who furnished numerous authentic details, which were new to the learned of Europe, and have now sufficiently established the general characteristics of the Berber language.† Mr. Hodgson found still remaining in the Berber country, and often without the slightest change, the names of rivers, mountains and villages, which are mentioned by Sallust and other ancient writers, and which preserve to this day the same signification as in the days of those writers. I trust I shall be excused for occupying your time in noti-

* Transactions, New Series, vol. ii. p. 438.

† See Dr. Pritchard's very learned Researches in the Physical History of Man, vol. ii. pp. 15 and 16, where just commendation is bestowed on this American philologist by a most competent judge. I may add, that before the researches of Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Shaler had furnished copious specimens of the Berber language, the principal specimens of it — and the only one of the Lord's Prayer — had been given by Jezreel Jones, whose *Dissertatio de Lingua Shilhensi* was published, with other Dissertations, at the end of Chamberlayne's well known work, entitled, *Oratio Dominica in diversas omnium ferè gentium linguas versa*, etc. 4to. Amsterdam, 1715. Professor Vater (in the Mithridates, vol. iii. part 1, p. 54) has taken his specimen of the Lord's Prayer, as he states, from Jones; but a few inconsiderable errors, or deviations from the original, have crept into the re-print.

cing two or three of them, which I am confident will be striking and interesting.

The name of *Atlas* itself, which has from remote antiquity been given to the great chain of mountains before mentioned, is considered by Mr. Hodgson to be a Roman corruption (by a common dialectical interchange) of the native Berber name which is *Adrar* or *Adhraer*, and means "The Mountains;" the Berbers having no discriminating or proper name for this particular chain of mountains.* To this remark of Mr. Hodgson I may add, that a similar application of an aboriginal *American* word has taken place in our own State of Massachusetts, in the name of the well known height of land in Princeton, called *Wachúset;* which name has been formed by us from the Indian word *wadchu*, (in the plural *wadchuash*,) signifying *the mountain* or *a mountain*.

Again; the historian Sallust, in speaking of a Numidian town called *Thala*, makes this remark: "At Thala, not far from the walls, there were some *fountains* of water;"† and it is assuredly a striking coincidence, that the same name still remains, which a Berber tribe pronounce *Thala*, and that the word means a *covered fountain*, in contra-distinction to an open spring.

To these examples might be added many others mentioned by ancient writers, and which still remain in the Berber country; as *Ampsaga*, a river mentioned by Pliny, in his Natural History, (lib. v. cap. 2,) and by Pomponius Mela in his Geography, (lib. i. cap. 7.) The name of the barbarian king, *Jugurtha*, according to Mr. Hodgson, is recognised in the Berber word *jugurth*, which signifies a *crow* or *raven;* as the American Indian chiefs take the names of the Eagle, the Hawk, the Wolf, and others of the kind.

Omitting further details on this point, I proceed with our general subject; in doing which we quit the continent of North Africa, for a moment, and direct our attention to a very celebrated, though inconsiderable island lying opposite to the eastern coast of Tunis — the island of *Malta*, anciently called *Melita;* famous in sacred history as the place where the apostle Paul suffered shipwreck, and, in modern times,

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* Glas, in his Hist. of the Canaries, after mentioning, that "the ancients inform us, that Atlas was called by the *natives* Ater, Dyr, and Adyrrim," adds — "the Libyans call a mountain *Athrair* and *Adrair*." Page 176.

† Sallust, Bell. Jugurth. cap. 89.

as the last residence of the well known Order of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, who from that circumstance are now more commonly called the Knights of Malta.

The language of this island, being a dialect of the Semitic stock, and in substance the common Arabic of the African coast (with a mixture of Italian, and some other peculiarities) entitles it to a place among *Oriental* subjects of inquiry. It has been supposed by some writers, that the Maltese language might be the remains of the ancient Phenician, or the Hebrew; but it seems to be now well ascertained, that, whatever may have been the language of the inhabitants in the days of the apostles, the language in its present state has no other relation to the Phenician or Hebrew, than the general affinity of the Arabic to them.* In the Acts of the Apostles, it is true, the inhabitants are spoken of as barbarians; "the *barbarous* people showed us no little kindness; for they kindled a fire and received us every one, because of the present rain and because of the cold."† But the act of humanity, which is here thus gratefully recorded, confirms the common interpretation of the terms "barbarous" and "barbarian," which were in so common use with the Greeks and Romans, and which were only equivalent to "foreigner," or one of another nation; as Saint Paul explains it in one of his epistles; "If I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a *barbarian*, and he that speaketh shall be a *barbarian* unto me."‡ It is worthy of remark, however, that during the three months' intercourse between the people of the island and their shipwrecked visitors, no intimation is given, that they did not understand each others' language. But, whatever affinity there might have been at that day between the Phenician or Hebrew and that of the islanders, it is at this day no other than has been above stated.

Returning now to the *continent* of Africa, I detain you

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* See Gesenius's Versuch über die Maltesische Sprache, etc. pp. 78. Leipzig, 1810; and a review of it in the North American Rev. vol. x. p. 225, (for April 1820,) which is understood to have been written by Professor Gibbs, the learned translator of Gesenius's Heb. Lexicon. See also Gesenius's late work entitled Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta, etc., pp. 252, 341. 4to. Lips. 1837; where the same view is taken of the Maltese language, as in his former work. It is said, that the peasants of Malta and Barbary can understand each other.

† Acts, xxviii. 1 and 4.

‡ 1 Cor. xiv. 11.

once more, for a moment, in Egypt, to make a single remark upon the language of the *Copts;* who have been called "the rightful proprietors of Egypt." Their language ceased to be a spoken language in that country in the tenth century, though it continued to be studied as a learned language and to be used in their church service. It is of great importance for its very ancient version of the New Testament; and, in our day, it has acquired great additional value, from being acknowledged as the lineal descendant of that very ancient language of Egypt, which has been preserved in the hieroglyphics of that country.*

Proceeding southwardly from the provinces of Egypt we reach the territory, which has been comprised (with others) under the very indefinite name of *Ethiopia;* extending along the western side of the Red Sea, and including *Nubia* and *Abysinia;* of which our information is still extremely imperfect. The history, literature, and antiquities of these countries are of great interest in many respects; and particularly as connected with Egypt. The Ethiopians, from the most ancient times, have been one of the most celebrated nations of the globe. When the Greeks scarcely knew even Sicily and Italy by name, the Ethiopians were celebrated by their poets.† The *Gheez*, or Ethiopic language is important in a biblical view, as containing a version of the Scriptures, and other works, in a dialect of the Semitic stock.

Thus far our attention has been, principally, directed to Egypt and to countries lying westward and southward of it.

If now we turn to the countries lying eastward of the meridian of Egypt, and, in part, northward of that country, we have, at the farther extremity of the Mediterranean Sea, the Turkish province of Syria, comprehending the land of Palestine, naturally designated by Christians as the *Holy Land.* This entire region is too familiarly known, to require particular notice on the present occasion. But I cannot forbear recalling your attention to a remark before made, as a stimulus to American scholars, that notwithstanding so many learned Europeans had for a long series of years travelled over that beaten ground, and although so many

* Quatremère, Recherches Critiques et Historiques sur la langue et la littérature de l'Egypte. 8vo. Paris, 1808.

† Heeren's Researches, (Africa,) vol. i. p. 294. See Iliad, i, ver. 423; Odys. i, ver. 23; and various other places.

books had been written upon it, yet it was reserved for an American, and in our own day, to furnish the learned of both continents with the most accurate and thorough work that has appeared upon that ever interesting country. Yet, thorough and accurate as it is, the learned author himself wishes it to be regarded "merely as a beginning, a first attempt to lay open the treasures of Biblical Geography and History, still remaining in the Holy Land — treasures, which have lain for ages unexplored, and had become so covered with the dust and rubbish of many centuries, that their very existence was forgotten." *

That such treasures are still remaining in that quarter of the East, we cannot doubt, when we call to mind the well known, but remarkable fact, that even the extensive and magnificent ruins of *Balbec*, "the city of the sun," only forty miles distant from so well known a city as Damascus, and at less than that distance from the sea-coast of Syria, lay forgotten or unknown to *Europeans* till the middle of the last century, when they were brought to light by two English travellers; who at the same time revived the memory of the still more celebrated city of *Palmyra*, the "Tadmor" of Solomon,† called by the latter name even to this day, and strongly associated, in the recollection of the classical scholar, with the name of the intrepid, but unfortunate queen of the East, Zenobia; whose fortitude, undaunted by the perils and terrors of actual war, deserted her when she was made captive by the cruel Aurelian; who prevailed upon her, for her own safety, to sacrifice her friends, that had advised the vigorous prosecution of the war, and among them her counsellor and instructer, the Greek philosopher, Longinus; who, as a great historian remarks, calmly and without uttering a complaint followed the executioner, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends; and whose fame will survive that of the queen who betrayed, or the tyrant who condemned him.‡

Passing by the province of Syria, therefore, without further details, and directing our attention along the northern coast of the Mediterranean, we have, between that and the

* Robinson's Biblical Researches, vol. i. pref. p. xii.

† "And Solomon built Gezer, and Beth-horon the nether, and Baalath, and *Tadmor in the Wilderness*, in the land." 1 Kings, ix. 17, 18; 2 Chron. viii. 4.

‡ Gibbon's Roman Empire, chap. xi.

Euxine Sea, the Peninsula of *Asia Minor*, abounding in the most interesting associations ; and where, as a modern writer observes, the glory of many once flourishing nations has been extinguished ; where flocks wander over the tombs of Achilles and Hector, and the thrones of Mithridates and Antiochus, as well as the palaces of Priam and Crœsus, have disappeared ; and the naked territory is now possessed by a population deplorably debased by ignorance and slavery.

Much as this portion of Western Asia has been studied, with a view to classical and biblical researches, and deeply interesting as it has ever been to those, who have made investigations into the histories of its various states and cities — either as the scenes of Greek and Roman exploits, from the time of the Trojan war down to the extinction of Greek and Roman power — or as the field of the labors and travels of the Apostles — still, many questions in relation to its geography and history, as well as its ethnography, remain to be solved. From the difficulties heretofore experienced in travelling through the East — where a jealousy still prevails, that strangers are in quest of hidden riches — our information of Asia Minor, from modern writers, has been imperfect, and we have hitherto been obliged to rely, for the most part, upon the valuable, though incomplete and unsatisfactory accounts of ancient authors, occasionally aided by the vague relations of the Orientals themselves.

The greater part of the inhabitants of this peninsula are Mahometans ; but there is a large body of Christians, principally of the Greek church, with many Armenians, and some Roman Catholics. In this point of view it may be observed, that, as Christianity was planted in Asia Minor at a very early period, the history of the country at that epoch becomes an interesting as well as important inquiry.

Different languages of the Semitic stock, as well as Greek, are spoken in Asia Minor. But the *Turkish*, which is a Tartar dialect, intermixed with Arabic and Persian, and is written with letters taken from those two languages, is, like the French in Europe, a common language of intercourse between people of different nations, and is spoken by Christians as well as Mahometans, in Asia Minor and all other parts of the Sultan's dominions ; and an intelligent American Missionary says, that he chose it in preference to

any other, and never found reason to repent of his choice.* The knowledge of it, therefore, becomes important with a view to researches in this part of the East.

The countries lying eastward and northward of the peninsula of Asia Minor next come under our notice.

Of these, the territory lying between the Black Sea on the west and the Caspian Sea on the east forms an isthmus, connecting Europe with Western Asia ; and across this isthmus, as geographers have observed, Mount Caucasus extends like an immense wall. Several streams descending from the mountains, as related by Strabo, carry down gold dust, mixed with the sand, and this being stopped by sheep-skins placed for that purpose, he adds, furnishes an explanation of the fable of the Golden Fleece of Colchis.†

The Caucasian nations have been classed under seven principal divisions, according to their different languages ; and of these nations (beginning at the north) we are most familiar with the names of the Circassians and the Georgians.

The Circassians, whose national name among themselves is *Adigé*, but who are called by the Turks, *Cherkés* (robbers), and, by the Russians, *Chirkassy*, occupy the country on the northern side of Mount Caucasus, and live under a complete feudal system. The princes and nobles, who, it is said, speak a language which is peculiar to themselves and not understood by the common people, are in fact the nation ; their subjects being, for the most part, the people of conquered countries reduced to a state of slavery. The Circassians are considered to be the Zychi (Ζύχοι) of the Greeks, who are mentioned in the Periplus of Arrian.‡ They have a tradition of a female race, that was anciently among them, called *Emmetch*, from which the Greeks, it has been observed, may have formed their name of *Amazons ;* and, according to Adelung, this name suits no Caucasian tribe better than the Circassians ;‖ whose women, however, at the present day, are distinguished for the delicacy and grace of their persons, instead of the masculine qualities of the Amazons.

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* Narrative of Travels by the Rev. Horatio Southgate, Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church ; 2 vols. 12mo. New-York, 1840.

† Strab. Geog. lib. xi. p. 499, ed. Casaub.

‡ Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, pp. 84 and 129 ; who cites Georgio Interiano (1502) in Ramusio's Collection, ii. p. 196.

‖ Mithridates, vol. i. p. 441 - 2.

One farther remark may be added, in respect to their language — that according to Mr. G. Ellis's "Memoir of a Map of the Countries comprehended between the Black Sea and the Caspian," published in 1788, many Circassian and Caucasian words are said to be nearly the same with those of some *American* aboriginal languages.

Georgia, called by the Russians *Grusia*, and by the Persians, *Gurgistan*, but by the native writers, *Iberia*, or *Iweria*, is in the middle of the isthmus just mentioned, and south of Mount Caucasus. The remarkable language of this country, radically different from the other Caucasian languages and from the Persian and Armenian, has most unexpectedly become an object of interest, with the scholars of our own country as well as of Europe, in consequence of a singular resemblance in one of its great features to the *Indian* languages of America; that is, in what Mr. Du Ponceau calls their *polysynthetic* character. The remarks made upon this point, several years ago, by this profound philologist, immediately attracted the notice of the learned in France, and formed one of the subjects of the annual Report made to the Asiatic Society of Paris, by that great Orientalist, M. Rémusat. This discovery gave an immediate impulse in France to the study of the *Georgian* language and literature. M. Klaproth published a Georgian Vocabulary, and M. Brosset, a Georgian Grammar; and the study has been since prosecuted by others. The language, moreover, possesses no little interest from there being extant in it an entire version of the Scriptures, of so early a date as the beginning of the sixth century; which, it was said a few years ago, had not yet been made use of in Biblical Criticism.

The Georgians, from the situation of their country — which lies between two great Mahometan nations, Turkey and Persia — were subject to a violence and oppression, which had sunk their character to the lowest state of degradation. Their personal qualities made their Mahometan neighbors desirous of obtaining them as slaves; and, as slaves were often promoted to the highest offices in Turkey, Georgian parents, who lived in wretchedness at home, did not hesitate to sell even their own children; nobles made offerings of their vassals; and even the *wallys*, or princes, of Georgia were often compelled to send, as tribute to the para-

mount sovereign, some of the fairest of their family or of their subjects.*

The remaining tribes of the Caucasian country do not, in a general view, require a separate notice. We may, therefore, pass by the Imeritians, Gurians, Mingrelians, and Suanes (the Suani of Pliny†) as only subdivisions of the Georgian nation; and proceed to the countries lying southerly of them, which form the eastern provinces of the Turkish Empire in *Asia*, and include the territories of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia.

All these countries have strong claims to the attention of scholars, from the associations connected with them, as well as from their historical importance.

The *Armenians*, who are called *Haikani* in their own language, are among the most ancient of civilized nations; and from the time when the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered (says Gibbon) on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia was alternately oppressed by its formidable protectors.‡ But, amidst the desolating revolutions caused by despotism and wars, they have sustained themselves as a cultivated people.

A late celebrated English writer of genius, who, under an accidental state of feeling, was led to study their history and language, and who was an acute observer, says of them — as profounder writers had done before — "It would be difficult, perhaps, to find the annals of a nation less stained with crimes than those of the Armenians, whose virtues have been those of peace, and their vices those of compulsion. But whatever may have been their destiny — and it has been bitter — whatever it may be in future, their country must ever be one of the most interesting on the globe; and perhaps their language only requires to be more studied, to become more attractive. . . . It is a rich language, however, and would amply repay any one the trouble of learning it."‖ More than

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* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 212. The author adds — that Joseph Emir, a brave Armenian, who tried to excite his countrymen and the Georgians to throw off their subjection, describes the wickedness of the degraded Georgian nobles, "in a very odd but emphatic manner — They were born, he says, twenty-four hours before the devil." *Ibid.*

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 12.

‡ Gibbon's Roman Hist. chap. 32.

‖ Lord Byron, Lett. of Nov. 17, 1816, and Jan. 28, 1817 (Nos. 252 and 258) in his Life by Moore.

a century before the writer just cited, that universal genius, Leibnitz — the Aristotle of his day — had said to a correspondent: "I am glad that one of your countrymen is going to elucidate the Armenian language. *That nation possesses ancient books and many other things worthy of study.*"*

Half a century ago, or but little more, when a tolerable knowledge of Hebrew alone constituted an Oriental scholar in England, and when a new impulse was given by Sir William Jones to Oriental studies in that country — where they had been in a slumbering state "hardly differing from a non-existence"†—that brilliant scholar observed, in one of his Anniversary Discourses before the Asiatic Society, that he had not studied the *Armenian* language, because he "*could not hear of any original compositions in it.*"‡ This remark sounds strangely at the present day, when our extended information respecting the East enables us to know, that Armenia has produced a multitude of native writers of every kind; historians, poets, theologians, grammarians, rhetoricians, physicians, astronomers, &c. Even at the time when the remark was made, many Armenian works had been long known on the *Continent* of Europe; and in a catalogue of more than twenty of their *historians* alone, as given by one of their authors, nine works at least had been printed, many years before, either at Constantinople, Amsterdam, or Madras; and even in England the Armenian text of their celebrated historian, Moses of Khoren, had been published, for about half a century, by the famous Whiston's two sons; whose blunders, however, proved that they had undertaken a task beyond their strength.

The literature of Armenia is important, not merely for the original works of its native writers, but for the translations made by them from foreign languages — particularly the Greek — which were studied by their princes and learned men with enthusiasm. The valuable Armenian version of the *Bible* made in the fifth century — which, though originally made from the Peshito version, was afterwards conformed to the Greek — has been long known to theologians. The nation also has its poetical translation of Homer, and ver-

* Leibnitii Epist. ad. Joh. Herman. Schminckium — Opp. tom. 5, p. 466, edit. Dutens.

† Richardson's Persian Dictionary, Prelim. Dissertation, in not.

‡ Asiatic Researches, vol. iii. p. 12; Anniv. Discourse of Feb. 24, 1791.

sions of many Greek originals that are *now lost*. The recovery, within a few years past, of a complete translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, published by Zohrab and Mai — of which we had before but a small portion — and of some lost works of Philo Judæus, have been a part of the valuable results of Armenian studies. The ancient Greek Grammar of *Dionysius Thrax*, also, which was imperfect as published in Greek by Fabricius,* has now been enlarged, by an addition of about one half part, from the *Armenian* version of that work, which was discovered a few years ago in the Royal Library of Paris, and published, with a French translation by M. Cirbied, professor of the Armenian language in in that city. I may add, upon the authority of the same professor, that Armenia is one of the countries most distinguished for the study of languages and grammar. Its history gives the names of at least one hundred writers in those departments of literature; and of these M. Cirbied has cited about thirty in the preface to his own Armenian Grammar published in the year 1823. It is a curious fact, too, that while Fabricius enumerates only six *Greek* commentators on this ancient Grammarian, M. Cirbied gives a list of eight *Armenians*, who did him that honor.

The *western* Armenians, as Gibbon observes, used the Greek language and characters in their religious offices; but the use of that hostile tongue was prohibited by the Persians in the *eastern* provinces, which were obliged to use the Syriac, till the invention of the Armenian letters by Mesrobes, in the beginning of the fifth century, and the subsequent version of the bible into the Armenian tongue; an event which relaxed the connection of the church and nation with Constantinople.† I may add, in conclusion, that the Armenian is more analogous to the languages of Europe than to those of Asia.

Proceeding southwardly and eastwardly from Armenia, we arrive at Kurdistan (pronounced Koordistan) that is, the country of the Kurds, comprehending the ancient Assyria, part of Armenia, and ancient Media. It consists mainly of wild ranges of mountains which divide the Turkish and the Persian empires; the western parts being nominally subject to Turkey, and the eastern to Persia.

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* Biblioth. Græc. tom. vii. p. 26.
† Gibbon's Rom. Hist. chap. 32, in not.

This country has lately excited great interest, in consequence of its being the abode of the *Nestorian Christians*, who are described as "the small but venerable remnant of a once great and influential Christian church. They are the oldest of Christian sects; and in their better days were numerous through all the vast regions from Palestine to China; and they carried the gospel into China itself." The interest taken in their present condition and prospects induced the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in Boston, to select the country of the Nestorians for one of their foreign Missionary establishments; which was accordingly begun in the year 1833, when the Reverend Justin Perkins was sent out as the first missionary.*

The Nestorians now remaining are found principally among the mountains of Kurdistân and in *Oróomiah*, an adjacent district, consisting of a magnificent plain at the eastern base of the Kurdish mountains in the western part of Persia. The sect derives its name from Nestorius, who was a presbyter at Antioch, and was made bishop of Constantinople in the year 428. The number of Nestorian Christians is estimated at about one hundred and forty thousand. The *Kurds*, the Carduchi (*Καρδοῦχοι*) of Xenophon, and who gave him so much annoyance on his retreat of the Ten Thousand,† consist of many tribes, speaking different dialects of a language belonging to the Persian family; they have from time immemorial been keepers of flocks; wild, fierce, barbarian, and much given to plunder. Their religion is Mahometanism of the *Soonee* faith, save the small sect of *Yezeedees*, who are the *reputed worshippers of the Devil*. Sir James Malcolm says, he travelled through their country in the year 1810; and that he should judge, from what he had read and seen of its inhabitants, "that they have remained unchanged in their appearance and character for more than twenty centuries." ‡

The language and literature of the Nestorian Christians, as Mr. Perkins observes, are objects of much interest to the Christian scholar. Their *ancient* language is the *Syriac*, by some supposed to have been the common language in Pales-

* For this account of the Nestorians I am principally indebted to the highly valuable work of Mr. Perkins, entitled "A Residence of Eight Years in Persia and among the Nestorian Christians." Andover, 1843. Reprinted in London.

† Xenoph. Anab. lib. iii. et lib. iv.

‡ Hist. of Persia, vol. i. p. 105, not.

tine in the days of Christ, and the same in which the Saviour himself conversed and preached, and probably not differing much from it. This is still called their *literary* language; their books are nearly all written in it. They conduct their epistolary correspondence in it; and though a *dead* language, the best educated of their clergy become able to converse in it with fluency. The *written character* differs considerably from that of the western or Jacobite Syrians, which is the character best known to European scholars; it much resembles the Estrangelo, but has a more round and easy form. The common Nestorian character is a very clear and beautiful one, and so agreeable to the eye, as Mr. Perkins remarks, that members of the Mission, when incapable, by ophthalmy, to read English without pain, are able to read the Syriac in this character with little inconvenience.*

The vernacular language of the Nestorians is a modern dialect of the ancient Syriac, much barbarized by inversions, contractions, and abbreviations, and by the introduction of a great number of Persian, Kurdish, and Turkish words. The body of the language comes directly from the venerable ancient Syriac, as clearly as the modern Greek comes from the ancient.

It is an interesting fact to us, that, until the period of the American Mission, "very little attempt had been made to reduce the vernacular language of the Nestorians to *writing*;" and that now there are schools, established by the Missionaries, at which about five hundred native children receive instruction both in the ancient and modern tongues.† The establishment of a printing press among them was a new era; and when the printed sheet of a tract in their language — the first ever printed in it — was shown to them by Mr. Perkins,

* Perkins's Residence, &c. p. 12. The author gives the following particulars in relation to the present language of the Nestorians — "There are twenty-two consonants in the language of the Nestorians, the same as in the ancient Syriac, with a modification of *gimel* (g) by a scratch of the pen underneath, to express *j*, *ch*, or *gh* — and of *pe* (p) by a half *vav* placed under it, to express *ph*; *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p* and *th* are also subject to aspiration, which is indicated by a point below them, and the reverse by a point above, the same as in the ancient language. There are seven vowels, corresponding to long *a*, short *a*, long *e*, short *e*, long and short *i*, long *o* and double *o* or *u*. The vowels used by the Nestorians are *points*, and not the Greek vowels inverted, as used by the Western Syrians; and where the latter used *omicron* (short ŏ) as in Alóho, God, the Nestorians use the open sound of *a*, as Aláha, God."

† P. 17. See also the Thirty-Third Annual Report of the American Board, for September, 1842, p. 129.

his translators, priests Abraham and Dunka, were for the moment struck dumb with astonishment, but at length gave utterance to their feelings in the grateful ejaculation — "It is time to give glory to God, that our eyes are permitted to behold the beginning of printed books for our people!" In 1841, sixteen hundred volumes, and thirty-six hundred tracts, had been printed for them. Before this Mission the natives had never heard of *America*, under any name; they took the Missionaries for *Russians*, in consequence of their European dress, and from not knowing that any other people than Russians wore similar clothing.*

Next southwardly and westwardly of Kurdistan are the remaining eastern provinces of the Turkish empire, most familiarly known by their ancient names of Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylonia; and whose celebrated cities of Nineveh and Babylon, as well as the tower of Babel, are among the most prominent objects in the memorials of the ancient world.

Mesopotamia — as it was named by the Greeks from its situation between the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris, but in the Bible called *Aram-Naharaïm* † — is considered to have been the first dwelling place of men referred to in the Scriptures after the deluge; and has been the theatre of some of the most remarkable events in subsequent ages. Its ancient capital, Nineveh, is now understood to have been on the site of the modern *Nunia*, on the banks of the Tigris, opposite to *Mosul;* from whose manufactures, it is supposed, we have the French and English names of *mousseline* and *muslin.*

Assyria, lying next easterly of the river Tigris, has, from the earliest periods, been so intimately connected with Mesopotamia, politically as well as geographically, that the two countries naturally form a common subject of inquiry.

The third province, *Babylonia*, of which ancient Babylon was the capital, includes the remainder of the territory between the Euphrates and the Tigris (south of Mesopotamia and Assyria) with the adjacent country as far as the Persian Gulf, and is now called Irak-Arabi, or the Arabian *Irak.* Its most ancient name is *Shinar.*‡

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* Smith and Dwight's Researches in Armenia, vol. i., 156.

† Gen. xxiv. 10. Aram Naharaïm, or Syria of the Rivers, to distinguish it from other territories, called by the general name of Aram.

‡ Gen. x. 10.

The history and antiquities of these countries offer to the student in Eastern learning many subjects of the most interesting character; and, notwithstanding the long-continued investigations of scholars, and the numerous observations of intelligent travellers, many questions remain still to be accurately settled.

Of the Babylonians we know enough to determine, that they belonged to the *Semitic* family; their language being an Aramæan dialect.

The name of the ancient capital, Babylon, (in the Hebrew, Babel,) first occurs in the book of Genesis;* which, according to the received, but unsatisfactory, chronology of Usher, was about the year 2259 before Christ, or 1745 after the Creation; but it does not appear to occur again in the Scriptures till about the year 721 B. C. in the Second Book of Kings;† a period of fifteen hundred years — a remarkable fact, when we consider, that during that time (as has been observed) this great city, if not the mistress of the world, as it has been called, was celebrated for its arts and sciences as well as civilization — "the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency."‡

Of the antiquities called Babylonian, the most curious and interesting are the specimens of the very ancient written language, called the *cuneiform*, or *arrow-headed* characters; which appear to have been used by the three great ancient nations, the Medes, Persians, and Assyrians.

These characters, like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, for a long time baffled the skill of antiquarians; but the genius and learning of Germany — to which all nations now look for profound investigations of this nature — at length give us assurances of a key to them. The eminent Dr. Grotefend, of Frankfort, has resolutely applied himself to the task of decyphering them; and his success, thus far, does the greatest credit to his learning and sagacity.

The inscriptions are found engraved, or stamped, on bricks used in building, on stones and on gems. Some of the bricks are baked in the fire, and some are only dried in the sun. The face of the brick having the inscription on it was always placed downwards, and laid with bitumen; on which, the well known traveller, Mr. Rich, observes — "it is curious,

* Gen. x. 10. † 2 Kings, xvii. 30. ‡ Isaiah, xiii. 19.

that the bitumen does not adhere to the lower or written face, but invariably to the upper." The same intelligent writer, who has given the most minute account of these antiquities, states these further particulars of the inscribed bricks: "The general size of the *kiln-burnt* brick is thirteen inches square, by three thick; there are some of half these dimensions, and a few of different shapes for particular purposes, such as rounding corners, &c. They are of several different colors; white, approaching more or less to a yellowish cast, like our Stourbridge or fire brick, which is the finest sort; red, like our ordinary brick, which is the coarsest sort; and some, which have a blackish cast and are very hard. The *sun-dried* brick is considerably larger than that baked in the kiln, and in general looks like a thick clumpy clod of earth, in which are seen small broken reeds, or chopped straw, used for the obvious purpose of binding them. In like manner the flat roofs of houses at Bagdad are covered with a composition of earth and mortar mixed up with chopped straw." *

Some of the bricks have been brought to this country; and one specimen may be seen at the Athenæum in Boston. This appears to be of the *sun-dried* kind; it was taken from the ancient ruins now called by antiquarians the Tower of Babel.†

Some of the results of Dr. Grotefend's investigations are —that the inscriptions are all written in a horizontal direction from left to right; that all cuneïform writing is composed of letters, and not merely of syllabic signs; that those of *Persepolis*, which are at present known, all have reference to Darius Hystaspes and his son Xerxes; and that the language of the first species of Persepolitan writing is the *Zend*.‡

This learned writer further observes, that "these inscriptions are distinguished from *all* other modes of writing adopted *in the East*, by the absence of every thing like roundness;" and he then draws the inference (as has been done in other

* Rich's Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon, in 1811; with the First and Second Memoir on the Ruins, &c., and a Narrative of a Journey to Persepolis; with hitherto unpublished Cuneïform Inscriptions at Persepolis, &c. 8vo. ed. London, 1839.

† It was presented to the Athenæum by Capt. Henry Austin, who, I believe, took it from the ruins himself; he also gave another, as I have been informed, to some institution in New-York. Such instances of regard for the interests of learning in our country deserve the thanks of scholars.

‡ Grotefend's Communication, addressed to Heeren, and published as "Appendix II." to his *Researches*, vol. ii. p. 312, Eng. edit. Dr. Grotefend has since published his Neue Beitrage zur Erläuterung der persepolitanischen Keilschrift, etc. 4to. pp. 48. Hannov. 1837.

cases) that they appear to have been exclusively destined for the purpose of engraving on stone, &c., and were never intended for the ordinary purposes of writing.*

Proceeding southerly from Babylonia, we have between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf the renowned country of Arabia, whose languages and literature have been long cultivated by a small number of European scholars, with a view to Biblical researches exclusively, until a recent period; since which they have been studied, with a more enlarged view, as a branch of general literature and comparative philology.

But, long as this country and its literature and language have been the subjects of investigation with the learned, the perseverance and skill of modern scholars are still bringing to view new and interesting facts and results.

Among the latest subjects of their researches in that quarter, the *Himyaritish* language, which is found in the south of Arabia, has excited the attention of the learned in an extraordinary degree. It has been investigated by that eminent orientalist, the late Gesenius — whose recent death is felt as a great loss to the cause of Oriental learning — and by the learned German professor Roediger. That this language should have excited peculiar interest, you will not wonder, when I state, that it is supposed to be the language of the Queen of Sheba, or, as she is styled in the New Testament, "the queen of the south" † — her dominions having been in the southern part of Arabia, where this language has been preserved for unknown ages.

For our recent information respecting it we are indebted to a French writer of talents, M. Fresnel, whose letters on the subject (published in the Journal Asiatique at Paris ‡) are alike interesting for their learning and their amusing character. In remarking upon the peculiarities of the language, M. Fresnel observes, in a style of pleasantry, that certain hissing sounds in it require to be uttered with grimaces, by which the under lip and the tongue are distorted in a manner, that would not have been very becoming to the queen.‖

Next to Arabia, and eastward of the Persian Gulf and the

* Appendix to Heeren's Researches, &c. vol. ii., p. 215.
† Matth. xii. 43; Luke, xi. 31. See also 1 Kings, x. 1; 2 Chron. ix. 1.
‡ Journ. Asiat. 3d Series, tom. 5, p. 511, (June 1838.)
‖ Gesenius, Ueber die Himjaritische Sprache und Schrift. 1841.

river Euphrates we come to the kingdom of *Persia ;* which on the northwestern part is bounded by nations who belong to the Semitic family of languages, and on the east by people who use some of the idioms of the Indian stock. The Persian language and literature were among the first to engage the attention of Oriental scholars in Europe ; for which we are more indebted to that accomplished English scholar, Sir William Jones, than to any other individual.

The language of Persia is particularly interesting to us, for the remarkable affinities, which are found in it, to our own and other languages of the great Teutonic family. It was the first Oriental language, through which the scholars of Germany began to trace that remarkable connection between the Teutonic and Oriental tongues, which is now so fully developed ; and it is a singular coincidence in names, that Herodotus mentions a tribe of Persians, who were called Γερμάνιοι, *Germanii ;* though we must not too hastily infer from this resemblance of names alone, that he meant a tribe among the Persians constituting the national family, from which the present Teutonic race descended. The received opinion is — though not without some dissentients — that the tribe mentioned by Herodotus were the same with the *Caramanians.*

The princes of Persia have constantly encouraged learning by their singular attentions to learned men ; and their language, throughout the East, as a medium of intercourse in trade and otherwise, holds the same place with the French language in Europe.

A late able English writer, who has had recourse to Eastern authors, remarks, — that while the annals of almost every nation, that can boast of any political importance, have been illustrated by eminent British writers, *Persia* seems hitherto to have been generally neglected, though its people have in most ages acted a conspicuous part on the theatre of the world.*

From the most ancient periods to the present day, that country has been called by the natives *Iran ;* but Europeans, as Sir William Jones observes, have improperly given to the whole kingdom the name of *Persia,* which is properly the name of a single province only.†

* Sir John Malcolm, Hist. of Persia, Pref. p. vii. 2 vols. 4to. London, 1815.
† Sir W. Jones's Sixth Discourse ; in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 43.

The ancient history of Persia is intimately connected with our earliest studies in Grecian history; though hitherto we have only read it through the partial medium of Greek writers; who, forgetting the sacred obligations of the historian to relate the truth, have too frequently — from what is often, though falsely, called patriotic feeling — concealed or perverted facts in order to magnify their own country; though we can hardly bring ourselves to admit the justice of Juvenal's sarcasm on their historical writings —

> ——————Et quicquid Græcia mendax
> Audet in historia.*

Yet where there have been innocent omissions, or apparently errroneous statements, in regard to their intercourse with the Persians, in peace or war, every lover of truth, whatever may be his partialities for our Grecian masters in literature, will be desirous of having the testimony of the Persians themselves, to compare with that of the Greeks.

Now, applying this remark to the present case, we are not a little startled, in the first instance, at finding that some events which make a prominent figure in the works of the Greek writers on Persia, are either not mentioned by the historians of the latter nation, or are very differently related by them.

But we must not, from this circumstance, go to the extravagant length of a distinguished Persian scholar of the last century,† and distrust all that the Greek writers have related of the Persians. That author asserts, that from every research, which he has had any opportunity of making, "there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire;" and he goes on to affirm, that "we have no mention of the *Great Cyrus*, nor of any *King of Persia*, who in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no *Crœsus*, King of Lydia; not a syllable of *Cambyses* or of his frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. *Smerdis Magus*, and the succession of Darius Hystaspes by the neighing of his horse, are, to the Persians, circumstances equally unknown as the

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* Sat. x. 174.

† John Richardson, Esq. in his Dissertation originally prefixed to his Persian Dict. p. 67.

numerous assassinations recorded by the Greeks. Not a vestige is at the same time to be discovered of the famous battles of *Marathon*, *Thermopylæ*, *Salamis*, *Platea* or *Mycale*, nor of that prodigious force which Xerxes led out of the Persian empire to overwhelm the States of Greece."

On this strong statement a later English writer, before cited, very justly observes : " This is assuredly not correct ; the writers of both nations mix truth with fable, and were perhaps alike disposed to suppress some facts and to exaggerate others ; " and, he adds, when we consider the remoteness of the period, the want of dates (for before the time of Mohammed the Persian histories have none) and the many names and titles applied to their kings and heroes, we shall perhaps be more surprised at their casual agreement, than at their frequent difference in their relations of the same facts, or their omission of the historians of one nation to notice some of the most remarkable events recorded by those of the other.*

Two or three of the particulars, which are above objected to as being unnoticed by the Eastern writers, deserve a moment's attention.

In the first place, the history of *Kai Khoosroo*, as given by Eastern authors, corresponds in several points with the accounts given by Herodotus of the great Cyrus ; † and Sir William Jones in the most decided terms, says — " I shall then only doubt, that the *Khosrau* of Firdausi was the *Cyrus* of the first *Greek* historian, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt, that *Louis Quatorze* and *Lewis the Fourteenth* were one and the same French King. It is utterly incredible, that two different princes of Persia should each have been born in a foreign and hostile territory ; should each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather, in consequence of portentous dreams real or invented ; should each have been saved by the remorse of his destined murderer ; and should each, after a similar education among herdsmen, as the son of a herdsman, have found means to revisit his paternal kingdom ; and, having delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant

* Sir John Malcolm, Hist. Persia, vol. i. 229.
† Malcolm's Hist. vol. i. 224.

who had invaded it, should have restored it to the summit of power and magnificence !"*

The same accomplished scholar again observes, that the Greek writers, who sacrificed every thing "to the graces of their language and the nicety of their ears," must have formed their name of *Cambyses* from the Oriental *Kambakhsh*, or *Granting Desires*, a title rather than a name ; and *Xerxes* from *Shiruyi*, or *Shirshah*, which might also have been a title.† It has been heretofore assumed, on more careful investigation, that the *Lohrasp* of the Persians was the first *Cambyses* of the Greeks, as the power and lineage of the Persian hero completely accord with the description and family of the Grecian ; ‡ and the recent discoveries in Egypt now furnish a new corroboration of the Greek historians, in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, in which this personage is called *Kambeth ;* and hieroglyphical tablets of the sixth year of his reign are now extant.‖

There is as little doubt, that the *Gushtasp* of the Persians is the Darius *Hystaspes* of the Greeks, under whose reign the Persians were converted to the worship of fire ; and his name and that of his son Xerxes (*Kshearshah*) have at length been found in the Inscriptions in the arrow-headed, or ancient Persian, character.§ In respect to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes (the *Isfendiar* of the Persians) we have fables from the writers of Persia, and the Greek narratives are so full of exaggeration of the numbers of their enemies, as to throw a doubt over this event, which warrants us in distrusting what they narrate, except the simple fact, that their country was invaded by a powerful army under a Persian prince who was defeated.¶

To these corroborative facts may be added one other. According to the Greeks, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the son of Xerxes, succeeded to the throne of Persia ; and Eastern writers also state, that *Gushtasp* (Hystaspes) was succeeded by his grandson, Bahman, who was known by the name of *Ardisheer Dirazdust*, or *Ardisheer* with the *Long Hands*, or *Long Arms*, as he is termed by all

* Sixth Dissertat. before cited.
† Shiruyi, a prince and warrior, in the *Shahnameh* of Firdusi.
‡ Malcolm's Hist. vol. i. 224.
‖ See Mr. Gliddon's publication above cited.
§ Malcolm's Hist. Persia, vol. i. 57 and 234.
¶ Ibid.

the Persian authors; and Firdusi says of him — "When he stood on his feet the ends of the fingers of his hands reached below his knee;" which corresponds with the Greek writers. All these proofs (says Malcolm) render it certain, that *Ardisheer* and *Artaxerxes* are the same; and, this point being admitted beyond all doubt, is of great importance in determining the epoch both of Cyrus and Xerxes.*

After this epoch the Persian histories have more definite points of coincidence with the Grecian. The Persian writers speak of the wars of *Darab*, that is, Darius, against Philip, whom they call *Philippoos of Room;* by which term — adopted since the establishment of the Eastern empire of the Romans — they describe the provinces west of the Euphrates to the shores of the Euxine and Mediterranean.† His son, Alexander the Great, is also well known in Persian and other Asiatic writers, under the name of *Secunder* or *Secander*, and sometimes *Eskander Younani*, Alexander the Ionian or the Greek.‡ Yet, it seems to be admitted, that the Asiatic writers do not make the slightest allusion to that celebrated *Expedition of the Ten Thousand*, which has given immortality to its commander.‖ This total silence is accounted for, by some writers, upon the hypothesis that this expedition, though so much magnified by the Greek writers, was probably a very inconsiderable one — a conflict between the Greeks and one of the provincial governors, or satraps, of Persia, and not of sufficient importance to be related in the general histories of the nation.

Persia, as already observed, has lately become peculiarly interesting to Americans, in consequence of the Missionary Establishment among the *Nestorian Christians*, who occupy a territory in the northwesterly quarter of the Kingdom. To the facts before stated in relation to the Mission, may be added — that the American Missionary among them, the Reverend Justin Perkins, lately visited the United States, accompanied by the Nestorian Bishop, *Mar Yohannan*, whose personal character and the condition of his Christian countrymen created a strong interest and sympathy among all classes of people. And it will, doubtless, be

* Malcolm, ubi sup. and p. 67, and 235.
† Malcolm, vol. i. p. 56, note.
‡ Richardson's Dissertation, p. 325, note.
‖ Malcolm, vol. i. p. 241, note

gratifying to Oriental scholars to know, that under his direction, with the aid of the Bishop, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, are preparing new Syriac types for the purpose of supplying the Nestorians with copies of the New Testament, which they have so devoutly cherished from the earliest periods of Christianity, but of which they have at present no *copies* except a few ancient *manuscripts;* and these are confined to the use of a very small number even of their clergy. I may add, that the Nestorian dialect of the Modern Syriac was an unwritten language, until the establishment of the American mission among that people at Oróomiah in the year 1834.

In the study of the Persian language, our countrymen have not been wholly inactive. I have now lying before me a manuscript Translation of part of a copious Persian work, entitled the *Hyat-ul-Kuloob*, containing an original Biography of Mohammed, and a History of his Religion, written by a native of that country. The translation was made by the Rev. J. L. Merrick, an American missionary in Persia; who, as we are assured by a most competent judge and able Oriental scholar,* has executed his task with fidelity and skill, and has added notes of his own, which are of great interest and value. The volume, it is true, contains many monstrous fables and absurdities respecting the Arabian Prophet and his immediate followers; but, absurd as those are, yet, if historically they are even not more true than the Arabian Nights, they doubtless give us the peculiar traits of the *oriental* mind and character, with as much truth, as all acknowledge to be the case in the celebrated work of fiction just mentioned, or, as we find in the works of imagination in all nations; for, unless such works present a picture that is true to nature, their authors labor in vain — their works will not be read. It has, therefore, appeared to me desirable to add to our other sources of information respecting the Oriental nations even works, which intrinsically seem to possess but little direct historical value.

Our survey of the East has now brought us to the other great central point of civilization formerly alluded to; I mean, India or Hindustan; whose antiquity, in the opinion of an eminent critic, is perhaps as great as that of Egypt; and

* Rev. Isaac Bird, lately an American Missionary in the East.

the ancient physiognomy of which (if we may so speak) bears such a resemblance in some points to that of Hindustan, that when the English several years ago brought an army of native soldiers from India to Egypt, the soldiers prostrated themselves in reverence of the temples and deities of that country, as they would have done in those of their own.*

That the philosophy and science of India had an extensive influence on the surrounding countries, and even as far westward as Europe itself, is manifest from the concurring testimony of the writers of all nations. But, though it resembled Egypt in the system of *castes*, and in some other respects, yet it had not a system of hieroglyphic writing; and the Egyptian practice of embalming the dead body, as if the preservation of it were important to the man, was apparently inconsistent with the Indian doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul.† Yet, on the whole, there are so many points of resemblance, particularly in their mythologies, between Egypt and India, that a learned French writer supposes, that the latter country was civilized by those Egyptians who accompanied Bacchus or Sesostris in their expeditions to India.‡

The literature, science, and history of India have so long been a subject of research with English and other writers, whose works are familiar to us, that I forbear occupying your time with details; that they are eminently entitled to our attention, is indisputable; their superior antiquity alone over all, to which we are accustomed as objects of learned investigation, will ensure for them an important rank in the studies of every man, who is desirous of acquiring that exact knowledge which is the only knowledge of any real value. I may here remark, in passing, that the various new sources of information, which modern perseverance and zeal have opened to us, have materially extended the boundaries of a liberal education; and it has become indispensable to unite with our Greek and Roman, a portion of Oriental learning.

If there were no other motive for the pursuit of this branch of knowledge, there would be a sufficient one in the fact, that the great parent language of India, the *Sanscrit*, is now found to be so extensively incorporated into the Greek, and

* Schlegel's Hist. of Literature, vol. i. p. 192 - 202.
† Schlegel, i. 196.
‡ Larcher, Herod. B. i. § 123, in not.

Latin, and other languages of Europe, and, above all, in those which we consider as peculiarly belonging to the Teutonic or German family, that no man can claim to be a philologist, without some acquaintance with that extraordinary and most perfect of the known tongues. Of its intimate connection with the European languages, I could give you innumerable examples, if time permitted. But a single brief remark of the first Sanscrit scholar of the age, Professor Bopp, of Berlin, will supply the place of such illustrations. That profound scholar says — in strong terms it is true — "When I read the *Gothic* of Ulphilas's Version [of the Scriptures] I scarcely know whether I am reading Sanscrit or German."

It is a high gratification to every American, who values the reputation of his native land, to know, that some of our young countrymen are now residing in Germany — that genial soil of profound learning — with a view to the acquisition of the Sanscrit language; and that we shall one day have the fruits of their learning among us.* At the same time we have many missionaries in the different provinces of the hither and farther India, in Ceylon, the Burman Empire, Siam and other kingdoms of Asia, who are masters of the various languages of the people among whom they are stationed.

If time permitted, I should now ask your attention to the countries of *Northern* Asia, particularly Tartary, Tibet, and Mongolia, which are scarcely known to us except by name, but whose languages are beginning to excite great interest in Europe. Passing by these, for the present, then, I proceed to notice, very briefly, that extraordinary nation, the Chinese, whose ultimate fate is now a subject of grave consideration with the statesmen of Europe, and of the United States too, who but a short time since could not have imagined such a remarkable course of events as has lately taken place.

If we might presume to scan the ways of Providence, we should be ready to believe, that, in the present case, that mighty empire, which has been for ages encased within its own walls, is at no distant day to be opened and come into communication with the rest of the kingdoms of the world. In that

* Since this Address was delivered, one of our countrymen has returned from Germany, with a rich collection of Oriental Manuscripts (formerly in De Sacy's library) and a valuable body of works in Sanscrit literature; which, it is said, are to accompany him to the ancient and respectable College at New Haven.

country also America may justly boast of able scholars, who have mastered all the difficulties of the language, and are engaged in the diffusion of such knowledge as may prepare the way for the introduction of the blessings of Christianity and the arts and sciences of Europe ; and from these scholars our Society may hope to collect such knowledge of this people and their language, as may be afterwards again disseminated for the benefit of our fellow men.

In connection with this branch of our subject I cannot forbear adverting to the investigations made by our great philologist, Mr. Du Ponceau, who has within a few years past announced new and original views of the Chinese written language ; which he supports with such a cogent and philosophical course of reasoning, that they bid fair to remove ancient prejudices, and ultimately to find favor among the Sinologists of the Old World.

To the same philosophical linguist Europeans are indebted for the first publication they ever had of a copious Vocabulary of the kindred language of *Cochin China*, from a valuable manuscript preserved in the East India Museum of the neighboring city of Salem.*

With this portion of my subject I ought to relieve your patience ; yet how much remains to be done, before even the entire outline can be completed ! I can scarcely do more than offer you a catalogue of the countries and lang ages, that will fall within the views of our Association.

On the northern borders of China, and between Mantchooria, Tibet, and Siberia, is the country of the *Mongolians*, who have often been confounded with the *Tartars* of southwestern Asia, from whom however they appear to differ, physically, in various particulars, as well as in their language. The vague name of *Tartars*, indeed, (or *Tatars*, as Orientalists have it,) has long been applied, without discrimination, to an undefined region of the northern and eastern part of Asia. The Mongolians have been supposed to be the descendants of the *Huns*, and from time immemorial have been called by the Chinese, *Hiongnu ;* and their *khans*, or chiefs (of the

* This Vocabulary was brought to the United States by the late Capt. John White, the author of the well known Voyage to Cochin China. The MS. belongs to that excellent Institution, the *Salem East India Marine Society,* whose intelligent members are constantly enriching it with rare and valuable articles from distant countries.

southern part of their territory) are subject to China, and pay an annual tribute to the emperor. Their language is written in perpendicular columns, from left to right (the reverse of the Chinese); a valuable Grammar of it has lately been published at St. Petersburg by a learned German, who has made extensive investigations in this and other languages of that region.*

The country of the *Mantchoos*, or Mantchooria, is the general name of the inhabitants of eastern Tartary, that is, of the territory between Mongolia and the Eastern Ocean. Their language is called by that able Orientalist, M. Langlès, the most perfect and learned of the Tartar idioms; and has for some time past attracted the attention of philologists. It does not appear to have been a written language before the seventeenth century; and it is a remarkable fact, that this language, which is on the eastern edge of the old continent, has many words in it, that have a striking affinity to those of Western Europe — and those, not technical words, but the names of such objects as are common to all nations.†

As we proceed south from Mantchooria (also written Mandchouria) we come to the great peninsula of *Corea*, between the Sea of Japan on the east, and the Yellow Sea on the west; which deserves a brief notice. The Coreans cultivate the *Chinese* language, and consider a man "illiterate," who does not understand it; but their vernacular tongue is very different from it. Their alphabet is ingenious, being at once syllabic and elementary; but the whole number of characters (several hundred) may be resolved into about fifty-two syllables, or elements. Captain Basil Hall, in his Voyage to Corea and the Loo-choo Islands, states, that a *Chinese*, who accompanied them, was of no use, for he could not read what the Coreans wrote for him, though in the Chinese character; and of their spoken language he did not understand a word.‡

From the coast of China we pass to the adjacent islands, of which the most important are the *Japanese Islands*. Japan is generally considered to have been a colony from China; but was more probably civilized by Chinese colonists, before, or

* Grammatik der Mongolischen Sprache verfaast von I. J. Schmidt. 4to. pp. 179. St. Petersburg, 1831.
† Mithridates, vol. i. p. 515.
‡ Hall's Voyage, p. 4.

about the Christian era. Their language belongs to the alphabetic class, and is essentially different from the Chinese; though for a long period the error has prevailed, that the Japanese used the same written characters with the Chinese and with the same meaning. It was accordingly asserted, that the two nations could understand each other in *writing*, though not in *speaking;* an opinion, which is sufficiently refuted by the simple fact, that the Japanese *translate* Chinese books into their own language, and use dictionaries of Chinese with the meanings in Japanese; just as we use dictionaries of the French, or other foreign languages, with interpretations in our own.* The Chinese is, however, cultivated in Japan as a learned or foreign language; it being a qualification for the liberal professions and for promotion to public offices.

Southerly of the Japan Islands is the group called by English writers the *Loo-choo* Islands, which is a corruption of the native name, the pronunciation of which, in English, would be *Leoo-keoo*, as the old Dutch navigators originally took it from the mouths of the natives.† These islands have been rendered familiar to all readers by the interesting Voyage of Captain Basil Hall; who has given a copious Vocabulary of the language, drawn up by Lieutenant Clifford, of the Navy.‡ Their language, of which there appear to be different dialects in the different islands, is neither Chinese nor Japanese, though it has words common to both of them.

Still farther south, is the island of *Formosa*, rendered most famous by the notorious imposture of the celebrated George Psalmanazar; who, of his own invention, while in London, framed an entire language and history of the people, and for some time passed for a native of the island, and was sent by the Bishop of London to Oxford, to pursue his studies. The aboriginals, in the eastern and mountainous part of For-

* The error here noticed is still kept up in a late English compilation, republished in this country under the title of "Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the nineteenth century." 12mo. N. York, 1841. The English compiler professes to have taken some of his materials from the learned Dr. Siebold, who would assuredly be much surprised to be quoted as an authority in this instance.

† Siebold, Epitome Ling. Japonic.; published in the Transactions of the Society of Arts and Sciences at Batavia (Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen) vol. xi. p. 67. Batavia, 1826.

‡ In the American reprint of this Voyage, the Vocabulary and much valuable scientific matter, forming but little less than half the English volume, are, without any notice, suppressed! An example, which, it is to be hoped, will not be followed by our publishers.

mosa, resemble the Malays and South Sea Islanders, and speak a different language, it is said, from any one now known, and of different dialects, though there is a mixture of Malay words in it.

Southward of the Chinese dominions and of the territories described by geographers under the general name of *Indo-Chinese* — comprehending the Burman Empire, Siam, Cochin China, and Camboja — we have the Peninsula of Malacca, and the great Island of Sumatra; and eastwardly of these, the islands of Java, Borneo, Celebes, the extensive group of the Philippines, (estimated at fifteen hundred,) and the other numerous islands of the Indian Archipelago; throughout which the *Malay* family of languages, in its various dialects, prevails, but more or less intermixed with aboriginal languages in various islands, where the Malay is principally used as the language of commercial intercourse on the sea coast.

It may surprise some persons, that the Malay language, which takes its name from a people, whom we are accustomed to regard as a ferocious and uncultivated band of barbarians, contains no inconsiderable body of literature. This part of their history was several years ago made known by that able English scholar, Mr. Marsden; and there is now at the city of Washington a collection of Malay works, in manuscript, (brought home by the late Exploring Expedition,) which is said to be the largest that has ever come to the possession of any European. This collection was made by one of our countrymen also, Mr. North, an intelligent missionary at Singapore, who, I am informed, as a Malay scholar, has not his superior in any foreign nation.

Eastward and southward of the region last mentioned is that country of wonders, New Holland — in which, it has been observed, that nature defies the men of science to follow out their systematic classifications of her productions; and where, as a lively French writer observes, in rather exaggerated language, we find a volcano without a crater or lava, but continually throwing out flames — cherries which grow with the stone on the outside of the pulp — pears having the stalk at the biggest end — lobsters without claws, and dogs that do not bark!

The languages of New Holland and of the neighboring territory of Van Diemen's Land have not yet been all investigated;

but a valuable grammar of the dialect spoken in the vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarrè, &c., was published by Mr. Threlkeld, a missionary under the patronage of the British Government, in the year 1834 ; and we may anticipate additional information of value from the intelligent American scholar, who was charged with the philological department on the late Exploring Expedition, and who passed some time in New Holland.*

The limits of this Address compel me to omit even referring to numerous groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean. The principal ones, I mean the Society Islands, on the south side of the equator and the Sandwich Islands, north of it, are well known to almost every reader ; and the last mentioned group, by the Missionary Reports, and, particularly, by a recent valuable work published by one of our townsmen.† The Sandwich Islands deserve particular notice, however, as the station of the principal American mission, which has been established there about twenty-three years ; and in the course of that time has abolished the ancient idolatry and introduced the Christian religion, with the most useful arts of life that are known in Europe ; and, among them, the art of writing and printing the native language, in which numerous books and even periodical works are now published.

I will only add, that the prevailing languages of all these islands are dialects of what is commonly called the Malay stock ; but in many of them the Malay is intermixed with aboriginal languages peculiar to different islands.

I have now finished this very imperfect outline of the extensive and magnificent field of inquiry, which lies before us. Its magnitude is calculated, at first view, to throw us almost into a state of despair, lest we should not have it in our power to accomplish any thing that shall bear any proportion to the subject. But a more deliberate consideration will satisfy us, that we need not be disheartened.

We have, in the first place, many facilities by means of our extended commerce — the second in the world — which affords us an intercourse with the people of every habitable spot of the globe. Our missionary establishments are more active, particularly in relation to the languages and literature of

* Horatio E. Hale, Esq. of Boston.
† James J. Jarves, Esq., lately a resident in the Sandwich Islands.

different countries, than those of any other nation ; and I believe we may, without fear of contradiction, state as a fact, that among our Missionaries we have a greater number of proficients in various languages of the East and other parts of the world, than are to be found among the Missionaries of any other nation.*

In the next place, our travellers are multiplying every day ; and they now travel with a vastly greater stock of preparatory knowledge, than could formerly be furnished in our country.

The Oriental languages — the key to all knowledge of the East — have been cultivated during the last thirty years, in the United States, to an extent which the most sanguine could not have anticipated. For this advance, particularly so far as concerns Biblical learning, we are deeply indebted to the distinguished scholar, who has given so high a reputation to that department of the Theological Institution in the neighboring town of Andover ;† who gave the first impulse to our Oriental studies at the present day, and whose works are republished in England, and recommended by liberal English scholars in the English Universities. His eminent example has put to shame the noisy clamor of those fanatics, who in past periods were permitted to decry, what they were pleased to style mere human learning ; and the example has been successfully followed by other individuals and institutions ; of which last, another Theological Institution in our vicinity (at Newton) though more recently established, is already acquiring a well deserved reputation for Oriental learning.‡

In addition to the advancing state of Oriental studies in our *Theological* institutions, we may congratulate ourselves upon the increasing importance attached to them in our universities and colleges, as a branch of general education. The ancient College at New Haven — long distinguished in other respects—has able instructors in the Oriental department ; and is, I am informed, soon to have the advantage of the learning of a well educated *Sanscrit* scholar, as one of its professors. In our own neighboring University, too, where in times past Oriental learning was in a declining state, attention has been

* I am informed, on good authority, that there are about one hundred and fifty American Missionaries, *of liberal education ;* with numbers of subordinate assistants.

† Professor Stuart.

‡ The Baptist Theological Institution, under President Sears.

awakened to its essential importance in the science of philology, and its value as a branch of that extended and liberal education, which, by the common consent of cultivated nations, has been substituted for the narrow and limited one of former times ; and, in addition to the ordinary Oriental studies pursued there, we have now, in the talents and acquirements of its professors in the philological department, the promise of the higher attainments in Sanscrit and other Eastern literature.*

The disadvantages, to which we are still subjected in this country, have been already spoken of ; but similar ones have been also felt in the Old World. Sir William Jones, no longer ago than when he published his Persian Grammar, most feelingly complains, that his countrymen and those of other nations had shamefully neglected the study of the *Persian* language, till they were animated by "the most powerful incentive that can influence the mind of man ; *interest* was the magic wand, which brought them all within one circle ; *interest* was the charm, which gave to the languages of the East a real and solid importance. By one of those revolutions (he adds) which no human prudence could have foreseen, the Persian language found its way into *India*. . . . . Our India Company began to take under their protection the princes of the country, by whose coöperation they gained their first settlement ; a number of important affairs were to be transacted in peace and war between nations equally jealous of one another, who had not the common instrument of conveying their sentiments ; the servants of the Company received letters which they could not read, and were ambitious of gaining titles, of which they could not comprehend the meaning ; it was found highly dangerous to employ the natives as interpreters, upon whose fidelity they could not depend ; and it was at last discovered, that they must apply themselves to the study of the Persian language, in which all the letters from the Indian princes were written." †

Not many years before Sir William Jones had given his

* On the first establishment of the University in Cambridge, Oriental studies, as a part of the *theological* instruction, constituted a larger proportion of the course than they did afterwards. The students were required to read "Hebrew and the Eastern Tongues — Grammar to the first yeare ; to the second, Chaldee ; to the third, Syriack ;" and they were required to be able "to read the originals of the Old and New Testament into the Latine tongue, and to resolve them logically," &c. in order to be entitled to their second degree. See Peirce's Hist. of Harv. University, p. 8, and Appendix No. I.

† Jones's Persian Gram. Preface, p. vi.

countrymen this reproof, another eminent Orientalist, whom I have already cited, in a tone of despair gave utterance to his feelings on the fate of Oriental learning in England, in the following language: "As I shall bid adieu to Oriental learning, and indeed to every other literary pursuit, the moment I have completed the second volume of my [Persian] Dictionary, I take this opportunity of offering my opinion on the fate of this branch of learning. Unless some steady plan of encouragement is adopted by those who have power to promote it, *it must apparently languish in a state of lethargy, hardly differing from a non-existence;* for, till young men in general shall have the prospect of recommending themselves by such pursuits, one or two, or half a dozen, in a nation can never go very far in the improvement of any science. Had mathematics been as little followed, we had never seen a Newton. Had Greek been as much neglected, we should have had few of the excellent works which have been formed upon their models. Were an hundred students to attach themselves to Eastern tongues, instead of not a twentieth part, perhaps; an half, possibly, of these might make considerable progress, and a few might arrive at perfection. What the life and leisure of one or two men must be quite unequal to, a few years of such a number might easily accomplish. Manuscripts, which at present might almost as well be at Japan, would then be explored; and, from among a great many of small value, some real literary treasures would perhaps be discovered, in which religion, history, and general science might be greatly interested." *

If, then, we should not be able at present to make as large contributions to this branch of knowledge as to some others, we need not, under the circumstances of the case, feel culpable of having failed to accomplish all, that may have been reasonably demanded of us by our fellow laborers in the common republic of letters. But, above all, whatever we may accomplish, it is to be hoped that we may be stimulated in our efforts by a higher motive, than the poor and sordid one of *interest*, which Sir William Jones so emphatically ascribes to his countrymen. Even if we should occasionally commit mistakes, too, we ought not to suffer extreme mortification, when we reflect, how many have been committed by the

* Richardson's Dissertation, prefixed to his Persian Dict. p. 477, 8vo. ed.

great masters of the Old World, to whose works we are accustomed to resort for instruction; as, when we are told by Sir William Jones, for example, that the illustrious British Orientalist, Dr. Hyde, appears to have mistaken a Mendean work on some *religious* subject for a code of Tartar *laws*; and that he made a still worse blunder, in giving us for *Mongol* characters a page of writing, which has the appearance of *Japanese*, or mutilated *Chinese* letters; and when we further reflect, that Sir William Jones himself, (as we are assured by one of his countrymen,) accomplished as he was in Oriental learning, and the supposed translator of some *Chinese* odes into English — inserted, in his own hand-writing, on the blank page of a Chinese Dictionary, which he presented to the Royal Society, this remark: "If the letters A and B can be supplied, the work will be inestimable." On which it has been observed, that the defect was in Sir William's knowledge, not in the dictionary; as the Chinese have no word beginning with A, nor does B enter into any word in their language.

Let us not, therefore, feel too great solicitude, lest we should be unable to make even small additions to the knowledge of the Oriental languages, and through them to the science of *Philology;* a science, comparatively, of recent date, and the ultimate results of which, in ascertaining the relationship and history of nations — even of those which are not known to have ever had *written* languages — can hardly yet be justly appreciated.

In respect to General Philology, indeed, I may remark, that America, through her eminent philologist already named, first gave to the European world just and philosophical views of the families of aboriginal languages of this continent; and we cannot but recollect, that in France, where philological knowledge has been so highly prized, the great value of his learning was justly estimated, and an honorable premium awarded to him by the National Institute of France, for his able Dissertation in answer to one of their prize questions. Let us not forget, that, upon his suggestion and with his coöperation, another American philologist, in conjunction with a public spirited countryman, brought to the notice of European scholars a mass of original and authentic information on one of the remarkable languages of their own continent — the Berber, of North Africa — which had before been but im-

perfectly explored, as I have already stated. We may, too, claim some credit, for having been the first to furnish the learned of the Old World with a copious Vocabulary of another language of their continent — I mean, the *Cochin-Chinese* Vocabulary, which was published in this country under the superintendence of our veteran philologist above named; whose new views, also, of another Asiatic language — the Chinese written language — have been above alluded to. The sagacious and striking observations of the same scholar, too, first directed the attention of the learned in Europe to the investigation of another remarkable language of that continent — the *Georgian;* of which I have already given you a brief account.

In the languages of *Polynesia*, we have, by our active and intelligent missionaries, particularly at the Sandwich Islands, made useful contributions to philology, and laid the foundation for more extensive and exact researches in the languages and history of the Islanders — by having been the first to reduce their unwritten dialect to writing, according to a systematic orthography prepared for them in this country, and now generally adopted in other dialects of the Pacific; by establishing printing presses, for publishing *in the native language* newspapers, as well as numerous useful books in the various departments of religious, moral, and scientific instruction; all which means are powerfully and steadily operating to train the native mind to habits of investigation, and to a closer intercourse with the European mind, from which we may reasonably anticipate valuable results. Among the other Islands, our countrymen first furnished a valuable Vocabulary of the Feejee (Fiji) language, which supplied an important deficiency in the known vocabularies of the Polynesian family of languages.*

To these direct contributions, made by our countrymen to philological science, as connected with the Eastern and other languages, we may add a valuable mass of general information collected by American travellers, and particularly missionaries, in different parts of Asia and the countries on the Medi-

* This Vocabulary was collected, in the year 1811, by the late Wm. P. Richardson, Esq. of Salem, and is made the subject of a particular notice and acknowledgment by the late eminent philologist, Baron William von Humboldt (to whom it was communicated about twenty years ago) in his great work entitled Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java, (on the Kawi, or Original Language of the Island of Java,) 3 vols. 4to. Berlin, 1836 – 39: See vol. ii. p. 297. Professor Vater gives no specimen of this language in the Mithridates.

terranean, respecting the history, antiquities, and condition of the various nations visited by them.*

With these examples of substantial services in the cause of learning, within the short space of a few years, ought we to entertain a doubt, that we shall one day have it in our power to coöperate on more advantageous terms with our European brethren in promoting its farther advancement? At the present day, Europe and the United States constitute but one literary community; and the reputation of our country demands the continued efforts of every American, to perform his proportion of the common duties as a member of the republic of letters.

In order to aid ourselves in forming some judgment of what it may be in our power to accomplish, and what may be reasonably demanded of us, in comparison with other nations, it may not be without use, to advert to the actual state of ethnographical and philological science in that great country, in whose language we shall make our intellectual contributions, and with whose labors foreign nations will naturally compare those of our countrymen. I should not undertake, even if I had the ability and the right — to which I certainly make no pretensions — to sit in judgment upon the labors of the scholars of England, to whom we owe so much; but, if the opinions of eminent Englishmen themselves are of any authority in this case, the actual state of philological and ethnographical knowledge among them is far lower than it ought to be. But, although this, if true, may render the competition of other nations in this branch of knowledge so much the more easy, yet those, who have the true spirit of scholars, will naturally look for the standard, at which they ought to aim, in those nations where this learning is in highest state, as success in such a case would be proportionably the more honorable.

"I may have appeared to you more full and severe in my remarks upon this work than my subject required; but I will own that more than once I have been exposed to the mortification of hearing our English ethnographers blamed, as falling far below the advanced position of foreign philologers; and assuredly, when, after perusing the learned, judicious, and satisfactory inquiries of Baron Humboldt, from the Biscayan, into the very

* A list of some of the principal American works here referred to will be found in the Appendix at the end of this Address.

names so disfigured in this book, and admiring the sound philosophical and philological principles which guide him at every step,* we take up a work published since his, and going over the same ground, upon a system of fanciful etymologies derided to scorn by continental linguists, it is hard to forbear feeling a lively regret, that we should be subject to the reproaches of our neighbors, and that what they have already done should be apparently overlooked amongst us. When we are obliged to put forward as our greatest ethnographer, one who, like Dr. Murray blends the rarest erudition with the most ridiculous theories, — who with a profound knowledge of many languages, maintains that all those of Europe have their origin from nine absurd monosyllables, expressive of different sorts of strokes : † when a philosopher, held greatly in respect by his school, so late as 1827, speaks of the affinity between Greek and Sanskrit as something new and strange; refers to 'a German publication of Francis Bopp,' and an 'Essay on the Language and Philosophy of the Indians, by the celebrated Mr. F. Schlegel,' as works yet unknown to us except through the quotations of a review; mentions Gebelin, De Brosses, and Leibnitz, as the best authorities upon these studies; and occupies many pages in attempting to prove that Sanskrit is a *jargon* made up from Greek and Latin, and illustrates his position from *kitchen-Latin* and *Macaronic verses:* ‡ when a learned linguist professes to prove the conformity of the European with Oriental languages, and for that purpose confuses together primary and derivative, ancient and modern, Semitic and Indo-European words; giving such terms from the Arabic as *astrolabe* and *melancholy*, which it, as well as we, received from the Greeks : || when, in short, in the very last year, we have a divine, I believe of some celebrity, bringing this very study to bear upon the Mosaic history, by completely overlooking all its modern results, and considering the Teutonic, Greek, and Semitic, as forming the three principal ethnographic reigns; telling us that 'the construction of the three great families of

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* "In his interesting 'Prüfung der Untersuchung über die Urbewohner Hispaniens,' *Berlin*, 1821. Compare Sir W. Betham's derivation of Asturias from *as*, a torrent, and *sir*, a country, (p. 106,) with the learned German's disquisition on that name as found in Spain and Italy, p. 114."

† "These are : — 1. *ag*, *wag*, *hwag*. 2. *bag* or *hwag*. 3. *dwag*. 4. *cwag*. 5. *lag*. 6. *mag*. 7. *nag*. 8. *rag*. 9. *swag*. 'History,' etc. *ut sup*. p. 31. 'By the help of these nine words and their compounds, all the European languages have been formed!' — p. 39."

‡ "These observations will all be found in Dugald Stewart's 'Elements of the philosophy of the Human Mind,' vol. iii. *Lond*. 1827. p. 100 – 137."

|| "See 'A Specimen of the Conformity of the European Languages, particularly the English with the Oriental Languages.' By Stephen Weston, B. D. *Lond*. 1802."

language, the Oriental, the Western, and the Northern, is actually so distinct, that a new wonder arises from the perfect adequacy of each to perform all the purposes of human communication:' * when we see so many others amongst us, whom it would be long to enumerate, pertinaciously clinging to the old dreams of Hebrew etymologies,

'Trattando l'ombre come cosa salda;'

we cannot but feel that the reproach made against us is but too well grounded, that we have neglected to keep pace with the progress of this science upon the continent; and be keenly mortified when we meet, instead of amendment, another repetition of what has heretofore justified the charge." †

Another able English writer makes the following admissions, in respect to the low state of philological studies in England:—

"The philological researches of the last and the present age, more especially those of the Germans, have already so entirely revolutionized what before constituted this department of scholarship, and at the same time enlarged its boundaries so enormously, that much time must elapse before the mass of even what may be called accomplished readers can be expected to come, in a tolerable state of preparation, to the analysis of such a work as that now on our table. [Jäkels Germanische Ursprung der Lateinischen Sprache und des Römischen Volkes.] It is as if a new sense had been conferred on us; we are still puzzled and dazzled. In this country [England] in particular very few mind have grappled effectually with these brilliant novelties — to the general run *even of the students in our Universities they remain the objects of at best a distrustful wonder.*" ‡

The remarks of another learned Englishman, too, on another occasion, are not less emphatic and severe:—

"Etymology and philology" says he, "*do not seem to thrive on British ground.* We were indebted to a *foreigner* (Junius) for the first systematic and comprehensive work on the analogies of our tongue; and it is humiliating to think, how little

* "'Divine Providence: or, the Three Cycles of Revelation,' by the Rev. G. Croly, LL.D. *Lond.* 1834. c. xxii. p. 301. Nothing can be more incorrect than the description which follows this passage of the characteristics of each family so formed."

† Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion. London; and reprinted at Andover, U. States, 1837.

‡ Quart. Rev. vol. 46, p. 337.

real improvement has been effected in the two centuries that have since elapsed. We have manifested the same supineness in other matters connected with our national literature. We have allowed a *Bavarian* to print the first edition of the Old Saxon Evangelical Harmony — the most precious monument of the kind next to the Mœso-Gothic Gospels —*from English Manuscripts*. In like manner we are indebted to a *Dane* for the first printed text of *Beowulf*, the most remarkable production in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon literature; and we have to thank another Dane for our knowledge of the principles of Anglo-Saxon versification, and for the only grammar of that language which deserves the name. We have had, it is true, and still have, men who pride themselves on their exploits in English philology; but the best among them are much on a par with persons who fancy they are penetrating into the profoundest mysteries of geology, while they are only gathering up the pebbles that lie on the earth's surface. We admit, that Horne Tooke dug more deeply than his competitors, and by no means without success; but, for want of practical knowledge, he often labored in the wrong vein, and as often failed to turn the right one to the utmost advantage." *

Such, then, are the duties that lie before us, and such are our means of performing them in a manner, which we hope will ultimately be, in some degree, beneficial to our fellow men — the great end of all our intellectual labors.

But some persons, whose attention has not been particularly directed to this subject, may be ready to ask, in the current formula of the day, what *utility* is to be derived from these extended studies of the languages and literature of the globe? The important purposes, to which these researches into language would be subservient, were, I believe, first distinctly pointed out by the great Leibnitz — one of those rare men, to whom we may apply the title of a universal genius. In his earliest publication on the subject, a century ago, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Academy of Berlin, he justly observed — that, "as the remote origin of nations goes back beyond the records of history, we have nothing but their *languages* to supply the place of historical information."

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* Quart. Rev. vol. 54, p. 299. "We are far from intending to include all our *Anglo-Saxon* scholars of the present day in this censure. We admired and sincerely regret Mr. Conybeare. Some others of them — especially Mr. Kemble, and Mr. Thorpe — have also done good service in this department, and we sincerely hope they will live to do a great deal more."

By way of illustration, allow me here to remind you, that we are all sensible how very easy it is to distinguish a foreigner, when he attempts to speak our own language. Every one will recollect the example mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, where the pronunciation of a single word was made the decisive test of national character: "The men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay, then said they unto him, Say now *shibboleth;* and he said *sibboleth*, for he could not frame to pronounce it right: Then they took him and slew him." *

When, therefore, we have so simple and yet so certain a test of the affinities and differences of nations, how important it becomes to collect and compare specimens of as many languages as possible, with a view to the early history of the various races of the globe.

These researches have already established affinities, which were never suspected, between remote nations. Who, for example, would once have expected to find the most striking resemblances between the Sanscrit of India and the Greek of Attica, both in words and grammatical forms; or between the languages of Persia and of the Teutonic nations in the north of Europe? Who knew any thing about the *Gipsies*, till an examination of their language proved them to be of *East Indian* origin, instead of *Egyptian*, as their name once led the learned to believe. Who can doubt of the common origin of the natives of the Sandwich Islands and those of the Society Islands, who speak the same language, in substance, although the two groups are twenty-five hundred miles apart, and those people had no other means of intercourse over the Pacific Ocean, than their frail canoes? Or, who would for a moment hesitate to decide from language alone, even if we did not know the fact from other sources also, that the mixed race of the Pitcairn Islanders, notwithstanding their tawny skins and savage physiognomy, had English blood in their veins, when their nautical cry, from their canoes,—"Give us a rope"—electrified the first English navigators, that visited their island? And — not to fatigue you with other illustrations — if in the remotest ages of futurity, all historical records of the settlement of the colonies of America from our mother country shall be extinguished, and only some slight vestige of the

* Judges, xii. 5, 6.

language shall be preserved in monuments on each side of the Atlantic Ocean — even no more than the inscription of a single grave stone, or the legend of a single coin — who at that period will doubt, that the people of Old and New England were of the same family ?

Applying these illustrations to some of the unsettled cases occurring in ancient history, we may, for example, ask (with an able English writer) — Who knows any thing certain about the Pelasgi ? And who does not perceive, that two connected sentences of their language would tell us more clearly what they really were, than all that has hitherto been written about them ? *

In addition to what has already been said, bearing upon this question, it may be further observed, generally, that languages are the depositories of all knowledge ; and, to adopt the views of an able writer already cited, *literature has an over-ruling influence on the affairs of active life, on the fate of nations, and on the progressive character of ages.* In past periods, he adds, men of letters constituted a body altogether cut off from the rest of the world ; a separation which had an injurious effect upon all classes. But at the present day it is otherwise ; and the struggle of all after knowledge, in the investigation of truth, is the noblest struggle which it is in the power of man to make.† A learned French writer also observes, that " words are the bond of society, the vehicle of knowledge, the basis of the sciences, the depositories of the discoveries of a nation, of its knowledge, its cultivation, its ideas. The knowledge of words, therefore, is an indispensable means of acquiring the knowledge of things."‡ By means of languages, he adds, we are enabled to read the history of our fellow men, in past ages, and in all the quarters of the globe.

But, the further question may still be asked, of what positive utility will it be to us, to read the history of our fellow men of those past ages and distant regions ? It may be demanded, with much plausibility, of what practical benefit will it be to us, in the present age of the world, to know what was done by our fellow men two thousand, or two hundred, years ago—to study the elegancies and refinements of Grecian

* Quart. Rev. vol. 54, p. 296.
† Schlegel's Lectures on Hist. of Literature, Lect. i.
‡ Gebelin, Monde Primitif.

and Roman society, or the more simple and homely characteristics of our ancestors, who first founded the American colonies — to acquaint ourselves with the singular manners and customs of barbarous and civilized nations of more recent periods and distant countries — to spend our time in surveying the rude Islanders of the Pacific Ocean, or the sterner natives of our own Continent, or that extraordinary phenomenon among nations, which has been strikingly characterized as "the tame and immovable civilization of China." * Of what actual advantage can it be to us, to know how the daily business of life was transacted in the slumbering cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii? It may be admitted, indeed, that it is highly gratifying to a liberal curiosity, to travel over the same streets, and visit the same dwellings that were trodden by Roman footsteps eighteen centuries ago; to examine the domestic implements, which were actually used by Roman housekeepers; to read the identical manuscripts, which once served for the instruction of some Roman scholar; to see and handle the same morsel of bread and the same flask of wine, which were perhaps just raised to Roman lips and suddenly dashed from them, in the terrors of that awful catastrophe, which has been the means of their preservation, to our times, untasted and unconsumed. But still the question will again be coldly asked — of what utility is this knowledge? To which the answer, as in many other cases, must ultimately be — because a *natural* desire for such knowledge has been implanted in man by his Creator for wise purposes; and, when philosophy attempts to reason down this desire, nature rebels; and no man is willing to throw aside, as useless, these and a thousand other particulars of the past generations of his race, although he cannot demonstrate their direct applicability to any common purpose, that would in popular language be denominated practically *useful*.

With all these incentives before us — the love of learning, for its own sake — the reputation of our beloved country, to whom we owe so much, and whom we are all ambitious of elevating to the same lofty height, to which other nations have attained by the cultivation of learning — the reputation of each individual among us, whose position is such as to render him responsible to the republic of letters for any injury which

* Sir James Mackintosh's Introductory Lecture on the Law of Nations.

it may suffer by his culpable neglect — shall we expose ourselves to the imputation of having been wanting in the discharge of the high duties incumbent upon us? To accomplish all we could desire, will doubtless be a task of great labor. It was a saying of the ancients, that the gods gave nothing great and valuable to man without labor. The celebrated philosopher, Epicurus, indeed, is said to have reckoned perpetual idleness, or the absence of all labor, among the pleasures of the Elysian fields; but the Tartar savages of the North, barbarians as we call them, placed this same idleness among the torments of their world to come.

Steady, unremitting labor on subjects of the intellect, like the untiring labor of the body upon physical objects, will overcome all obstacles. To take an illustration or two from some parts of our subject — think of the vast labor which raised the colossal monuments of Egypt, that are to endure for as many ages as they have already stood! Look at the enormous temples and gigantic pagan statues made by the hands of the slender and effeminate Hindoo; or that mighty barrier and wonder of the world, the Great Wall, by which the feeble Chinese hoped to secure themselves against the superior strength of their more hardy neighbors — all these are more like the works of giants than of the common race of our fellow men. By time and patient labor, says the beautiful Oriental proverb, the leaf of the mulberry tree is changed into silk; and, if we would erect intellectual monuments, to be the admiration of ages to come, and to be as imperishable as those raised by the labor of the hands, we must accomplish it by the persevering application of the powers of that noble intellect, with which the Creator has endowed man for the great ends of his being.

APPENDIX.

THE following brief statements, respecting the operations of the American Missionary Societies and their Missionaries in the East and other quarters of the globe, have been obligingly furnished, at my request, by members of the different religious denominations referred to in them. They will abundantly justify the views taken, in the preceding Address, of their extent and importance in the cause of learning alone, without any reference to the higher motives, which originally prompted these efforts of a Christian community to benefit their fellow men; the consideration of which was aside of the present occasion.

I.

(See pp. 2 and 45.)

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has seventeen printing establishments for the use of its missions, with four type founderies, and thirty-one presses. At these, printing has been executed in the following languages, viz.: Grebo, Bassa, Zulu (Sichuana), Italian, Modern Greek, Hebrew, Hebrew-Spanish, Ancient Armenian, Modern Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, Arabic, Modern Syriac, Mahratta, Goojooratee, Hindoostanee, Tamil, Teloogoo, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese, Malay, Bugis, Hawaiian, Marquesas, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seneca, Abenaquis, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Creek, Osage, Sioux, Pawnee, and Nez-Percés. Fourteen of these were first written by Missionaries of the Board; and in these languages nearly four hundred millions of pages have been printed at the establishments belonging to the Board.

Some of the works here referred to are specified:

Grebo. — Vocabulary, pp. 119. School-books.

Hebrew-Spanish. — Old Testament.

Ancient Armenian. — The Holy Scriptures.

Modern Armenian. — New-Testament and the Psalms. Grammar. Armenian Magazine. School-books.

Armeno-Turkish, (Turkish in Armenian characters.) — The Holy Scriptures.

Arabic. — Elements of Arabic Grammar.

The Board has had a new fount of Arabic type cut, under the superintendence of the Rev. Eli Smith, one of its Missionaries, so conformed to Arabic calligraphy as to suit the extremely fastidious taste of the Arabs. It was cut by Mr. Homan Hallock, an ingenious mechanic then in charge of the printing establishment at Smyrna; and the type was cast by Tauchnitz at Leipsic, in Germany, Mr. Smith having gone thither to superintend the operation. Mr. Hallock is now residing in the United States, and is cutting and casting a new Arabic fount for the Board, conformed to the same beautiful pattern, but considerably reduced in size.

Modern Syriac. — This, or at least the Nestorian dialect of it, was unwritten until the establishment of the mission among the Nestorians at Oróomiah in the year 1834. A fount of type, conformed to the most approved written character, has lately been cut and cast by Mr. Hallock, under the superintendence of the Rev. Justin Perkins, the first American Missionary to the Nestorian people.

Mahratta. — Idiomatic Exercises, pp. 330. New Testament, and the Poetical and some other books of the Old Testament. Easy Lessons, with Dictionary. School-books.

Hindoostanee. — Gospel of John.

Tamil. — Abridgment of Grammar. Tamil Dictionary, pp. 674. Dictionary, Tamil and English, and English and Tamil, in progress. The Holy Scriptures. School-books.

Teloogoo. — Vocabulary, etc., pp. 240. Teloogoo Poem.

Siamese. — Parts of the Holy Scriptures. School-books.

Chinese. — Chrestomathy, 730 royal octavo pages, by the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, D. D. Easy Lessons, by Mr. Williams. Anglo-Chinese school-book in the Canton dialect. New Testament. Chinese Repository, (in English,) published monthly — eleven volumes; edited by Dr. Bridgman.

Japanese. — Gospel of John.

Hawaiian. — Vocabulary, pp. 132. The Holy Scriptures. School-books.

AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

At *Maulmain* (Burman Department) Mr. A. Judson; has translated the Bible, and is now engaged on a Grammar. E. A. Stevens; translating several works.

Amherst. (Peguan Department) J. M. Haswell; translating the New Testament.

Tavoy Mission. Mr. J. Wade and Mr. F. Mason. Mr. Mason has translated the New Testament, and is now engaged in a Grammar of the Karen language; he has written on the Karen poetry; he is also an able naturalist. Mr. Wade reduced the Karen language to writing, and is now preparing a dictionary.

Arracan Mission. Mr. G. S. Comstock has prepared maps and music for the natives. Mr. L. Stilson has begun to write the language of the Kemmees, a mountain tribe, 150 miles north of Akyab.

Siam Mission. At *Bangkok* (Siamese Department) Mr. J. T. Jones has translated the whole New Testament into Siamese.

Chinese Mission. (Chinese Department.) Mr. J. Goddard, Mr. W. Dean.

Assam Mission. At *Sibsagor*, Mr. N. Brown. At *Nowgong*, Mr. M. Bronson has reduced to writing an Assam dialect of the mountaineers.

Teloogoos Mission. At *Nellore*, Mr. S. S. Day.

The number of Baptist Missions in connection with the Board is 19; and of stations and out stations, about 80. There are 103 Missionaries, of whom 44 are preachers, and 52 are female assistants. Of native preachers and assistants there are 114.

EPISCOPAL MISSIONARIES IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE MEDITERRANEAN.

In *Western Africa*, Cape Palmas: The Rev. T. S. Savage, M. D., Rev. Joshua Smith, Rev. S. Hazlehurst; besides teachers and assistants. Out-stations: *Graway*, on the coast, two teachers. *Cavalla*, Rev. J. Payne and Mrs. Payne; besides assistants. *Rockbookat*, on the coast, Rev. L. B. Minor, wife, and assistant.

China—Rev. W. J. Boone, M. D., at Kúlang-sú. He resided many years at Batavia and Singapore, acquiring the Chinese language, and is now preaching and instructing.

Greece, at *Athens:* Rev. Mr. Hill and Mrs. Hill, with two assistants, have large schools and are educating some 700 children.

In *Crete:* Rev. Mr. Benton, wife and assistants, have extensive schools.

In *Syra:* Rev. Dr. Robertson resided many years at Syra, and had charge of a press, and published many tracts translated into Modern Greek by himself and daughter. He is now in the United States.

At *Constantinople:* Rev. Horatio Southgate has been for some time at Constantinople, and is now about to proceed on a mission to the Christians of Mesopotamia — a Turkish and Persian scholar.

[This summary is very incomplete, in consequence of some documents not being at hand, which would have furnished the necessary details.]

II.

(See p. 53.)

AMERICAN VOYAGES, TRAVELS, AND OTHER WORKS RELATING TO THE EAST AND POLYNESIA.

ANDERSON. — The Peloponesus and Greek Islands. By th Rev. R. Anderson, 12mo. 6*s*. Boston. (The author is Secretary of the American Board for Foreign Missions.)

Around the World. — A Narrative of a Voyage in the (U. S.) East India Squadron, under Commodore Read. By an *Officer* in the U. S. Navy. 2 vols. 12mo. cloth, with Views of Muscat, etc. 15*s*. New York, 1841.

BIGELOW. — Malta and Sicily, 8vo. 14*s*. Boston, 1831.

BREWER. — (Rev. Josiah) Residence at Constantinople in 1827. New Haven, 1830.

CLEAVELAND. — Voyages and Commercial Enterprises. By Richard J. Cleaveland. 2 vols. post 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*. Boston, 4842.

COLTON. — Constantinople and Athens. By Walter Colton, U. S. N. 12mo. 7*s*. New York, 1836.

DEKAY. — Turkey. By J. E. DeKay, M. D. 8vo. 12*s*. New York. Desultory Reminiscences of Germany, France, and Switzerland. 8vo. 14*s*. Boston, 1839.

DELANO. — (Capt. Amasa) Narrative of Voyages and Travels, comprising three voyages round the world. 8vo. Boston, 1817.

FANNING. — Voyages Round the World. By Capt. Edw. Fanning. 8vo. 12*s*. New York, 1833.

GRANT. — The Nestorians; or, the Lost Tribes; with Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Meso-

potamia: and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy. By Asahel Grant, M. D. 12mo. Map. New York, 1842 (Published also in London by Mr. Murray, for the author.)

HAIGHT (Mrs.) — Letters from Egypt, Turkey, Palestine, etc. By a Lady of New York. 2 vols. 12mo. 12*s*. New York, 1840.

HARLAN. — *Personal Narrative* of Eighteen Years' *Residence* in *Asia;* comprising an account of the Manners and Customs of the Oriental Nations, with whom the Author has had official and familiar intercourse. By J. Harlan, late Counsellor of State, Aid-de-Camp and General of the Staff to Dost Mahommed, Ameer of Cabul. Philad. 1843.

———— Memoir on Affghanistan, etc. 12mo. 5*s*. Phila. 1842.

HOLDEN. — Narrative of Shipwreck and Captivity at the Pelew Islands, etc. etc. By Horace Holden, 18mo. 4*s*. Boston, 1836.

JONES. — Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, etc. By a Chaplain in the American Navy. 12mo. 7*s*. 6*d*. New York, 1836.

Journal of a Tour around Hawaii (Sandwich Islands.) 12mo. Boston, 1825.

JUDSON (Ann H.) — A particular relation of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire. Washington, 1823.

KING — LAY. — Japan and Malaysia in 1837; their claims upon Christendom, exhibited in Notes of Voyages from Canton, under the direction the Owners; viz. — The Ship *Morrison*, to Japan, by C. W. King. The Brig *Himmaleh*, in the Malayan Archipelago, by G. T. Lay, Nauralist. 2 vols. 12mo. 12*s*. New York, 1839.

LAWRIE (Rev. John C.) — Travels in North India. 12mo. Philad. 1842.

LEDYARD. — Life of Ledyard, the American Traveller. By Jared Sparks. 12mo. 6*s*. Boston.

MALCOM. — Travels in South-Eastern Asia; embracing Hindostan, Siam, China, and the Burman Empire. By Rev. Howard Malcom. 2 vols. 12mo. plates, 12*s*. Boston. (The Author was a Missionary of the American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.)

MILLER. — The Condition of Greece in 1827, 1828. By Col. Jonathan P. Miller, of Vermont. N. Y. 1829. 12mo. pp. 300.

MORRELL. — Four Voyages to the South Sea, etc. By Capt. Morrell. 8vo. 14*s*. New York, 1832.

MOTT. — Travels in Europe and the East, in the years 1834 – 1841. By Valentine Mott, M. D. 8vo. New York, 1842. Published also by Messrs. Longman and Co. for the Author.

MURRELL. — Cruise of the Frigate Columbia. By W. M. Murrell, one of the Crew. 12mo. 6*s*. Boston, 1841.

OLIN (Rev. Dr.) — Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land. 2 vols. New York, 1843.

OLMSTEAD. — *Incidents* of a *Whaling Voyage:* with Observations on the Scenery, Manners and Customs, and Missionary Stations of the Sandwich and Society Islands. By Francis Allyn Olmstead. 12mo. Plates, 7*s*. 6*d*. New York, 1842.

PAULDING. — Cruise of the United States Schooner Dolphin, in the Pacific, etc. By Lieutenant Paulding. 18mo. 4*s*. New York, 1831.

PAXTON. — Letters on Palestine and Egypt, during Two Years' Residence. By J. D. Paxton, A.M. 12mo. 5*s*. Lexington, (Ky.) 1839.

PERKINS. — *Eight Years' Residence in Persia,* among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Mahommedans. By Rev. Justin Perkins. With 27 highly-colored Engravings of Costume, Scenery, Portrait of Mar Yohannan, Maps, etc. 8vo. 18*s*. Boston, 1843.

PORTER. — Constantinople, etc. By Commodore Porter. 2 vols. 14*s*. New York, 1835. (Late Resident Minister of the United States in Turkey.)

POST. — A Visit to Greece and Constantinople in the year 1827 – 8. By Henry A. V. Post, one of the Agents of the New York Committee. New York, 1830. 8vo. pp. 367.

RAPELYE. — Voyages and Travels in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. By Geo. Rapelye. 8vo. 16*s*. New York, 1835.

READ. — Missionary Tour in India. By the Rev. Messrs. Read and Ramsey, American Missionaries. 12mo. 6*s*. Philadelphia, 1836.

REYNOLDS. — Voyage Round the World, in the United States Frigate Potomac, 1831 – 4. Plates, 8vo. 18*s*. New York, 1835.

ROBERTS. — Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Siam, Cochin-China, and Muscat, in the United States Ship Peacock, 1832 - 4. By Edward Roberts. 8vo. 14*s*. New York, 1837.

ROBINS. — Journal of the Loss of the Brig Commerce, 18th edition, 12mo. Hartford, 1826.

ROBINSON. — Biblical Researches in Palestine. By Edward Robinson, D. D. 3 vols. 8vo. Boston; and by Mr. Murray, London, 1842. Published also in German, at Berlin.

ROCKWELL. — *Sketches of Foreign Travel and Life at Sea;* including a Cruise on board a Man-of-War; as also a Visit to Spain, Portugal, the South of France, Italy, Sicily, Malta, the Ionian Islands, Continental Greece, Liberia and Brazil; and a Treatise on the Navy of the United States. By the Rev. Charles Rockwell, late of the United States Navy. 2 vols. 8vo. 16*s.* Boston, 1842.

RUSCHENBERGER. — Voyage Round the World, 1835 – 7. 8vo. 14*s.* Philadelphia, 1838.

SHALER. — Sketches of Algiers. 8vo. 9*s.* Boston, 1826. Mr. Shaler was for many years Consul-general of the United States at Algiers.

SMITH and DWIGHT. — Missionary Researches in Armenia. By Rev. Eli Smith and Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, of Am. B. Com. 2 vols. 12mo. 12*s.* Boston, 183–. This has been republished in England, and also translated into German.

SOUTHGATE. — Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia. By the Rev. Horatio Southgate. 2 vols. 12mo. 12*s.* New York, 1840.

STEPHENS. — Egypt, Arabia Petræa, etc. 2 vols. plates, 12*s.* New York, 1837.

STEWART. — Visit to the South Sea. 2 vols. 12mo. 12*s.* New York, 1831.

——— Residence at the Sandwich Islands. 5th. edition, 12mo. 6*s.* Boston, 1839.

TAYLOR. — The Flag Ship; or a Voyage around the World in the United States' Frigate Columbia, attended by the Sloop of War John Adams. By F. W. Taylor, Chaplain U. S. N. 2 vols. 12mo. 12*s.* New York, 1840.

WARRINER. — Cruise of the U. S. Frigate Potomac round the World in 1831 – 4. By F. Warriner, A. M. 12mo. 7*s.* 6*d.* New York, 1835.

WHITE (Capt. John.) — Voyage to Cochin-China, &c. 8vo. Boston. 2d. ed. 1826.

In addition to the preceding works ought to be mentioned, the following periodicals, containing journals of travels, as well as the regular communications from the American Missionaries in the *East*, and elsewhere, to their respective Boards in the

United States, and abounding with information of the most interesting character in addition to the religious intelligence : —

The Missionary Herald, now at its 39th volume, published at Boston.

The Baptist Missionary Magazine, now at its 23d volume, New Series. Boston.

The Spirit of Missions (Episcopalian) published at New York; now at the 8th volume.

The (Presbyterian) Missionary Chronicle. N. York and Philad.

In *China.* — The Chinese Repository, now at its 12th volume, edited by the Rev. Dr. Bridgman, and published monthly at Macao — a most valuable journal.

There are several other works of this class, published in America; but time is wanted to complete the list.

III.

The following Extracts from the able Report made to the Paris Asiatic Society, on the 30th of May, 1842, by M. *Jules Mohl*, Assistant Secretary, presents a view of the actual state of Oriental studies on the Continent of Europe, and will be read with interest.

M. Mohl, after observing, that the Asiatic Society has now reached the end of its twentieth year, and that it would be useful to take a review of some of its labors, and to point out what yet remains to be done, in order to accomplish the original design of its founders, proceeds as follows : —

Formerly Oriental studies "were confined almost entirely to the languages and literature which were used in the interpretation of the Bible; and, if some individuals particularly circumstanced, like the French Missionaries in China, or who were in advance of the opinions and wants of the age, like Hyde, Deguignes, and Anquetil, occupied themselves with some other departments of Asiatic literature, they were isolated persons, and, as it were, out of the current of erudition. Sir William Jones was the first to consider Oriental literature as an immense whole, which was destined to serve as a foundation for the history of man; and of which, each part must coöperate in elucidating the others. By degrees this beautiful vision was — we will not say realized, for it is far from being so now — but it was comprehended; the work was begun in every quarter, and the excited curiosity of the most enlightened part of the European public sustained the learned in their new and im-

mense career; at the same time that governments felt the importance of seconding the efforts of those who were preparing to go on in it. Professorships were established for instruction in the principal languages; and associations — at the head of which have always been the French Government and the India Company — afforded their aid in the publication of a great number of grammars, dictionaries, and original texts and translations of Oriental works.

"As the circle of Studies was enlarged, it became more and more difficult for each individual to keep up with its progress; and, what had once been called an *Orientalist* was no longer to be found, because a whole life was not sufficient to embrace so many languages and such various literature. . . . . Yet there is so natural a bond of union among them, that we have been compelled, as it were, by means of associations to attain to that universality of studies, which no single individual could master."

The learned secretary then states the foundation of the Asiatic Society, on the 1st of April, 1822: and the election of M. De Sacy" to whom all Europe had for a long time assigned the first place among Orientalists," to the presidency of it. He then states its objects; the *first* of which was, to establish a journal exclusively devoted to Oriental learning; there had been at that time only one of the kind in Europe, *Les Mines de l'Orient*, which had ceased to be published. The *Journal Asiatique* was accordingly established, and in 1842 reached its fortieth volume. The Society next encouraged the publication of the originals and translations of Oriental works, and dictionaries and grammars, and defrayed the expenses, in part, or in whole, according to the circumstances of its pecuniary ability. In addition to this, the Society collected Oriental Manuscripts, as far as it was able. After speaking of the difficulties encountered by the Society, M. Mohl bears the following honorable testimony to the proud rank maintained by that land of learning, Germany; which affords decisive evidence of the comparative state of Oriental studies in Germany and other parts of Europe: —

"It is only in Germany at the present day, that the learned public are sufficiently numerous to warrant the publication of a certain number of Oriental works. In all the other countries of Europe, it is necessary for the author himself or his government, or some association to defray the expenses." The authors in all other countries of Europe, he adds, "are obliged to make great sacrifices: the present encouragement of Government is insufficient, and we [in France] have still to expect the day,

when any Oriental work worthy of publication shall appear by the aid and patronage of the public alone." He further states—

"Printing and lithography have at length penetrated into the East, and by degrees destroyed the prejudices that have existed in favor of manuscripts; but the difficulty of communications between Europe and the East prevents our obtaining their books, or even knowing what books they have"

M. Mohl mentions, with commendation, the labors of the *Oriental Translation Fund*, established in England by George, Earl of Munster, now deceased.

Arabian literature is still the most cultivated in France and Germany; and he enumerates various works published in, or translated from the Arabic language; particularly the great biographical dictionary of Ibn-Khallikan, a lawyer of the 13th century, a work of the highest interest; the work of Ibn-Khaldoun, on the Crusades, printed at Upsal, in Sweden, in 1841 (in 4to.) Numerous editions of the Koran have enlarged the circle of the readers of that book. Flügel, to whom we are indebted for the excellent stereotype edition of it, has just published, at Leipsic, a *Concordance* of the Koran, which is indispensable to the student in Oriental literature; and an edition of the voluminous and celebrated commentary of Beidhawi upon the Koran is now announced by M. Fleischer.

Persian literature has been enriched by a new Grammar written by Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim of Shiraz; who after having had a learned education in Persia went to England, where he is appointed a professor of the Persian language in the college at Hailesbury, and has acquired an extensive knowledge of English. The works of Firdousi and various other writers have also been published in Europe. Among the works in Persian literature is one of those great works, with which M. Von Hammer-Purgstall has long been enriching Oriental literature; that is, the history of the Mongols of Persia, which makes a continuation of his history of the Mongols in Russia. The history of the Mongols is a part of the annals of Asia, which, in our time, have been the object of the most remarkable labors of the learned.

In France, the Directors of the school of Oriental languages is publishing a collection of *Chrestomathies*, which will comprise the principal modern languages of Asia, and will render the greatest services to Oriental literature.*

* *Chrestomathies Orientales*, ou Receuil de textes Arabes, Tures, Persans, Grecs modernes, Armeniens et Indostani, publiés sous les auspices de M. le Ministre de l'instruction publique, etc. Paris, 1841, in 8vo.

The Imperial Academy of Vienna has published, by M. Krafft, a catalogue of its Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS.; and the same learned writer is now at work upon a catalogue of the Oriental MSS. in the great library at Vienna, one of the richest in Europe; and we may expect from M. Longpérier, a complete Oriental numismatic history.

The Danish Government, which has given so frequent proofs of its zeal in the cause of Science, has appointed a Board of Commissioners for the purpose of making known to the public the unpublished MSS. of the library at Copenhagen, which is extremely rich in Oriental, as well as Scandinavian works.

Armenian literature has been enriched with a history of Armenia by John Catholicos, Patriarch of Armenia at the beginning of the 10th century, (translated by M. Saint Martin,) which has been published at the expense of the French Government by M. Lajard.

Proceeding on our way from Western Asia towards India, we find the country called Bactriana; whose history, within a short period, was among the most obscure of the East; when suddenly there was an influx of Europeans from different kingdoms into Affghanistan, who have brought to light in a few years, an immense number of monuments. Inscriptions, and unheard of numbers of Bactrian, Roman, Persian, Indian, and other medals of barbarian origin, covered with legends before unknown, have been found, and their alphabet has been read, by M. Prinsep, of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. After him, Messieurs Wilson, Lassen, Jacquet, Mionnet, Raoul-Rochette, Grotefend, and other learned men, have commented on and explained these remains of antiquity. The Roman and Persian coins have served to fix the age of the *topes;* the Bactrian medals have established the list of the Greek kings of that country; the barbarian medals have made known the Bactro-Scythian dynasties, which overturned the power of Alexander's successors; and the Indian medals have confirmed what we should anticipate from the researches of M. Rémusat, in respect to the extension of Buddhism west of the Indus. This is perhaps the first instance, in which numismatic history has been a substitute for the annals of a country, and has sufficed to instruct us in the leading traits of its history. It shows us, who were the different races that were the predominant powers in Bactriana, the revolutions which religion has undergone, and the changes in language and civilization. The collection of the East India Company — the finest existing — consists of more than thirty thousand medals; and is to be published at the expense of the Company, by Mr. Wilson.

In *Sanscrit* literature, we have had some works; and among them, the Grammar of Mr. Wilson, whose activity seems to increase from year to year. It is intended to be a more complete manual than that of Yates, and more convenient for use than the large works of Foster and Colebrooke; while, at the same time, it simplifies the theory of the Sanscrit verb. In Paris also, M. Desgranges, one of the first pupils of M. Chézy, has completed a very full Sanscrit grammar, which will be the first grammar of that language from a French press.

The *Pali* language — which was the official language of the Buddhish dynasties of India, and at this day the sacred language of Buddhism in the peninsula beyond the Ganges and at Ceylon — was first brought before the public by the Asiatic Society of Paris, by the publication of the Essay of Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen; since which a grammar, dictionary, and other works relating to it, have appeared; and one work, the *Kammavakia*, a treatise on the ordination of the Buddhish priests, has been published by M. Spiegel; which is the first *Pali* text ever published in Europe. The same writer promises us a Pali dictionary.

M. Mohl next gives an instance of the great zeal of the *Prussian* government to possess the most complete collection possible of Oriental works, in purchasing the invaluable collection of Sanscrit manuscripts of the late Sir R. Chambers. His library, consisting of more than a thousand manuscripts, is the finest ever formed in India, except that of Mr. Colebrooke, and which that gentleman presented to the East India Company.*

"Among the languages which, by their origin or their literature are connected with India, there are two, which in the course of the last year (1841) have become the object of new studies; they are, the language of *Tibet* and the *Malay*. The Minister of Public Instruction caused to be opened, at the School of the living Oriental Languages, a course of study for the Tibetan lan-

* We are reminded here of a short notice of the intended sale of the late Dr. Morrison's *Chinese* library, published in the London "Asiatic Journal," vol. xxv. p. 71. The writer says, with patriotic and scholar-like feelings— "We should hope, that England will never suffer *the disgrace* of its being said, that the Chinese library of Dr. Morrison, which is, perhaps, worth £4000, was offered to the British public for £2000, and that paltry sum could not be raised." The same writer asserts, in very strong language, that Great Britain "has never taken the slightest measures" for promoting the study of the Chinese language; and while the Governments of France, Prussia, and Bavaria, have established professorships for teaching that language, "in Great Britain not a step has been taken to teach even its elements." But at length a professorship has been established in University College, London, and the Rev. Samuel Kidd appointed professor.

guage and literature, and confided it to M. Foucaux, who began it by a discourse upon the present state of the studies having for their object that language . . . . . M. Schmidt had already published a Tibetan grammar, and M. Schroeter, a German Missionary in India, had made a dictionary containing a rich collection of Tibetan words and phrases, which Mr. John Marshman published at Serampore in 1828, under the title of a Dictionary of the Language of Boutan. Subsequently M. Csoma de Körös, who had acquired a very extensive knowledge of the language and literature of Tibet, published at Calcutta, in 1824, a dictionary and grammar, which laid the foundation for the study of that language. M. Schmidt also, in 1839, published a Grammar, and has just published also a Dictionary, in which M. Csoma's materials are better arranged, and additions made from original sources."

Malay literature is about to be enriched by the publication of the Maritime Codes of Malacca, Macassar, Kedah, and the Bugis;* which were found by M. Dulaurier in the Library of the Asiatic Society of London, and which he is going to insert in the fine collection of Maritime Laws by M. Pardessus. The most ancient of these Codes is that of Malacca, which was compiled about the end of the thirteenth century, by order of the Sultan Mohammed Shah.

"The language and history of the Malays have, of late years, been a subject of most laborious research. M. de Humboldt, in his great work on the Kawi language, has demonstrated that the Malay race had extended itself throughout the South Sea to Madagascar. And now M. Eichthal is endeavoring, in a very curious memoir, to prove that the race had even extended to the continent of Africa, and that the yellow race which is found at the present day from Nubia to Senegambia, under the name of *Foulahs*, is no other than the *Malay* race.† M. Bopp, again, has undertaken to ascend to the origin of the Malays, and has arrived at the conclusion, that their language was derived from the Sanscrit.‡ Formerly, when it was proposed to identify two languages, we rested chiefly upon the words common to each; but since comparative philology has made so great progress—

* In the year 1832 a pamphlet of about 50 pages was published at Singapore (from the Mission Press) under the following title: "A Code of Bugis *Maritime Laws*, with a Translation and Vocabulary, giving the meaning and pronunciation of each word." 12mo. This is the same Bugis Code which is here mentioned. — EDIT.

† Histoire et origine des Foulahs ou Fellahs, par Gustave Eichthal. Paris, 8vo. 1841.

‡ Ueber die Verwandschaft der Malayischen-polynesischen Sprachen mit den indischen-europäischen, von Franz Bopp. Berlin, 4to. 1841.

thanks to a more scientific analysis — we apply ourselves, first of all, to the grammatical construction of languages; and no one has contributed more than M. Bopp, by his admirable labors in comparative grammar, to establish and consecrate the new and rigorous principles of this analysis. These principles, in their turn, have furnished, for the comparison of words, rules drawn from the laws of permutation, and enable us to recognise with certainty that identity of words, the conformity of which furnished only doubtful and often fallacious indications . . . . . Every step in comparative philology tends to prove, that *the grammatical structure of a language is never wholly effaced*, and it would be a fact as yet without example, that an idiom had lost entirely its grammar and formed another."

The reporter then gives an account of *Chinese* studies, in which there had been only a few publications, but those were of great importance. He particularizes the *Tao-te-king* of Lao-tseu, accompanied with a French translation and commentary by that able Sinologist, M. Julien. This is the most ancient metaphysical treatise of the Chinese, that has been preserved; the author lived in the sixth century before the Christian era . . . .

"M. E. Biot has published a catalogue of the earthquakes, depressions, and risings of mountains, which have been observed in China from ancient times to our day.* This labor, drawn wholly from Chinese sources, is a new proof of the utility of the study of Chinese in relation to science; for the Chinese are the only people of Asia, who have, with their usual spirit of method, registered all facts, natural and moral, with which they have been impressed."

"M. Callery, formerly a Catholic Missionary in China, has published at Macao, under the title of 'Système phonétique de l'écriture Chinoise,' a work in two volumes; the first of which contains memoirs on the nature of the language and writing of the Chinese, and the second, a Dictionary, in which the words are classed according to a new method."

[We observe, by the way, that *M. Callery* (whose works, printed in 1841, we have seen) has adopted the appropriate term *lexigraphic*, to denote the class of languages in which each character is a word, in contradistinction to the *syllabic* and *alphabetic* classes. The term *lexigraphic* was first proposed by our American philologist, Mr. Du Ponceau, and is now getting into use with European scholars. We see advertised, in Paris — "Exercises Pratiques d'analyse de Syntaxe et de *Lexigraphie* Chinoise. Paris, 1842."]

* "Annales de chimie et de physique, 1841."

Among the most important works on Chinese, M. Mohl mentions the valuable Chinese Chrestomathy of the Canton dialect, published at Macao, 1841, by Dr. Bridgman (editor of the Chinese Repository), who is a thorough Chinese scholar, and is one of our countrymen; but this last fact was probably unknown to M. Mohl, or he would doubtless have mentioned it. This closes the enumeration of works on Oriental literature in his valuable Report.

Chinese.—We subjoin the following interesting notice respecting the literature of China, from an early number of the "Journal Asiatique": "It has been found that they [the Chinese] had dictionaries of the Sanscrit; that their learned men had made translations of Indian and Tibetan works; and we have learned also, not without astonishment, that they possessed polyglot dictionaries, and that there had been, at Peking, for six centuries, a college for the teaching of the Western languages, as well as an institution for youth in languages and for interpreters." — Tom. ii. p. 29.

The following extracts from the *Journal Asiatique*, though of an older date than the preceding Report, will not be without interest to our readers: —

"There is published at Cairo, Constantinople, in Persia, India, and Canton, a multitude of works, of the existence of which we hardly know, and many of which reach Europe only by accident. Where, for example, should we find for sale in Europe, the edition of the *Thousand and One Nights*, which has appeared at Boulak; the *Vendidad Sadé*, published by the Guèbres of Bombay; their works on the Zoroastrian Calendar; the *Bhagavata Pourana* of Calcutta; the *Amara Koscha*, reprinted at Serampore; the great Sanscrit *Encyclopedia* of Radakanda Deva; the *Commentary on Alfiah* printed at Boulak; the *Tarifat* published at Constantinople; the *History of the Kudjars* printed at Teheran; and so many other works, which ought not to be wanting in any public library of Europe? This want of a more easy communication is mutual between the learned of Europe and those of Asia; for *these latter* are now beginning to lay aside their disdain of the labors of Europeans. I have reason to believe that a great part of the five thousand copies of the Koran of Flügel's edition [printed at Leipsic] have been sold *in the East;* and more recently still, an Effendi, a personage of consideration in Cairo, applied to your Council to propose printing at their joint expense editions of the *Kamous*, the *Kitab*

al-Aghani, and other classic works, of which he was to send one half to Paris and the other half to the great fair at Mecca, at the period of the pilgrimage, in order to disperse them, from that centre of the Mussulman world, through the East and through Barbary. . . . Oriental studies, notwithstanding all obstacles, have made great progress. Attention is directed to fundamental works, to the origin of languages, to the true sources of history; and they now follow out, with surprising sagacity, the migrations, the intermixture, and the fate of nations, by means of the traces, which their languages have left; and, by the more perfect methods of Comparative Grammar, we now arrive at a certainty in our results, which may well astonish those who have not reflected upon the permanency of languages . . . . "

Arabic. — *The Thousand and One Nights* find editors and translators in all parts of the world, and in all languages. While M. Habicht was printing his edition at Breslau, they were reproducing, lithographically, the incomplete texts of the old Calcutta edition; and the Sheïkh Abdourrahman al-Safti al-Scherkawi was printing (in 1835) his excellent edition at Boulak, in two volumes in quarto. At Madras, in 1836, there appeared a translation in Hindostanee; and in 1839 there appeared at Calcutta the first volume of the Arabic edition of M. Macnaghtan, after a manuscript which had belonged to the late M. Macan. This edition was the basis of the English translation of Mr. Torrens, which comes out at Calcutta also, at the same time that Mr. Weil is printing a new translation in Germany, and Mr. Lane is publishing, in London, his fine English translation, in which he follows, principally, the Boulak text.

Persian. — They have begun *printing* in Persia; and the presses of Constantinople and Cairo publish a pretty large number of works in *Persian*, because the knowledge of this language and its literature makes a part of a learned and polite education in all Mussulman countries. . . . . The press of the Pasha of Egypt has lately published several classic authors.

The fall of the empire of the Mongoles has also found an historian, who, unfortunately, has adopted a very strange manner — I mean Molla Firouz, son of Kaous, ancient high priest of one of the two sects of the Guêbres in India, and known as the editor and translator of the *Desatir*. He has written, under the title of *George-nameh*, an epic poem in Persian, in which he relates, in the metre and manner of Firdusi, the conquest of India by the English. His work is a singular imitation of the Books of the Kings, where we find Major Lawrence substituted for *Rustem*, and George the Third for *Kei Kaous*.

Turkish. — The Grand Vizier, Khosrew, has published a French and Turkish Grammar, for teaching the French language in the Government Schools of Turkey.

M. Quatremère has announced a Dictionary in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian; on the plan of Forcellini and of Stephens's Thesaurus, with citations. This is the fruit of forty years' studies.

Sanscrit.—The learned *Radhakanda Deva*, at Calcutta, continues the printing of his Thesaurus of the Sanscrit language and literature; the fourth volume had reached Paris two years ago.

III.

(See Address, p. 32.)

Cuneïform Inscriptions. — "The studies in the ancient languages of Persia continue to connect themselves with classical studies, with a success which could hardly have been hoped for a few years since. The reading of the *cuneïform inscriptions*, begun with much success by Grotefend, has lately been indebted to the progress, which has been made in the study of the ancient Persian dialects, for a development which promises the most valuable results to history. At Paris and at Bonn MM. *Burnouf* and *Lassen* have, almost simultaneously, published memoirs on the cuneïform inscriptions collected at Persepolis by Niebuhr."

Journal Asiatique, tom. x., p. 130, 3me. série.

IV.

(See Address, p. 56.)

To the opinions of the British scholars, cited in the preceding Address, on the present state of philological studies in Great Britain, may be added the following, which is taken from the Preface to the recent edition of Diodati's *Exercitatio de Christo Græce loquente*, etc., edited by Orlando T. Dobbins, LL. B. Published in London, 1843:

"That Winer's Grammar has neither been translated in England, nor the American translation republished here, furnishes lamentable proof, that, although we may be improving, we are still far in this country from having reached the height to which Germany and the American States have attained in the scholastic

study of the New Testament. Our last publication in this department is the Grammar of Green, by Bagster; which, however meritorious and important, is wanting in the constant comparison of the common with the classic idiom, which distinguishes Winer, and the large body of reference and citation which makes the German work indispensable to the scholar." — *Pref.* p. xxiv., note.

MEMOIR ON THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM,

READ BEFORE THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

At their Annual Meeting, in Boston, May 28, 1844.

BY EDWARD E. SALISBURY,
PROFESSOR OF ARABIC AND SANSKRIT IN YALE COLLEGE.

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The writer of this Memoir begs leave to state, in respect to the orthography of Oriental words, that in all extracts quoted, and in titles of books, the orthography of the French, English, or German author, translator, or editor, is left unaltered; and that, in other cases, he has either written such words as he found them in books to which he refers, with only the alteration necessary to suit the English ear, or has derived his orthography directly from the original language, where this is the Sanskrit, or he has adopted the mode of writing stereotyped by usage.

BOSTON:
S. N. DICKINSON, PRINTER,
WASHINGTON ST.

MEMOIR

GENTLEMEN OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY:

No one can regret more than myself the disappointment which you experience on this occasion, in the absence of that venerable scholar who was to have addressed you, by whose zeal in biblical research so much has been done to open the field of Oriental learning in our country. I am painfully conscious that the purpose of this anniversary might have been infinitely better accomplished, had that distinguished associate favored us with some observations, to guide the yet inexperienced steps of most of us, in that department of knowledge which our honorable President has set before us in so learned and attractive a manner. But as it became necessary to make some other provision for the occasion, at a late day, and your Directors have done me the honor to call upon me, I have not felt that I could decline contributing my mite to sustain our good cause.

With these sentiments, I offer you a Memoir, on a subject to which my studies have of late been directed — the History of Buddhism. You are all aware of the surprising and important result of philological research — or rather of that fact, which, established by the sagacity of a few German scholars, has become the very basis of the science of philology in the modern acceptation — that the influence of India may be traced over the whole western world, through its ancient language, the Sanskrit. With the luxurious climate of that country, imagination has associated a national character of entire passivity, such as is neither prone to take up influences from without, requiring any moral or physical effort on the part of the recipient, nor inclined to exert itself actively abroad.

Yet the more we know of the East by critical investigation, and the more the results of research respecting the various climes included under that rather indefinite appellation are compared together and with the decisions of the learned in regard to the affinities of the languages and the philosophy of western nations, the more evident does it become, that the wide East, as well as the West, is under obligations, to a greater or less extent, for civilizing impulses, to the peculiar manner of thought and expression in language, which belonged originally to the Sanskrit people of India. The subject which I propose to bring to your notice in this Memoir, affords a striking illustration of the extent of the influence of India. An off-shoot of the Indian mind, not in the fresh days of its prime, but when the stock had apparently become too massive to be thoroughly animated — too firmly encased to burst forth with young life — Buddhism germinated and grew with widening shade, like its emblem the Banyan-tree, planting nurseries of its own branches, till it has become firmly rooted in the minds of not less than four hundred millions of the human race. It would seem as if, when the parent stock was on the point of falling to decay, its forces had all been gathered anew, for the struggle to perpetuate itself; or rather we should say, that the Indian nationality had not yet fully accomplished its part in the providence of God, and was therefore suffered to revive under this particular form, in order to secure results which were still future.

It may be taken for granted, that Buddhism is of Indian origin. The time has been, when from the want of sufficient materials, out of which to form a correct judgment, and from the force of ingenuity seeking to supply that want by theorizing upon fancied etymologies and the like, men of great learning could differ on the question, whether the originator of this religious system was a native of Hindustan, or of Scythia, or a negro. But there is no longer any ground for such disputation. The history of Buddhism, as it may now be gathered from books of the Buddhists themselves, not only of India, but also of China, Tibet, and Mongolia, refers to Central India as the first seat of this religious system; and its doctrines, so far as they are understood, have evidently grown out of Brahmanism. Its mythology too is the Hindu in its principal features.

Among the most important authorities relative to the rise and progress of Buddhism, is the Mahâvanso, a book of history, which bears strong internal marks of authenticity, composed on the island of Ceylon, in the Pâli language, between A. D. 513 and 531, from older annals of that island and of the continent of India, and covering the period from B. C. 543 to A. D. 357. A continuation of this history, called the Suluvanso, is also to be consulted.* Another principal authority is the Râdjataranginî, the annals of Cashmere, written in Sanskrit, which the author professes to have compiled with criticism, from several distinct works of ancient sages. The portion of this history which I have consulted was written about A. D. 1146.† A third authority of importance is the Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, a city of Lesser Bochara, translated from the Chinese by the late celebrated French savant, Abel-Rémusat. It consists of a series of notices, respecting that part of Northern Asia, arranged under successive Chinese dynasties, from that of the Hân down to later times.‡ The only other original source, to be particularly consulted for the history of Buddhism, is the Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, translated from the Mongol by Schmidt, of St. Petersburgh. The author, named Ssanang Ssetsen, a descendant of Tchinggis Khan, lived about the time of the accession of the Mandchu dynasty, at the beginning of the 17th century. This work contains valuable records of Tibetan history prior to the establishment of the great Mongol

* The Mahâvanso, in Roman characters, with the translation subjoined, and an introductory Essay on Pâli Buddhistical literature. In two volumes. By the Hon. George Turnour, Esq. Vol. i. Ceylon, 1837. This volume, the only one published, contains the whole of the Mahâvanso, and all of the Suluvanso, which has yet been edited. See Introd. p. 2. It will be seen further on, that Devananpiyatisso, one of the kings of Ceylon, began to reign B. C. 242; estimating from this date as a fixed point, we find that Mahâsêno, with whose reign the Mahâvanso terminates, died in A. D. 357, and that Dhâtusêno, under whose auspices this history was composed, reigned between A. D. 513 and A. D. 531. Mr. Turnour places the commencement of Dêvananpiyatisso's reign B. C. 307.

† Râdjataranginî Histoire des rois de Kachmir traduite et commentée, par M. A. Troyer. Tome i. Texte Sanscrit des six premiers livres et notes. T. ii. Traduction, &c. Paris, 1840. The text of the whole work was published at Calcutta, in 1835, under the title: The Râja Taranginî, a History of Cashmir, &c. This history consists of four parts by different authors, the first of which (Book i. Sloka 52.) contains this passage: "In the present year one thousand and seventy years have elapsed since the era Sâka:" that era being A. D. 76, the date of the composition was A. D. 1146. For the design of the author in composing this history See l. i. Sll. 8—15.

‡ Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, tirée des annales de la Chine et traduite du Chinois, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1820.

empire, as well as the history of that empire itself.* But besides these authorities, there are numerous extracts from Buddhist books, published of late years in England, and on the continent of Europe, and in India, which throw much light on the history of Buddhism. My endeavor will be, by a critical use of all these sources of information, to settle some of the most important facts and dates of Buddhist history, in the hope that the results may serve as a useful framework, to be hereafter filled up by further investigation; not altogether neglecting, however, to notice the relation of historical facts to the principles of the religion of Buddha. Although a thorough acquaintance with the doctrinal teachings of the sacred books of the Buddhists, of all countries, is beyond the present stage of learning on the subject, I will venture to propose the following as a theory of Buddhism.

A quickening of moral feeling, then, against the Pantheism of the Brahmans may be said to lie at its foundation. The tendency of Brahman philosophy was to confound the Deity with the works of his creation; though it taught the existence of a divine principle pervading all nature, yet, in practice, it made the creation itself, as God, the highest object of worship, rather than a life-giving Being, essentially separate from visible realities and ideas of the mind; and moral distinctions were consequently obliterated. But that sense of responsibility, which clings to man, could not be entirely destroyed; and in proportion as it reasserted its authority, the notion of the identity of God and nature was necessarily dissipated, opening the way to a new idea of the Deity. Had there been no encumbrance upon the action of conscience, its sublimation of the Deity might have led to the recognition of a supreme moral Ruler. The influence of the age, however, was present to restrain the natural impulses of the soul. Such was the force of a long-established opinion, identifying the Deity with objects cognizable by the senses, or making Him a mere aggregate of ideal forms, that there was a sort of necessity, in opposing Pantheism, to deny all attributes to God, — to conceive of simple abstract existence as the highest Being, according to the signification of

*Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus, aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt, &c. von Isaac Jacob Schmidt. St. Petersburg, 1827. For the age of the author, see Vorrede, p. 13.

Svabhâva, applied in Buddhist language to the Supreme Being, which is *self-immanent Substance* — and, on the other hand, to suppose all inferior existence an illusion, unreal, as the Buddhists do, just so far as there was an abstraction of the idea of Deity from those objects of sense, and creations of the mind, which had been imagined to be what they are, only by the divine presence pervading them. It was most natural that the Brahmans, when at length they were aroused to find occasion against the Buddhists, should charge them with being atheists and nihilists. Perhaps many Buddhists, sooner or later, found themselves unable to retain their hold upon the abstraction, to which their philosophising had brought them, as a substantial reality. But what their sacred books express concerning the mysterious *Nothing* — i. e. negation absolute of all that can be predicated — as if it were τὸ ὄντως ὄν, require us to allow that their Deity is a real entity. Such an idea of the Deity having been received, the Buddhist standard of virtue was at once determined by it; as, in all religious systems, the ideal of the highest perfection is conformity to whatever conception may have been formed of the Divine Being. All action, purpose, feeling, thought, having been abstracted from the idea of Deity, the highest attainment which human beings can propose to themselves, is of course a similar sublimation of existence above all qualities. This is the Nirvâna of the Buddhists; and because the only proper criterion of virtue, with them, is a negation of all predicates, it follows, that to pursue any certain course of conduct, to cherish emotions of any sort, to be in such or such a habit of mind, has, according to their system, no intrinsic merit or demerit. As the means of arriving at that highest state of absolute quiescence, Buddhism directs to the acquisition of knowledge of the illusive nature of all created things, by studious application of mind, and moral discipline. The authority of the Vêdas is rejected, because no will is recognized as pertaining to Deity. The Buddhist Scriptures are held to be, not a Revelation of Divine law, but simply instructions of a higher Intelligence, inferior to the Supreme Being, — which are fitted to lead man, through knowledge, to absorption in the incommunicable Substance of all things. The origin of the world is ascribed by Buddhism to a disastrous fatality. While Brah-

manism blinded itself to the perception of evil, by reference to the all-pervading presence of the Deity, and while the ancient Persian religion accounted for evil mingled with good by assuming a twofold original Principle, Buddhism cut the knot by denying, consistently with the idea of Deity which it held, that the Supreme Being has taken any active or responsible part in the creation of the world. Perhaps the difficulty of accounting for the existence of evil may have contributed to produce the vague conception of Svabhâva. A fatality having occasioned the development of self-immanent Substance, the first emanation was Intelligence, or Buddha, together with matter, which elements combined have given origin to all existing species of things, the order of derivation being correspondent to the degree of nearness in nature of each species to that emanated Intelligence, which is a subtle constituent of all created existences, itself taking rank next in the scale of being after the mysterious Substance, and being therefore represented as having the activity only of contemplation. A buddha-state is the last stage at which man arrives in the progress of perfection, before reaching the goal of Nirvâna. But the idea of Buddha, as a teacher of mankind, is founded upon a supposed perpetual and invariable rotation of great Kalpas, or series of ages, in each of which, from the beginning at an indefinite point of past time, after an age of corruption, degradation, and decay, one of restoration has succeeded, more or less frequently, when that first emanation of Intelligence has become embodied among men, in order to promote the disentanglement of human spirits, from the vortex of illusion, by the effulgence of its original light. This round of ages, making a great Kalpa, had been already completed, according to the Buddhists, eleven times, at the commencement of the present Kalpa; and Buddha had often been incarnate. Since the present series of ages began its revolution, Buddha has appeared, it is said, four times, and last in the person of Sâkya-Muni, or *the Sâkya-saint*, who has given the law to the existing age.

Such are, as it seems to me, the fundamental peculiarities of Buddhism, in respect to the idea of Deity, of virtue, of the origin of the world, and of Buddha. It might be interesting to trace some of its modifications, held by different Buddhist sects; as, for example, the doctrine of the Âisvârikâs, who be-

lieve that the primary Intelligence is the Ultimate Principle of all things; and that of the Kârnikâs, who, going one step further, ascribe to the so conceived Ultimate Principle a conscious moral activity, and regard creation as the result of its volition. I must not, however, dwell longer on points which are still obscure.* But the superhuman character of Buddha, in the system of Buddhism, as it has now been explained, may have suggested a doubt whether Buddha is not altogether the creation of a philosophical mythology, and not at all a historical personage who originated the Buddhist system. I will therefore ask indulgence here for a few observations, which may lay this radical skepticism: 1. That a plausible foundation of real individuality is discoverable in even the wildest fables which veneration for Buddha has invented; and that the most extravagant have originated out of India, while nearly all agree in making India his native land. 2. That the images of Buddha are not monstrous, but seem to portray real humanity, while those of the old Hindu deities, which are found in Buddhist temples, and of which the design seems to be Buddhistic, since neither temples nor images are mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit classics, are absurdly inhuman. 3. That considerations of policy would have led the Buddhists to hide their peculiarities under the garb of deduction from the ancient authorities, rather than to give to their system the aspect of novelty, by referring it to a

* In respect to the doctrines of the Buddhists, see Hodgson's Memoir, in Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. ii. p. 222, &c. London, 1830. Mélanges posthumes d'histoire et de littérature orientales. par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1843. pp. 1–131. Ueber die Verwandtschaft der gnostisch-theosophischen Lehren mit den Religionssystemen des Orients, vorzüglich dem Buddhaismus von I. J. Schmidt. Leipzig, 1828. Collection of tracts illustrative of the doctrines and literature of Buddhism, translated from the Singhalese, being vol. iii. of Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon, edited by Edward Upham. London, 1833. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays. London, 1837. vol. i. p. 378, &c. vol. ii. p. 191, &c. Asiatic Researches, 4to. vol. xvi. p. 409. &c. Calcutta, 1828. La vie contemplative, ascétique et monastique chez les Indous et chez les peuples Bouddhistes, par J. J. Bochinger. Strasbourg, 1831. p. 143, &c. Notices on the different systems of Buddhism extracted from the Tibetan authorities, by Alex. Csoma de Körösi, in Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. vii. p. 142. &c. Calcutta, 1838; and Analysis of . . . . . divisions of the Tibetan work, entitled the Kahgyur, by Csoma de Körösi. As. Res. vol. xx. p. 393, &c. Calcutta, 1839. A Memoir on the origin of Buddhism was read by M. Burnouf, before the French Institute, in the spring of 1843. which the writer heard: and a recent number of the Allgemeine Literatur — Zeitung, of Halle, announces, that a memoir on the distinctive characteristics of Buddhism, with special reference to its form in Eastern Asia, was not long since read before the Berlin Acad. of Sciences, by Prof. Schott. These may be looked for with great expectation by those who are interested in the doctrinal peculiarities of the Buddhists.

new Teacher, who set aside the traditionary revelation, and created a new era,—had not the fact of its first promulgation by a particular individual been too notorious to be concealed. As the opposition of the Brahmans was not actually excited until after many centuries, it might be supposed, that the attributing of their system by the Buddhists to an individual author was an after-thought, an act of daring, by which they threw off the disguise of seeming to acknowledge the ancient standards of faith. We know, however, from a passage in the writings of Clemens of Alexandria, that the followers of the precepts of Buddha and the Brahmans were so distinguished in name, long before the time of the persecution of the Buddhists.* 4. That the Buddha of the present age is a historical personage, is proved by the year of his death having been made a chronological epoch, in all Buddhist countries. Whether this has been correctly or uniformly fixed, or not, is here indifferent. It is sufficient, that a civil chronology, based upon a mere mythos, would be a thing without a parallel in our knowledge, and is absurd in itself, since the first coming into use of regular civil reckoning of time must always depend upon the general admission of a particular event, on some historical ground, such as national tradition, or contemporaneous notoriety.

It becomes now an important inquiry, When did the person live, who brought about that revolution of religious opinion, which has extended its influence over half the human race? There are, in the different Buddhist countries, many different computations of his age. A Tibetan author of the sixteenth century, enumerates fourteen distinct calculations of the time of Buddha's death. It is not among these that we can obtain satisfaction. Their discrepancy seems to be owing to attempts to adjust a variety of predictions, which have become incorporated with the Buddhist Scriptures of Tibet, as uttered by Buddha, with respect to the propagation

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* Speaking of the Gymnosophists of India, Clemens says: *Διττὸν δὲ τούτων τὸ γένος, ὁ μὲν Σαρμάναι αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ Βραχμάναι καλούμενοι· καὶ τῶν Σαρμανῶν οἱ Ἀλλόβιοι προσαγορευόμενοι, οὔτε πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, οὔτε στέγας ἔχουσιν, δένδρων δὲ ἀμφιέννυνται φλοιοῖς, καὶ ἀκρόδρυα σιτοῦνται, καὶ ὕδωρ ταῖς χερσὶ πίνουσιν· οὐ γάμον, οὐ παιδοποιΐαν ἴσασιν, ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν Ἐγκρατῆται καλούμενοι· εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ τοῖς Βούττα πειθόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν· ὃν δι' ὑπερβολὴν σεμνότητος εἰς Θεὸν τετιμήκασι* Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. c. 15, ed. of Reinh. Klotz. Lipsiae, 1831, vol. ii. p. 51. The persecution of the Buddhists did not begin before the fifth century. See below.

of his religion in different parts of the world, in certain periods after his decease; and the tradition of this event, originally received pure from an Indian source, as we shall find reason to believe, has become so much refracted by being interwoven with those fictitious data, that it gives altogether a dubious light.* The Chinese and Japanese place the birth of Buddha in the 24th year of the reign of Tchao-Wang, of the dynasty of the Tcheou; that is, according to Deguignes, in 1029 B. C.; and his death in the 52d year of Mou-Wang; that is, in 950 B. C.† Respecting these synchronisms with Chinese civil history, Abel-Rémusat has observed: "Ces rapprochemens, qui supposent les moyens d'établir à volonté des syncronismes entre l'histoire de l'Inde et celle de la Chine paraissent tirés d'un ouvrage que nous n'avons pas en Europe, mais qui doit être répandu chez les Bouddhistes de la Chine et du Japon; car on le cite.....sans ajouter aucune remarque qui puisse le faire présumer rare ou peu connu." But it is to be objected to this authority, that the Chinese refer events in the history of Buddhism, often quite arbitrarily, to periods of their own annals, on account of their not having always made use of the Buddhist era. It is, therefore, preferable to seek some other safer guide. The chronology of the Râdjataranginî implies that Buddha died in the early part of the 16th century before our era.‡ The objection to this estimate is one which might have been alleged, also, against the last mentioned — that it is at variance with the results of criticism in respect to the age of the Vêdas, and the Sanskrit Epics. It is certain, that the Vêda-hymns

* See Appendix to A Grammar of the Tibetan Language, in English, by Alexander Csoma de Körösi. Calcutta, 1834. pp. 199, &c.

† See Mélanges Asiatiques, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Tome i. p. 117. Paris, 1825. The date is derived from the *Japanese Encyclopedia.*

‡ According to Râdjatar. i. 56, the first king of Cashmere began to reign, B C. 2450. After him, down to a certain sovereign named Asôka, forty-six kings reigned, to whom, if the average of twenty-two years for each of their reigns is assigned, Asôka will be found to have begun to reign about B. C. 1438. To him succeeded, with two intervening sovereigns, the dynasty of the Turushkâs, the era of which must therefore be dated from B. C. 1372. But in Râdjatar. i. 172, we are informed, that at the beginning of the period of the Turushka dynasty, one hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the death of Sâkya Muni; this fixes his death to B. C. 1522. The language in Sloka, 172, is obscure; but it seems to me certain, that the one hundred and fifty years after Buddha are not to be counted from the close of the reign of Kanishka; and equally so, that they cannot have been intended to be reckoned from an indefinite point of time during the reign of the Turushkas. I must therefore believe, that the accession of that dynasty is spoken of as occurring a century and a half after Buddha's death.

themselves do not belong to a period much more ancient than about 1390 B. C.; and an interval of centuries must have elapsed, after they were composed, before the epic age. But there can be no doubt that Buddhism is a development of the Indian mind, subsequent to the form of religion which we find in the Epics. The Ceylonese, Birmans, and Assamese fix the date of Buddha's death, which is the commencing point of their chronological reckoning, at 543 B. C. This may be shown to be probably correct, by a synchronism between a prince of Central India, named in the Mahâvanso, in a series of kings who are said to have reigned before and after Buddha's time, and one spoken of by the historian Justin, and other classic writers. The Pâli form of this prince's name is Tchandagutto, and that of his royal residence Pâtiliputto,* corresponding to Tchandragupta of Pâtaliputra, the principal character of the Sanskrit drama, Mudra Rakshasa; and the classic writers speak of a Sandrocottus, whose capital was Palibothra, who, in his name, in the condition of life to which he was born, his political elevation, nation, and capital, is identified, beyond question, with that Tchandragupta.† Now, supposing that the Ceylonese history assigns the date of Buddha's death correctly to 543 B. C., its Tchandragupta must have begun to reign, according to its own chronology, in 381 B. C.‡ But Justin says, that Sandrocottus held the sceptre over India, at the time when Seleucus Nicator was laying the foundations of his future greatness, by the taking of Babylon, the invasion of Bactria, and the war with Antigonus. Babylon was taken by Seleucus, about 312 B. C.§ Justin's narrative implies, however, that Sandrocottus had been master of India since within a short time after the death of Alexander, which is supposed to have occurred in B. C. 324 or 323.‖ We can-

* See Mahâv. pp. 21, 22.

† See A. W. v. Schlegel in Indische Bibliothek, B. i. S. 245, and Prof. H. H. Wilson's preface to the Mudra Rakshasa, in Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus. London, 1835. Vol. ii. p. 127, &c.

‡ Buddha is said to have died in the eighth year of Ayâtasattu, who afterwards reigned twenty-four years; (Mahâv. p. 10;) then succeeded fifteen reigns, during one hundred and thirty-eight years; (see Mahâv. pp. 15 and 21;) after which, Tchandragupta was raised to the throne; B. C. 543, less 162 years, = B. C. 381.

§ L'art de vérifier les dates. Pe. i. tome ii. p. 302. Paris, 1819.

‖ The whole passage of Justin here referred to, is in his Historiæ Philippicæ, l. xv. 4. Speaking of Seleucus, he says: Multa in oriente, post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici, bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit: inde auctis

not, therefore, greatly err, in fixing the commencement of his regal power, according to that historian, in B. C. 320; which differs from the date deduced from the Mahâvanso by sixty-one years. But a duration of only twenty-two years is given, in the royal series of the Ceylonese history, to a certain dynasty of the nine Nandos, (Sansk. Nandâs,) to which Hindu authority allows one hundred years.* The discrepancy being thus susceptible of explanation, at a fixed point, we may suppose an intentional falsification just there, in the annals of India, as recorded in the Mahâvanso, and guard the epoch dated from, against the imputation of incorrectness. I will only add, that Mr. Turnour has made it probable, that Ceylonese annalists allowed themselves to push back events in the corresponding period of their own history, to quite a sufficient extent to account for the sixty-one years, by which Tchandragupta is removed too far back, according to the statement of Justin, — for the purpose of making the commencement of the proper history of Ceylon coincident with the date of the death of Buddha, which they accredited.†

Buddha is said to have belonged to the Kshattriya-, or *warrior*-caste, being the son of a prince who ruled over a small independent kingdom at Kapilavastu, or the *Yellow dwelling* — a site, which has been identified by the narrative of Chy-fahian, a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the fourth century, in the northwestern corner of the modern province of Oude, on the edge of the Himâlaya mountain range. Yellow was, perhaps, the distinctive color of the principality, and hence it may have been adopted as the badge of the Buddhists, who

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ex victoriâ viribus, Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quæ post mortem Alexandri, veluti cervicibus jugo servitutis excusso, præfectos ejus occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat: sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat: siquidem occupato regno, populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic quidem humili genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem majestate numinis impulsus. Quippe quum procacitate suâ Alexandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege jussus, salutem pedum celeritate quæsierat. Ex qua fatigatione, quum somno captus jaceret, leo ingentis formæ ad dormientem accessit, sudoremque profluentem linguâ ei detersit, expergefactumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus, contractis latronibus, Indos ad novitatem regni solicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus præfectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitæ magnitudinis ultro se obtulit, et, veluti domitâ mansuetudine, eum tergo excepit, duxque belli et præliator insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno, Sandrocottus, ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futuræ magnitudinis fundamenta jaciebat, Indiam possidebat: cum quo, factâ pactione, Seleucus, compositisque in Oriente rebus, in bellum Antigoni descendit.

* See Vishnu Purâna, translated, &c. by H. H. Wilson, London, 1840, p. 467, &c.

† See Introduction to the Mahâv. p. 51.

are sometimes spoken of as of the yellow religion. Sâkya was the family name, which deserves notice, because it undermines the ground of an entire theory — that Buddha was one of the Sâkâs, Sacae, or Indo-Scythians, which rests chiefly on the mere sound of his name, Sâkya-Muni.* It would appear that his early years were passed in princely pleasures, but that, having reached manhood, he suddenly resolved to adopt a hermit's life. A Buddhist legend gives us to understand, that the dark side of life had cast a deep shade of sombreness over a susceptible mind, leading him to shun society, and to go in quest of wisdom, which might serve as an antidote to evil. For several years he practised austerities after the manner of his age, but at length gave up that excessive bodily mortification, as not adapted to his purpose. Soon after this he is said to have attained to the supreme wisdom, or to have become Buddha. But he was reserved at first, as is represented, in respect to the communication of his doctrine to others; and this representation is probably founded in truth; for there was a strong sense of fitness, nourished by the Brahmanical institutions in India, against spreading the light of knowledge among men indiscriminately, — which even the spirit of proselytism might not at once violate. There is evidence, also, that when he began to look for proselytes, he did not yet act upon the recognition, which afterwards became a cardinal point with the Buddhists, that the privilege of religious instruction should have no restrictions; for it is said, that he sought out such persons as he judged fit to understand him. This sentiment undoubtedly was, in part, the result of politic considerations; yet we can see how its development may have been promoted by the fundamental principle of Buddhism, if that was what has been supposed; for opposition to the gross pantheism of the Brahmans could not fail to be accompanied with a more distinct conception of humanity, in the abstract, as possessing its own inherent capabilities, as well as its own frailties, so as to prepare the way for the consid-

* See Mahâv. p. 9. compared with Introd. p. 35, and the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, edited by James Prinsep. Vol. ii. p. 385, &c. Calcutta, 1833, where the origin of the Sâkya race is told in an extract from the Kahgyur, a part of the Buddhist Scriptures of Tibet; also, Foë Koué Ki, ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques, trad. du Chinois et commentée, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1836. Chap. xxii. with the notes.

eration of it independently of mere temporary distinctions. Buddha's personal labors, in diffusing the knowledge of which he professed to be the depositary, appear to have extended over the whole of Central India. His cause was espoused by the kings of Mâgadha, who were probably sovereigns of all India at that time. At Shrasvati, in Kosâla, which is Oude, a rich householder is said to have erected several large buildings in a grove, inviting Buddha and his disciples to reside there. Here, it would seem, he spent twenty-three years, and composed the Suttâni, (Sansk. Sûtrâni,) or *Aphorisms*, which make one of the three portions into which the Buddhist Scripture is divided.*

After Buddha's death, a certain individual, named Kassapo, (Sansk. Kasyapa,) took the general supervision of the interests of the Buddhist community, presiding particularly over the clerical fraternity, which had already become numerous, in Buddha's lifetime. He is sometimes spoken of as the successor of Buddha, his official representative, and as if he held authority as a hierarch.† He had probably received a special charge, to stand in Buddha's place, for the propagation and perpetuation of his doctrines. Yet the narrative of the Mahâvanso, where it alludes to some of those who succeeded Kasyapa in the same preëminence over the Buddhist ecclesiastics, clearly implies, that the recognition of their superior rank did not depend upon official station, but upon reputed ability and sanctity. There was, therefore, then, no established hierarchy.‡ But, while that was to be a result of the longer growth of the system, another event, of the highest importance to the future progress of Buddhism, occurred the very year of Buddha's death. A schismatic tendency, which began to manifest itself immediately, made it necessary to fix at once the traditions, which should be orally transmitted,

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* Respecting Buddha's personal history, see traditions in notices of the life of Shakya, extracted from the Tibetan authorities, by M Alex. Csoma de Körösi, inserted in Asiatic Researches. Vol. xx. p. 285. &c.; Calcutta, 1839. Analysis of the Dulva, a part of the Tibetan sacred works, by the same, in As. Researches, vol. xx. p. 46, &c. Also, Mahâv. chapters i. ii. iii. Ssanang-Ssetsen, pp. 13–15, and Leben des Buddha nach Mongolischen Nachricht, in Asia Polyglotta von J. Klaproth. Paris, 1831. But, of course, much that is merely legendary is mingled with these accounts.

† See Mahâv. p. 11; an extract from the Atthakathâ of Ceylon, in Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. vi. p. 512; Calcutta, 1837. And notices from the *Japanese Encyclopedia*, in Mélanges Asiatiques, vol. i. p. 118.

‡ See Mahâv. pp. 16, 19, 40.

as comprehending the doctrines of Buddha. In order to accomplish this object, a certain number of the clerical order, selected by Kasyapa, as being those who had made the highest attainments in religious knowledge, by the consent of all, convened B. C. 543, under the protection of the sovereign of Màgadha, at Râdchagaha, which probably was his capital, as the name signifies *Residence of the king*. At this time were added to the Buddhist rule of faith and practice, those two supplementary parts, which, with the Sûtras, ascribed to Buddha himself, make up the Tripitakan, or *Threefold Treasure*, the most comprehensive designation of the whole Buddhist Scripture. One of these supplements is called Vinayo, (Sansk. Vinaya,) which signifies *Prescription concerning moral conduct*, and seems to have been formed of answers to questions propounded by Kasyapa, in respect to the practical precepts of the Sûtras, their meaning, relative importance, and the circumstances of their promulgation. The other is called Abhidhammo, (Sansk. Abhidharma,) that is, *Appended law*, and was formed, as it appears, of answers given in the same manner, respecting the metaphysical points of the Sûtras. The individuals belonging to this council are supposed to have had a supernatural inspiration, by which they were qualified for the parts which they severally took in the transmission of the instructions of Buddha to after ages. The Tripitakan was not yet committed to writing, but provision was made for its preservation by oral tradition, each of its three portions being committed in trust to a particular individual, who was to teach it to others after him.*

A second council was held, a century later, under favor of the reigning sovereign of Mâgadha, Kâlâsoko, at Visâli, for the suppression of certain practices, which were contrary to the rules of the clerical order. The king is said to have listened to arguments on both sides, after which he took the part of those opposed to innovation; but he left the clergy themselves to "provide for the due maintenance of religion

* See Mahâv. pp. 11 – 14; the Ceylonese Atthakathâ, in Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. pp. 511 – 527. As. Researches, xx. p. 297, from Tibetan sources; and Ssanang Ssetsen, p. 17, with note, p. 315. Respecting the transmission of the Buddhist Scriptures from the first by oral communication, see Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. pp. 727, 728. This was a mode of handing down the productions of one age to another, altogether in accordance with Hindu usage, as there is good reason to believe, that the ancient Sanskrit literature of India was thus preserved during many centuries.

according to their own judgment." The innovators were then degraded. After this, "for the purpose of securing the permanence of the true faith," a select number of the clergy, who "were depositaries of the doctrines contained in the three pitakas," met together at Visâli, to revise the whole of the Abhidarma and Vinaya. This must be what is intended by Tibetan authorities, which tell us, that, one hundred and ten years after the death of Sâkya, a second compilation of the sacred books was made in the reign of Asôka. Some suspicion has been thrown over the date assigned to this council, from the circumstance, that the Mahâvanso speaks of eight of its members as having seen Buddha. But whether this apparent inconsistency can be reconciled, or not, yet if the synchronism of Tchandagutto with Sandrocottus is admitted, and the period of the Nanda-dynasty is lengthened accordingly, the tenth year of Kâlâsoka, in which this second council was held, falls, by the chronology of the Mahâvanso, exactly one hundred years after Buddha's death, that is, in B. C. 443.*

The period to be next noted as particularly important in the history of Buddhism, is the reign of Asôko, (Sansk. Asôka,) of Pataliputra, or Patna, the grandson of Tchandragupta, who succeeded to the empire of all Central India, and part of the Deccan, about B. C. 258.† Before going on to that, however, it may be well to say, in a few words, what appears to have been the ecclesiastical establishment of the Buddhists, up to the close of the third century of their his-

* If Tchandragupta came to the throne B. C. 320, and eighty three (22+61) years, are allowed to the nine Nândas, the commencement of the reign of their predecessor, or the close of that of Kâlâsoka, must have been B. C. 425. See Mahâv. p. 21, and Vishnu Purana, p. 467; therefore, as Kâlâsôka ruled twenty-eight years, his tenth year fell upon B. C. 413. On the second council, see Mahav. chap. iv. Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. pp. 728–730; As. Res. xx. p. 297; Ssanang Ssetsen, p. 17, with note, p. 315, and the local tradition of Phi-che-li, or Visâli, which the Chinese pilgrim learned on the spot. Rel. d. Roy. Boudd. p. 243. Visâli was situated a little eastward of the river now called Gunduck, and northward of its confluence with the Ganges, in the modern province of Behar. See Rel. d. Roy. Bouddh. pp. 235, 236, 242.

† Deducting the reigns of Tchandragupta and his successor from the assumed date of his accession B. C. 320, we obtain B. C. 258, for the year of the commencement of Asôka's sovereignty. See Mahâv. p. 21. The statement of the Mahâv., that two hundred and eighteen years had elapsed since Buddha's death, when Asôka was inaugurated in the fourth year after his accession, (see Mahâv. p. 22,) has been shown by Mr Turnour to be probably an error, arising from the attempt to verify a certain prediction, pretended to have been made in the second convocation of the Buddhists. Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. p. 719.

tory. It consisted chiefly of vihâros, (Sansk. vihâras,) or *cloisters*, built by royal bounty, or the charity of the wealthy, which were occupied by persons of the male sex, living upon the alms of the devout. These were the clergy; or, more properly, they were friars; for it is impossible not to perceive that they foreshadowed these recluses of a later age, within the pale of the Christian church. Their distinctive name was Bhikkhus, (Sansk. Bhikshus,) or *Mendicants*. A short extract from Buddhist Scripture, in Pâli, called the Kammavâkyan, or the *Ceremonial*, which has been lately published, enables us to form an idea of what was essential to the ceremony of initiation into this order.* The noviciate had first to choose some one among the brotherhood as his instructor, then to receive from him a clean, whole garment, and a patera for alms. He was then introduced to the whole body, and charged to answer truly, whether he was free from disease, of the male sex, having his own free will, clear of debt, not owing military service, whether his patera and garment were whole, and what was his name and that of his preceptor. After this interrogation, he was to ask admission three times, and again he was questioned as before. No obstacle arising, his preceptor called upon the brotherhood to approve his admission by silence, or to express any objection. Having been approved, he received a charge respecting his food, his clothing, and his mode of life; celibacy was strictly enjoined, and theft and the killing of animated beings forbidden, on pain of excommunication. It is evident that all classes of society were admissible: perhaps the living together in a community was designed partly to counteract the feeling of caste by familiar contact, as well as to facilitate discipline and instruction. The special business of the inmates of the vihâras appears to have been, to become thoroughly indoctrinated into the principles of Buddhism, and trained to its higher grades of virtue, so as to be prepared for the most efficient exercise of self-denial, in behalf of "the religion of the vanquisher." There was no obligation to enter the clerical order. But the highest merit of the lay Buddhists consisted in subservience to those who had obtained the odor of sanctity, by devoting themselves to the monastic life.

* Kammavâkyan. Liber de officiis Sacerdotum Buddhicorum, palice et latine primus eddit, &c. Fridericus Spiegel. Bonnæ, 1841.

The emperor of India, Asôka, who began to reign B. C. 258, was the most zealous promoter of the faith of Buddha, of whom we have any record. At this point, Buddhist history is remarkably illustrated by existing monuments. We learn from the Mahâvanso, that Asôka, having embraced Buddhism, caused a great number of religious edifices to be erected in all parts of Central India. These buildings are called vihâros, tchêtiyas, dahgôbs, and thûpos, names expressive of their style and destination: dahgôb, which is evidently the same with the Sanskrit word dêhagôpa, signifies *relic-depositary:* thûpo, corresponding to the Sanskrit stûpa, may be rendered by *tumulus*, and indicates the structure of the dahgôb: as a place of resort for the worship of relics, it is called a *temple*, tchêtiya, (Sansk. tchâityam:) the residence of ecclesiastics near by being required, their dwellings, the vihâras, gave name to the whole group of buildings consecrated to sacred uses. But we are enabled to form a much more distinct idea of the stûpa, from existing architectural remains, found principally on the west of the Indus. I allude to those strange, dome-like structures of earth and stones, discovered of late years in the country watered by the Indus and its tributaries, which are called topes in the present vernacular language. The examination of these remains, independently of any historical data, would not indeed have invested them with that interest, which is given to them by the narrative of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, already referred to. But from the accounts of this traveller it can be made out most conclusively, that the topes, which he calls Sou-tou-pas or Sou-theou-phos were places of deposit for relics of Buddha, and commemorative monuments; and their peculiar shape would appear to be derived from a legend, that Buddha was wont to compare life to a water-bubble.* These remains afford the more direct and interesting illustration of Asôka's architectural works for the Buddhists, mentioned in the Mahâvanso, since, as we shall presently find, the influences of Buddhism were communicated beyond the Indus, from India, in the reign of this very prince. That no similar remains have been discovered in the plain of the

*See Mahâv. pp. 26, 34–36: Die Stupas (Topes,) oder die architectonischen Denkmale an der Indo-Bactrischen Königsstrasse, &c. von Carl Ritter. Berlin, 1838, and Rel. d. Roy. Bouddh. pp. 27, 74, 76, 77, 85, 167, &c.

Ganges, is probably to be attributed to the exterminating spirit of the Brahmans at a later period. But an ancient Birman inscription, in the Pâli character, was found, a few years since, half buried in the ground, on the terrace of an old Buddhist temple, at Gaya, in the ancient Mâgadha, which gives to the narrative of the Mahâvanso the support of local tradition in a very striking manner. It reads as follows, in the translation published at Calcutta: "This is one of the 84,000 shrines, erected by Sri Dharm Asôka, ruler of the world, at the end of the 218th year of Buddha's annihilation, upon the holy spot in which Bhagavan (Buddha) tasted milk and honey," &c. Though the original structure was doubtless long since obliterated, yet we have here a genuine tradition of the place, that there once stood on this spot, a shrine (a stûpa, and buildings connected with it) erected by the great Asôka. The language, in which this inscription is found, may be explained by the custom, which the Birmans once had, as there is reason to believe, of making pilgrimages to the spot.* Similar local traditions are preserved also, in the narrative of a Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century,† and in parts of Central India there are monuments of a different sort from the topes, which still stand to testify to the zeal of Asôka in behalf of Buddhism. These are columns, generally bearing a lion on the summit, in allusion to one of the names of Buddha, Sâkya-Sinha, or *Sâkya-lion*, and inscribed with proclamations of this Asôka, enjoining the observance of the Buddhist rules of conduct. They are mostly dated in the twenty-seventh year of his reign.‡

In the seventeenth year of Asôka's reign, which falls about B. C. 241, a third council of the Buddhists was held, in order to purify the fraternity of the Bhikkhus from certain heretical

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* See Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, iii. pp. 214, 215, Calcutta, 1834; and Rel. d. Roy. Bouddh. p. 278. In the date 218 years after Buddha, this tradition errs with the Mahâvanso, (see note †, p. 95:) for it appears that Asôka's Buddhist buildings were erected between the fourth and the seventh year after his accession. See Mahâv. pp. 23, 26, comp. with pp. 22 and 34.

† See Itinéraire de Hiuan-thsang, in Rel. d. Roy. Bouddh. p. 375.

‡ See Interpretation of the most ancient of the inscriptions on the pillar called the lât of Feroz Shâh, near Delhi, and of the Allahabad, Radhia, and Mattiah pillar, or lât, inscriptions which agree therewith. By James Prinsep, in Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. p. 566, &c., and further notes on the inss. on the columns of Delhi, Allahabad, Betiah, &c. By the Hon. George Turnour, ibid. vi. p. 1049, &c., and see the Birman tradition respecting the three Buddhist councils, in a Birman inscription found in Arracan. Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, iii. p. 210, &c.

doctrines, which had been introduced by persons jealous of the progress of Buddhism, who had of themselves assumed the yellow robe, and intruded themselves into the vihâras for the purpose of creating a schism. These interlopers had so multiplied as to outnumber the true Bhikkhus, who for several years refused to join with them in performing the religious ceremonies of the cloisters. To cure this evil, the king caused a general assembly of the Mendicants of India, in order that they might declare in his presence, what they held to be the religion of Buddha; and all who proved themselves heretics were excommunicated. On this occasion, a certain number of the clergy, selected from those "who were sustainers of the text of the Tripitakan, and had overcome the dominion of sin, and were masters of the mysteries of the three Viyya," or *sciences*, consulted together on the traditions of Buddhist doctrine, and are said to have restored them to their integrity.* It is questionable, however, whether the standards of Buddhism were not somewhat modified from their original form, at least the Dharma and Vinaya, at each of the great councils, to meet the requisitions of an advanced period of its history. A Mongol author, quoted by Schmidt, speaks of the three revisions of "the words of Buddha," as so many collections of them, and says: "The substance of the first words reveals to the general comprehension, only the doctrine of the lesser means of deliverance, and serves for the salvation of believers of a narrow and contracted capability. The substance of the middle words includes doctrines belonging to the great means of deliverance, which is partly simple and partly requires deeper investigation, and it serves for the salvation of those believing participators in the means of deliverance, whose capability and understanding is of the medium sort. The substance of the last words comprises exclusively the deep signification of the great means of deliverance, and serves for the salvation of the believing wise, of lofty and penetrating understanding."†

Now began the great age of Buddhist missions. The head of the mendicant fraternity, "having terminated the third convocation," as it is said in the Mahâvanso, "and per-

* Mahâv. pp. 41, 42, and Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. pp. 732–737.
† See Ssanang Ssetsen, notes, p. 315.

ceiving that the time had arrived for the establishment of the religion of Buddho in foreign countries," appointed missionaries to Kâsmîra-Gandhâra, and Mahisamandala — to Mahâratta — to the Yôna country — to the Himavanta country — to Sôvanabhûmi — and to Lanka: also to Vanavâsi and Aparantaka. These two last-named countries, and Sôvanabhûmi,* I am unable to identify. But from each of the other names may be derived, with more or less certainty, a very interesting view of the propagation of Buddhism out of India at this early age.

Kâsmîra is identified by the Mahâbhârata with the modern Cashmere. But it is apparent from the Râdjataranginî, that the dominion of the kings of that country frequently extended far beyond the limits of the celebrated valley, which is commonly known by that name. Gandhâra is not expressly said to have been conquered from Cashmere; yet it is mentioned in a manner which shows that its princes had conflicts with the Cashmerian; † and we are fully justified in supposing, that by Kâsmîra-Gandhâra is intended Gandhâra subject to Cashmere. The country called Gandhâra is a land of the Mletchtchhas, or *Barbarians*, according to the geography of the Sanskrit Epics, and appears to have been in the upper part of the Panjab, and to have extended westward of the Indus.‡ If now we turn our attention to the period when the mission to this country was sent, according to the Mahâvanso, a Mongol tradition meets us, that "three hundred years after Buddha had disappeared in Nirvâna, when king Kanika was master of alms-gifts, (grand almoner of the mendicants,) a collection, of the last words of Buddha, was made in a cloister in the kingdom of Keschmeri. At that time all the words of Buddha were put into books." § This is evidently a legend respecting the third Buddhist council, confounded with the mission to Cashmere. The period designated coincides remarkably with the date which the Mahâ-

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* Suvannabhummi is mentioned in the Birman inscription above referred to, and may possibly be some part of Further India.

† See Râdjatar. ii. 145; iii. 2.

‡ See Notes of Troyer in tome ii. of Râdjatar. pp. 317–321, and Foĕ Kouĕ Kip. 379.

§ See Ssanang Ssetsen, notes, p. 315.

vanso assigns to that council.* And how can the disagreement, as to the country in which it was held, be better explained, than by the fact, stated in the Ceylonese history, of a mission from India to a part of Cashmere, or to a country very near to it, and connected with it, soon after the council broke up? What could be more natural than that the newly authenticated traditions of Buddhist doctrine, having been introduced into the kingdom of Cashmere at that time, should be represented in the legendary tales of the Mongols, as collected there? Allowing our conclusions thus far to be correct, the name of the sovereign of Cashmere, when the mission came there, as preserved among the Mongols, enables us to make another step in verifying the statement of the Mahâvanso: for the Râdjatarangiṇî gives us reason to believe, that a king of the name of Kanishka, one of the Turushkas, and a friend to the Buddhists, reigned over Cashmere as late as the middle of the third century before Christ.† All these coincidences leave us no room to doubt, that Buddhism had extended itself to the site of some of the topes, already, in the third century before Christ.

The name of the country Mahîsamandala, to which missionaries were also sent, leads us up to the mountainous borders

* If Asôka, the Emperor of India, began his reign B. C. 258, the 17th year of his sovereignty, when the third council met, falls upon B. C. 242–241, which is about 302 years after Buddha's death. The missions, it will be remembered, were despatched a little later.

† See Râdjatar. i. 168—172. If the Turushka-dynasty came in one hundred and fifty years after B. C. 543, it follows, allowing the average of 22 years to each of the three sovereigns mentioned as belonging to it, that the last or Kanishka continued to reign till B. C. 327. But the expression of the Râdjatar. i. 171, "during their long reign," seems to imply that their whole line occupied more time than the usual average of a reign thrice repeated. And this suspicion is strengthened by another circumstance, that the chronology of the Râdjatar. is found to require, for consistency, an intercalation, somewhere about this period, of seventy-eight years: for from the time of the third sovereign after the Turushkas, named Gonarda III., to the year in which the author wrote, (known by another calculation to have been A. D. 1146,) are said to have elapsed 2330 years, i. 53. The age of Gonarda III., according to the author, was therefore B. C. 1184. But between Asôka, the third prince before the Turushkas, whose reign, by the chronology of this history, began B. C. 1438, (see note ‡, p. 89,) and Gonarda III. inclusive, we have only eight princes mentioned, who with the average of 22 years to each of their reigns, fill up only 176 years, which, subtracted from 1438 B. C., bring us only to 1262 B. C.: so that we are obliged to add to this interval 78 years, in order to put Gonarda III. as far down as B. C. 1184. Adding then this number of years to the average sum of the reigns of the Turushkas, we obtain 144 years as the entire length of their dynasty, which, deducted from the date of its accession, brings its termination down to B. C. 249. The Kanishka named in the Râdjatar. may have been either the last of the Turushka line, or a predecessor of the same name.

of India; for Mandala, as Lassen has observed, often stands for the enclosed mountain-valleys of the Himâlaya,* and Cashmere is sometimes called, in the Râdjataranginî, Kâsmîra-Mandala. Mahîsamandala signifies properly, the *Great region having alpine valleys*, and may best be referred to the whole of the western part of the Himâlaya range, including Cashmere.

The record of the mission to the Mahâratta country derives confirmation from the existence of those stupendous monuments — the cave-temples — in Salsette, at Ellora, and elsewhere along the western coast of Hindustan. It has been noticed that there seem to have been neither temples, nor images of deities, in India, in the age of its great Epics: and, judging from probabilities, we should say, it was less likely that architecture and sculpture were produced under the influence of the separation into sects, which succeeded the epic form of Hindu religion, than that the rise of Buddhism led to the development of those arts; for such a division into sects, as that was, could not but impair the vital spirit of Brahmanism; it was indeed a first breach made in the system, by the disintegrating infidelity of the mass of the people; but Buddhism, while it founded itself upon philosophical grounds, restored the Hindu mythology to its integrity; so that we might expect to find some monuments, testifying that the ancient deities of India were invested by the Buddhists with those outward attractions which sculpture united with architecture are known to have lent to popular mythology, so generally, both in rude and cultivated nations.† Accordingly, the construction and bas-reliefs of most of the celebrated cave-temples of India, prove them to be Buddhistic. Of their age we have indeed no certain knowledge: but their localities, and the circumstance, that no similar works are to

* See Zeitschrift für d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes. ii. p. 25. Göttingen, 1839.

† Such had been, in ancient times, the relation to each other of the three principal Hindu deities, that the division into sects, by the recognition of one to the exclusion of the others, implied a practical indifference to all; for the human mind could not devoutly reverence either the creative, preservative, or destructive power in nature, without a recognition of its correlatives; and it is evident, that each one of the divinities, to which such opposite attributes had been ascribed, could not at once, by a single step, become invested with the combined qualities of all three. It needed, therefore some extraneous impulse, stirring the listlessness of the parties thus heedlessly opposed, in order to that magnifying of their respective divinities, which at length made each to engross all divine attributes. Buddhism itself probably supplied that needful impulse.

be seen along the slopes of the Himâlaya, and the scale upon which they have been wrought, seem, with one accord, to associate their origin with the influx, through commercial intercourse, of wealth and knowledge of foreign art, as well as with a high degree of zeal for Buddhism: and the supposition cannot appear unreasonable, that many of them were the work of the time of Asôka, when Buddhism was most zealously promoted in foreign parts, and Ptolemy Philadelphus had given, not long before, a powerful impulse to maritime commerce between Egypt and India.

The Yôna country, mentioned in the account of the missions under Asôka, is readily associated with Yavana, a name applied in India, from ancient times, as is well known, to signify the western nations, generally: and of the particular signification of the term in this connection, some highly valuable existing monuments enable us to judge, to a certain extent. One of these monuments is a proclamation of Asôka, inscribed upon a rock at Girnar, in Guzerat, which refers to the establishment of Buddhist usages in the dominions of Antiochus the Great. I will give the substance of the inscription in its own words, as translated by the distinguished paleographist, the late Mr. James Prinsep, of Calcutta; "Every where within the conquered provinces of Râdja Piyadasi, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, even as far as Tambapanni, (which is Ceylon,) and moreover within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek, (Antiyako Yona,) of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers, — every where the heaven-beloved Râdja Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is established, — both medical aid for men, and medical aid for animals; together with medicaments of all sorts which are suitable for men, and suitable for animals. And wheresoever there is not (such provision,) — in all such places they are to be prepared, and to be planted; both root-drugs, and herbs; and wheresoever there is not (a provision of them,) — in all such places shall they be deposited and planted, and in the public highways wells are to be dug, and trees to be planted for the accommodation of men and animals."* That Antiochus

* See Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vii. p. 156, &c. Piyadasi has been shown by Mr. Turnour to be another name of Asôka. See Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. p. 1054, &c. For the identity of Tambapanni with Ceylon, see De Taprobane insulâ veteribus cognitâ Dissertatio, qua . . . . invitat Christianus Lassen. Bonnæ, 1842. pp. 6–9,

the Great is here intended, is proved by the reference to Ceylon, as already occupied by the so-called faithful: for this brings the date of the inscription down below B. C. 242 – 241, when that island was first made a sphere of Buddhist influence; and no other Antiochus, except that one surnamed the Great, reigned subsequently to this period, who was contemporaneous with Asôka.* Another edict of Asôka has been discovered in an inscription, apparently containing the name of a Ptolemy of Egypt, in the form of Turamayo, together with an allusion to the propagation of Buddhism in his kingdom: and from a comparison of dates, it appears, that Ptolemy Euergetes, or Ptolemy Philopator, must be the one referred to.† The Yôna country of the Mahâvanso extended, therefore, into the empire of the successors of Alexander, and perhaps to Egypt.‡

The Himavanta, or *Snowy country*, to be distinguished from Mahîsamandala, must be explained as designating the higher regions of the Himâlaya, further eastward than Cashmere, or the cold plains on its northern side. It is evident, that the Mahâvanso intends an abode of tribes not belonging to India; for it calls the inhabitants by names, such as Yakkhos, or *Genii*, Nâgos, or *Dragons*, and Gandhabbos, or *Sprites*, which must always have meant those living out of the limits of Brahman civilization, even after they had ceased to convey a reproach; for they correspond, in their original signification, to Râkshasâs, or *Monsters* —

The duty of providing for animals, as enjoined in this edict, is one of the most prominent moral principles of the religion of Buddha.

* In L'art de vérifier les dates, pe. i. t. ii. p. 313, the reign of Antiochus the Great is placed between B. C. 223 and B. C. 187. As Asôka is said to have reigned thirty-seven years, (see Mahâv. p. 122,) he may have been still emperor of India in B. C. 221.

† See Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal. vii. p. 219, &c.

‡ H. Ritter. the author of the *Geschichte der Philosophie*, says, in reference to the influence of Indian philosophy on that of the Greeks, that the comparison of doctrines, as well as other considerations, necessitate the belief that the later Greek philosophy was modified by that of India, and yet that, in the absence of all historical indications, every one must be left to make his own supposition, with regard to the manner in which "these Oriental doctrines penetrated from India to Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and other countries of Greek culture." (See Ritter's Gesch. d. Philos. iv. p. 414, &c.) But have we not in these edicts of Asôka, connected with the Mahâvanso, the best historical explanation of the influence supposed, which could be expected? It cannot be affirmed that the very doctrines of Greek philosophers, which Ritter marks as evidently of Indian origin, belong particularly to the Buddhist system; yet they seem to approach nearer to it than to the systems of the Brahmans, and the probability is not inconsiderable, in this view, apart from all historical facts, that the later Greeks became acquainted with Indian philosophy, through the Buddhists.

a name which is known to have been contemptuously applied by the Brahmans to the inhabitants of all foreign countries.

The importance of this era of the Buddhist missions will justify the introduction here of some words of another inscription of Asôka, which give the same view with the Mahâvanso, of the extent of the missions for the conversion of foreign nations to the Buddhist faith, in his reign. The translation is borrowed from Mr. Prinsep: "Thus spake the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi: For a very long period of time, there have been no ministers of religion, properly so called. By myself, then, in this tenth year of mine anointment, (properly, the thirteenth year of his reign,) are ministers of religion appointed, who shall be intermingled with all the hundred grades of unbelievers, for the establishment among them of the faith, for the increase of religion, and for their profit and gratification through the context of the sacred doctrines, in Kambocha and Gandhâra, in Sulâthika and Pitenika, and even to the furthest limits of the barbarian countries; who shall mix with Brahmans and Bhikshus, with the poor and with the rich, to bring them to the righteousness which passeth knowledge, for their benefit and pleasure, and for those bound in the fetters (of sin) this new bond of precious knowledge is made for their final emancipation, which is beyond understanding; and among the terrible and the powerful shall they be mixed, both here (or at Pâtaliputra) and in foreign countries, in every town; and among all the kindred ties even of brotherhood and sisterhood, and others, every where and here also having penetrated, — for there is religious darkness even in the very metropolis of religion, — every question shall be asked among the charitable, and these being themselves absorbed in righteousness shall become ministers of the faith. For this express reason is this religious edict promulgated: for evermore let my people pay attention thereto."*

*See Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vii. 225-254, and 266-268. Instead of "to the furthest limits of the barbarians" in the inscription, can be read, "in the barbarian borders of Aparâta," which may have been, as Prinsep suggests, the country of the Απαγύται, whom Herodotus puts with the Γανδάριοι and other tribes in the army of Xerxes, belonging to the seventh prefecture of the Persian empire. We may also, possibly, recognize here the Aparantika of the Mahâvanso. Sulâthika is probably to be read Surâthika, and to be identified with the Σηραστρηνή of the Greek geographers, the modern Guzerat. Kambocha is to be looked for in the country of the Indus:

The introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon made of itself an era in the history of the system: for Buddhist institutions underwent a material modification there, and Ceylon afterwards became the great centre of Buddhist influence, especially to Further India, and to the islands of the Indian Archipelago. There is a tradition that Buddha himself visited this island; but as the detailed narrative, which we have, of the planting of Buddhism in Ceylon, not only does not call for such a tradition, but is opposed to it, it is to be rejected, as wholly groundless. The author of the Mahâvanso leaves us no room to doubt, that what he calls Lanka is the island of Ceylon, which indeed, according to Lassen, is spoken of in the Ramayanam under no other name.* A popular tradition points to the derivation of the name Ceylon from Sihalo—the appellation of the race which first civilized the island.† This race, descended from the royal lines of the Vangus, or Bengalese, and Kalingas, or inhabitants of the maritime northern Circars, had established itself in a principality in the Mâgadha country, at the end of the fourth century before Christ; and in the next generation is said to have emigrated to Ceylon.‡ The Buddhist missionaries landed

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"A wild multitude
Of Sakas, Yavanas, and mountaineers:
The fierce Kâmbojas, with the tribes who dwell
Beyond the western streams, and Persia's hosts,
Poured on us like a deluge."

H. H. Wilson's trans. of Mudra Rakshasa, in "Specimens," &c. ii. 179.

For the year of Asôka's inauguration, see Mahâv, p. 22. The date of this edict, which appears, from what is contained in it, to have been published before the Buddhist missionaries were despatched, is about four years earlier than the year which the Mahâvanso fixes upon as the date of the third council. Perhaps the will of the sovereign, that such missions should be undertaken, though already expressed in the thirteenth year of his reign, could not be carried into execution until his seventeenth year. It is evident from the edict itself, that the ecclesiastical establishment of the Buddhists, at the time of its promulgation, was in great disorder, and the occurrence of the third council, as related in the Mahâvanso, indicates the same state of things. All is consistent, if we suppose that this edict was the occasion of the revival of Buddhism, which reached its height in the third council, and led to the execution of the missionary enterprise immediately afterwards.

* See De Taprobane Insulâ, as above, p. 19.

† "By whatever means the monarch Sihabâhu slew the Siho (lion,) from that feat his sons and descendants are called Sihalâ, (the lion-slayers.) This Lankâ having been conquered by a Sihalo, from the circumstance also of its having been colonized by a Sihalo, it obtained the name of Sihalo." Mahâv. p. 50.

‡ See Mahâv. pp. 43–68. The statement of the time of this colonization of Ceylon from the Indian continent is only an approximation to the truth, grounded on the number of generations which the Mahâvanso counts between the founder of the principality in Mâgadha, Sihabâhu, and his descendant Dêvânâmpriyatissa. These are five and a half, Dêvânâmpriyatissa himself not included. If we estimate them

on that part of the island, which was governed by Devanampiyatisso, (Sansk. Dêvânâmpriyatissa,) a prince of this Indian family, whose capital was Anurâdhapûra; who is said to have been "united with Asôka by the ties of friendship, from a long period, though they were personally unknown to each other." The Ceylonese prince had, the same year, on his accession, made a present to the emperor of India, of pearls and gems and other valuables, which had been reciprocated by Asôka, with the acompaniment of this message: "I have taken refuge in Buddho, — his religion and his fraternity: I have avowed myself a devotee in the religion of the descendant of Sâkyo. Ruler of men! imbuing thy mind with the conviction of the truth of these supreme blessings, with unfeigned faith, do thou also take refuge in this salvation." The mission was conducted by Mahindo, a son of Asôka, who had entered the order of the Bhikshus, and made himself master of the Tripitakan.* He was, without doubt, known to the king of Ceylon, as the son of his royal ally. But,

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at 30 years each, and consider that Dêvânâmpriyatissa was in the first year of his reign when the mission of Asôka was sent to Ceylon, i. e. in B. C. 241, (see Mahâv. pp. 76, 77,) allowing half a generation for his age at the commencement of his reign, we are led to the conclusion, that Sihabâhu's kingdom was established between B. C. 421 and B. C. 391, and the colonization of Ceylon from Magadha will be placed between B. C. 391 and B. C. 361. An interesting counterpart to the result of this calculation is afforded by Pliny, who represents Taprobane as connected with Central India, commercially, in the age of Alexander. His words are as follows. "Taprobanem alterum orbem terrarum esse diu existimatum est, Antichthonum appellatione. Ut liqueret insulam esse, *Alexandri Magni ætas resque præstitêre.* Onesicritus, classis ejus præfectus, elephantos ibi majores bellicosioresque, quam in India, gigni scripsit: Megasthenes flumine dividi, incolasque Palæogonos appellari, auri margaritarumque grandium fertiliores quam Indos. Eratosthenes et mensuram prodidit, longitudinem VII M. stad. latitudinem quinque M., nec urbes esse, sed vicos septingentos. Incipit ab Eoo mari, inter ortum occasumque Solis Indiæ prætenta, et quondam credita XX dierum navigatione a *Prasiana gente* distare: quia papyraceis navibus, armamentisque Nili peteretur, (mox,) ad nostrarum navium cursus. VII dierum intervallo taxato. Mare interest vadosum. . . . . Siderum in navigando nulla observatio. Septentrio non cernitur: sed volucres secum vehunt, emittentes sæpius, meatumque earum terram petentium comitantur. Nec plus quaternis mensibus in anno navigant. . . . . *Hactenus a priscis memorata.*" See C. Plinii Nat. Hist. vi. 24. Though Pliny goes back no further than to the accounts of Alexander's contemporaries, yet, plainly, what they relate must have been an order of things established some time previous to their own observations. On the nation of the Prasii, see Ritter's Erdkunde B. iv. Abth. i. s. 507, &c., and ibid. iv, Ab. ii. s. 14, &c.

* See Mahâv. pp. 68–70, comp. with pp. 36, 37. The ruins of Anurâdhapûra are yet to be seen at Anurodgburro, on the borders of the province of Jafnapatam; and "traditions still exist among the Ceylonese, that a long race of kings reigned at this place." There were pillars here with inscriptions, in the time of the Portuguese and Dutch colonies: but whether still existing we do not know. The inscriptions have not, it is believed, been decyphered. See an account of the island of Ceylon, by Capt. Robert Percival, London, 1805, p. 252.

however this may have been, it appears that the religion of Buddha and its ministers were received at once with great favor. Numerous viharas, rock-cells, parivênas, or perambulation-halls, and magnificent stûpas for pretended relics of Buddha, received from India, are said to have been constructed: and gardens laid out, and tanks dug also, for the convenience and pleasure of the Mendicants: and the story is, that the banyan was extensively propagated, from a tree which had shaded Buddha, when he attained to the supréme wisdom. It seems not improbable, that Buddha himself made allusion to the growth of the banyan, as significant of what might and should be the extension of his new doctrine; and that this tree was introduced from India into foreign countries, as a Buddhist emblem, just as the architectural form of the stûpa carried abroad another of the symbols, by which Buddha illustrated his doctrine.*

A feature of the Buddhist institutions, which we first trace in Ceylon, was the establishment of separate vihâras for females. It is not certain that this was not of higher antiquity. But the Mahâvanso gives no intimation of it, until it mentions, that Sanghamittâ, a daughter of Asôka, who had received consecration as a Buddhist mendicant, went to Ceylon, to initiate into the same order a princess of the royal household there, and a number of other females, who all secluded themselves with her in apartments specially provided for them, after which a new cloister is said to have been erected, for their separate accommodation.†

Mahinda lived till about B. C. 193,‡ "having propagated over Lankâ the supreme religion of the vanquisher, his doctrines, his church discipline, and especially the means by

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* See Mahâv. pp. 78–124.

† Comp. Mahâv. p. 85, with pp. 120, 121. It is worthy of remark, as indicating the influence of Buddhism in elevating the female sex in India, that the Sanskrit dramas, which generally put some vulgar dialect into the mouths of their female characters, thus placing them on a low social level, ascribe higher dignity, on the contrary, to Buddhist women, by making them speak the classic language. We might expect to find, however, that the more liberal principle of the Buddhists did not until after several generations prevail over the base sentiment of ancient times, which had subjected the Indian female to a humiliating ministry to the pleasure of the other sex: so that the absence of any earlier indication of sisterhoods among the Buddhists, devoting themselves to the interests of their religion, is not surprising.

‡ He died in the eighth year of Dêvânâmpriyatissa's successor, and Dêvân reigned forty years. Mahâv. p. 124. B. C. 241 less 48 = B. C. 193.

which the fruits of a state of sanctification are to be obtained in the most perfect manner." The history of Ceylon speaks of him, as "a luminary like unto the divine teacher himself." It is certain, that no event contributed to the perpetuation and strengthening of Buddhism, so much as the conversion of Lankâ under Mahinda. The constant intercourse of this island with the parent country of Buddhism, and its participation in the ancient civilization of the continent of India, afforded the religion of Buddha, there, a soil at once congenial and renewed, so that the transplanting made it grow the more luxuriantly. Though it was here too met by Brahmanism, there had not been centuries of secret jealousy, as in India, to make this antagonist rigid; and perhaps the Brahmanism of Ceylon was always a mere mythology, rather than a philosophical system. But, whatever may be the reason, the fact is unquestionable, that Buddhism assumed a fullness of development and a fixedness in Ceylon, which it never had previously. Its establishment there is sometimes called by the Buddhists, using a figure of the old Brahman mythology, the Lankâvâtaram, which signifies, that there was in Lankâ a new avâtar or manifestation of Buddha. Perhaps we may reasonably suppose, that Mahinda, who being of regal descent, could not but exalt the place which he took, of head of the mendicant order, first brought to distinct and conscious existence that hierarchical element, which was afterwards so characteristic of Buddhism in Tibet, and which became represented by an imaginary succession of so-called Bodhisatvas, or superior beings next after Buddha in the scale of creation, and supposed to have derived their authority originally from Buddha himself. It accords with this, that while, in the earlier history of Buddhism, the whole fraternity of the Bhikshus were, to judge only from the Mahâvanso, always dependent in some measure upon the countenance of the sovereign, and acknowledged a feeling of the necessity of his active coöperation with them in any important ecclesiastical proceedings, that same authority mentions events of a later period, which indicate that the Buddhist mendicants in Ceylon became used to political intrigue, inclined to take upon themselves political functions, and were accustomed to dupe the king's conscience for their own aggrandizement.*

* See Mahâv. pp. 157, 158. 194, &c. 201, 205–207.

A few years before the commencement of our era, the oral law of the Buddhists was first committed to writing in Ceylon. "The profoundly wise Bhikkhus had heretofore orally perpetuated the text (the Pâli) of the Pitakas, and the commentary (the Atthakathâ). At this period, these Bhikkhus, foreseeing the perdition of the people, assembled: and in order that the religion might endure for ages, recorded the same in books."* The Buddhists of Further India and Ceylon, name the language of their sacred books the Pâli, or the Mâgadhi, — the latter evidently distinguishing it as a dialect of the province of Mâgadha, — the former referring to its religious use, whether the signification of the word Pâli, as it occurs in Asôka's inscriptions, where it means *ordinance of sacred law*, or that of *scriptural text* in opposition to commentary, which appears in the passage just quoted from the Mahâvanso, is considered to be the nearest to the original meaning. But the dialect of the Sanskrit, which the Indian grammarians call Mâgadhi, though it has been found to be the language of the oldest monuments of Buddhism, of the age of which we are sure, Asôka's edicts, is even more deteriorated from the classic model, than the Pâli of the Buddhist books. This phenomenon will be explained if we suppose, either, that the oral tradition of the precepts and dogmas of Buddha always remained so true, even to the peculiarities of the dialect in which they were first formally published, that it did not fall in with any variations of that dialect in later times: or, that the principles of the new religion were not expressed by Buddha and his immediate followers, in the popular language just as spoken, but with certain modifications, which, while not unfitting it for the popular ear, gave to it such a degree of superiority, that it can be compared to advantage with the language of the people three centuries afterwards, even though it may have participated, in the progress of tradition, in the changes of the spoken language: or else, that when the oral law of the Buddhists came to be fixed in writing, the language was accommodated to some extent to that model of written composition, which existed in the ancient literature of India, — in order that it might better compare with the style of the sacred books of the Brahmans, at the same time

* See Mahâv. p. 207. This event took place under a Vattadchâmini, who began to reign one hundred and seventy-eight years and eight months after Dêvânâmpriyatissa's death. B. C. 201 less 179–178=B. C. 23–22.

that it retained its more popular character. The latter explanation is altogether the most plausible.*

In the latter half of the fifth century, a prince of the name of Mahânamo (Sansk. Mahânâma,) occupied the throne of the first patron of Buddhism in Ceylon.† The Mahâvanso gives us a glimpse of the condition of the Buddhists in Central India, in his reign, which deserves to be noticed, in the absence of all circumstantial accounts of Indian Buddhism after the time of Asôka. The period of the reign of Mahânâma was also an era of importance in respect to the wider

* That the primitive Buddhists used the vernacular tongue altogether has been disputed by Mr. Hodgson, English resident in Nepal: "Why," he asks, "should men, with the Sanskrit at command, and having to defend their principles in the schools against ripe scholars from all parts of India, (for those were days of high debate, and of perpetual formal disputation in palaces and cloisters,) be supposed to have resorted to a limited and feeble organ, when they had the universal and more powerful one equally available. The presumption that they did not thus postpone Sanskrit to Prâkrit is, in my judgment, worth a score of any inferences deducible from monumental slabs, backed as this presumption is by the Sanskrit records of Buddhism discovered here (in Nepal.) Those records came direct from the proximate head-quarters of Buddhism. And if the principles of this creed were not expounded and systematized in the schools of India in Sanskrit, what are we to make of the Nepalese originals, and of the avowed Tibetan translations? In my judgment, the extent and character of these works settle the question, that the philosophic founders of Buddhism used Sanskrit and Sanskrit only, to expound, defend, and record the speculative principles of their system, principles without which the vulgar creed would be for us mere leather and prunella. Nor is this opinion in the least opposed to your notion, (mine too,) that the practical system of belief, deduced from those principles, was spread among the vulgar of the spot, as well as propagated to remoter parts, by means of the vernacular." To this Mr. Prinsep replies: "There can be no doubt, as Mr. Hodgson says, that all scholastic disputation with the existing Brahmanical schools, which Sâkya personally visited and overcame, must have been conducted in the classical language. The only question is, whether any of these early disquisitions have been preserved, and whether, for example, the life of Sâkya, called the Lalita Vistâra, found by Prof. Wilson to agree verbatim with the Tibetan translation examined simultaneously by Mr. Csoma, has a greater antiquity than the Pitakattayan of Ceylon." He then adds an extract of a letter of Csoma de Körösi, which proposes a solution of the apparent difficulty, urged by Mr. Hodgson against the opinion of the Buddhists themselves, that the dialect of Mâgadha was the primary language of their sacred writings "In reference to your and Mr. Turnour's opinion, that the original records of the Buddhists in ancient India were written in the Mâgadhi dialect, I beg leave to add in support of it, that in the index of register of the Kahgyur it is stated, that the Sutras in general, excepting the Sher-chhin and Rgyud, (i. e. those parts treating of transcendental theology, and the mysteries of religious worship. See Asiatic Researches, xx. pp. 393 and 487,) after the death of Shâkya, were first written in the Sindhu language, and the Sher-chhin and Rgyud in the Sanskrit; but part of the Rgyud also in several other corrupt dialects. It is probable that in the seventh century and afterwards, the ancient Buddhistic religion was remodelled and generally written in Sanskrit, before the Tibetans commenced its introduction by translations into their own country." Jour. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi. p. 682, &c.

† Mahânâma began to reign four hundred and seventy-six years and seven months after Vattadchâmini, who reigned twelve years. B. C. 10 plus 476=A. D. 466. He reigned 22 years, till A. D. 488.

propagation of the religion of Buddha. "A brahman youth, born in the neighborhood of the terrace of the great bo-tree (in Mâgadha,) accomplished in the 'wijja' and 'sippa;' who had achieved the knowledge of the three 'wêdos,' and possessed great aptitude in obtaining acquirements: indefatigable as a schismatic disputant, and himself a schismatic wanderer over Jambudîpo, (Gangetic India,) established himself, in the character of a disputant, in a certain wihâro, and was in the habit of rehearsing, by night and by day, with clasped hands, a discourse which he had learned, perfect in all its component parts, and sustained throughout in the same lofty strain. A certain mahâthêro, Rêwato, becoming acquainted with him there, and (saying to himself,) 'This individual is a person of profound knowledge; it will be worthy (of me) to convert him;' inquired, 'Who is this who is braying like an ass?' (The brahman) replied to him; 'Thou canst not define, then, the meaning conveyed in the braying of asses.' On (the thêro) rejoining, 'I can define it;' he (the brahman) exhibited the extent of the knowledge which he possessed. The thêro criticized each of his propositions, and pointed out in what respect they were fallacious. He, who had been thus refuted, said, 'Well, then, descend to thy own creed;' and he propounded to him a passage from the 'Abhîdhammo' (of the Pitakattaya.) He (the brahman) could not divine the signification of that (passage;) and inquired, 'Whose manto is this?' 'It is Buddho's manto.' On his exclaiming, 'Impart it to me;' (the thêro) replied, 'Enter the sacerdotal order.' He who was desirous of acquiring the knowledge of the Pitakattaya, subsequently coming to this conviction: 'This is the sole road to salvation;' became a convert to that faith. As he was as profound in his (ghôsô) eloquence, as Buddho himself, they conferred on him the appellation of Buddhaghôso, (Sansk. Buddhoghôsha) the *Voice of Buddha;* and throughout the world he became as renowned as Buddho. Having there (in Jambudîpo) composed an original work called 'Nanôdayan;' he, at the same time, wrote the chapter called 'Atthasâlini,' on the Dhammasanginî (one of the commentaries on the Abhîdhammo.) Rêwato thêro then observing that he was desirous of undertaking the compilation of a 'Parittatthakathan' (a general commentary on the Pitakattaya,) thus

addressed him; 'The text alone (of the Pitakattaya) has been preserved in this land: the Atthakathâ are not extant here; nor is there any version to be found of the wâdâ (schisms) complete. The Singhalese Atthakathâ are genuine. They were composed in the Singhalese language by the inspired and profoundly wise Mahindo, who had previously consulted the discourses of Buddho, authenticated at the three convocations, and the dissertations and arguments of Sâriputto and others, and they are extant among the Singhalese. Repairing thither, and studying the same, translate (them) according to the rules of the grammar of the Mâgadhas. It will be an act conducive to the welfare of the whole world.' Having been thus advised, this eminently wise personage rejoicing therein, departed from thence, and visited this island in the reign of this monarch (Mahanâmo.) . . . . . Taking up his residence in the secluded Ganthâkaro wihâro at Anurâdhapura, he translated according to the grammatical rules of the Mâgadhas, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Singhalese Atthakathâ (into Pâli.) This proved an achievement of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race. All the thêros and achârayos held this compilation in the same estimation as the text (of the Pitakattaya.) Thereafter, the objects of his mission having been fulfilled, he returned to Jambudîpo, to worship at the bo-tree (at Uruwêlâya, in Mâgadha.") * From this passage we learn that the Brahmans of India were now actively engaged in repelling the extensive encroachments of the Buddhists; and that Buddhism had at the same time lost something of its vigor there, inasmuch as the true interpretation of its sacred books, the Atthakathâ, made up by the experience of its ancient teachers, from the age of the first council, was no longer possessed either in oral tradition, or in a written form. This important appendix and support to the Pitakas, must have fallen away, however, by degrees; so that the religion of Buddha may be said to have begun to decline in its native country in the first centuries of our era. Meanwhile the ancient Atthakathâ was preserved in Ceylon; and by the restoration of it to India, from that island, there was a reciprocation of influence in behalf of

* See Mahâv. pp. 250-253.

Buddhism upon its parent country.* But Buddhaghôsha's Pâli version of the Atthakathâ was adopted in Ceylon: and probably that traditionary comment had never before been written in the dialect of Mâgadha. The literary labors of Buddhaghôsha, which are noticed in the Mahâvanso, as destined to "conduce to the welfare of the whole world," and as having "proved of the utmost consequence to all languages spoken by the human race," are historically connected with the introduction of Buddhism into Further India.

Col. Symes, the English ambassador to Ava, informs us that the Arhans of Birma, profess to have received their religion from Zehoo (Pâli, Sîhalo) or Ceylon by the way of Arracan. Ceylon is their holy land, and, in common with all the inhabitants of Further India, they speak of Buddha as the son of a king of that island, and their sacred era corresponds exactly with that of the Ceylonese. With the Buddhists of Siam, too, Ceylon is the original seat of their religion; and the Ceylonese era of Buddha's death is theirs; their sacred language also is the Pâli. According to their own story, the immediate source of Buddhism with them was Kambodja and Laos. In these other countries of Further India again, we find the Pâli to be the sacred language, and that Ceylon is the place of pilgrimage to the devout Buddhist.† On all these grounds it appears certain, that Buddhism was carried to Further India from Ceylon. But as to the time of its introduction there, we have only the statement of P. Carpanus, on the authority of a Birman history, called the Mahârazoen (from Sanskrit Mahâ, *great*, and Râdchan, *king*,) that the Pâli books and character were brought from

* The existence of an interpretation, of ancient authority, supplementary to the Buddhist Scripture itself, probably led the way in the progress of time, as further explanation became necessary and was suggested, to that immense multiplication of books esteemed sacred, among the nations which received Buddhism later, as the Chinese, the Tibetans, and the Mongols. We read in the Mahâvanso, that Buddhaghôsha's translation of the Singhalese Atthakathâ "was held in the same estimation as the text (of the Pitakas.") That this ancient interpretation should require for itself a comment, on account of the language in which it might happen to be made known, or the nature of the ideas expressed, (which would be most likely to occur on the introduction of Buddhism among people so different from the Indians, as the Chinese and the natives of northern Asia,) was sufficient to give occasion to an enlargement of it by additions, which should in their turn obtain currency, and even became incorporated into the code of Scripture itself.

† See Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, by M. Symes, Esq., London, 1800. p. 299, and Die Erdkunde von Asien, von Carl Ritter, iii. 1165–1169. Arhan, or *Venerable*, is a common title of the Buddhist ecclesiastic.

Ceylon to Pegu by a Brahman, named Buddhaghôso, in the 940th year of their era, or A. D. 307.* It is, however, asserted by Mr. Turnour, that the Pâli books of Buddha, of the Birmans and Siamese, do not differ from those of the Ceylonese, which points to the identity of the Buddhaghôsha of Ceylon, to whom, as has been already stated, the Buddhists of that island refer their Atthakathâ, with the person of the same name mentioned in Birman history, especially when we take into the account the wide circulation in foreign lands, which his Pâli Atthakathâ is said to have had. As to the discrepancy of a century between the Birman date, and that assigned to Buddhaghôsha in the Ceylonese history, we might, with so good a reason for identifying the persons, allow it to pass as a misstatement of Carpanus; but possibly the tradition of the Birmans may have confounded the first propagation of Buddhism among them with their reception of its sacred books. The religion of Buddha was, therefore, made known to the Birmans not later than the close of the fifth century, nor earlier than the beginning of the third. Another means of ascertaining by what way Buddhism came to Further India, and its relative age in the several countries included under that name, is a careful criticism of the Pâli alphabets which are found there. This has been carried out in a most satisfactory manner by the learned Burnouf and Lassen in their *Essai sur le Pâli:* and we may here draw some important inferences from the results of their valuable labors. Supposing the tradition, that the Buddhist books were transmitted from Ceylon to Further India, to be correct, we should find somewhere eastward of Hindustan, an alphabet associated with Buddhism, which is derivable from some ancient character of Ceylon, or, as Ceylon affords us no such specimen of an ancient alphabet, one which will serve as a medium between the ancient Dêvanâgarî of Hindustan and the modern Singhalese, at the same time that the forms of the Pâli alphabets of Birma and Siam may be derived from it. Such an alphabet appears in the Akchara Buddha, or *Alphabet of Buddha*, of the island of Java, which may therefore be supposed to have been once used by the Buddhists in Ceylon,

* Alph. Barman. p. 14, ed. 1787, quoted in Essai sur le Pâli par Burnouf et Lassen. Paris, 1826, p. 62.

either in the same or an older form,* and to have been transmitted thence with Buddhism to Further India. But if this is allowed, then undoubtedly the Buddhism of Java had its immediate origin in Ceylon: and since the Akchara Buddha, compared with the oldest written character of Birma, the square Pâli, has marks of higher antiquity, it further follows that Java received the religion of Buddha sooner than Birma did. The Pâli alphabet of the Siamese is still more modern than the square Pâli: but the tradition of Siam referring to Kambodja and Laos as the proximate source of its religion, forbids deriving it through the old Birman,—and would rather lead to the supposition, that in Kambodja or Laos may be found an alphabetical character to connect it with the Akchara Buddha of Java, and that the Buddhist religion and its accompanying influences came across from Java to the eastern side of the continent of Further India, and in that way at length reached the Siamese.

The island of Java, according to its own chroniclers, received Indian colonies from the Deccan in the first years of the era of Salivâhana, beginning with A. D. 76: and we have a literary monument in the Kavi language of that island, which in the attitude of mutual antagonism in which it presents certain indigenous divinities and deities of India, bears marks of belonging to a period of Javanese history not far removed from that event. But even this oldest specimen known to us of the literature of Java, contains a mixture of Buddhist doctrine, from which we may perhaps infer, that Buddhism began to spread in Java as early at least as the second century of our era. Another similar work, exhibiting a predominance of Indian mythology, and "proceeding almost entirely from Buddhist doctrine," indicates the further progress of Indian civilization and Buddhism together.† The Chi-

* A tradition of Ceylon speaks of the first introduction of writing there under Dêvânâmpriyatissa. Asiatic Researches, vii. p. 422. Calcutta, 1801.

† See Mémoire, Lettre et Rapports relatifs au cours de langues Malaye et Javanaise fait à la Bibl. Royale, &c., &c., par Edward Dulaurier. Paris, 1843, pp. 20, 27, 29, and Ueber die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java, von Wilhelm v. Humbolt. Bd. i. Kap. ii. Beurtheilung des Alters und der Art der Verbindungen mit Indien aus dem Zustande Java's in Sprache, Einrichtungen und Gebräuche. Berlin, 1832. Humboldt observes: "Der Buddhismus auf Java hat sich offenbar auf Sanskritische Büchen gegründet" . . . . "dass das Pali auf Java gar nicht eingewirkt hat, zeigt sich daran, dass man im Kawi, so wie im Javanischen selbst, keine Spur derselben antrifft. Das Kawi führt bloss auf reines Sanskrit zurück, und gibt gar keinen Anlass Pâli daria zu vermuthen. Die Buddha-lehre gelangte nach Java, ohne durch das

nese pilgrim, whose narrative has already been of so much service, informs us of the state of Javâ in the beginning of the fifth century in these few words: "Arrived at a kingdom called Ye-pho-thi (Yava Dvîpa, or *island of Yava.*) Heretics and Brahmans are very numerous there; the law of Foĕ is there out of the question."* Java was probably the centre from which Buddhism spread to other islands of the Indian Archipelago: for, after its colonization from India, it became the leading island of the group, both in a political and a religious point of view, and continued so to the end of the fourteenth century. We may expect, however, more light than we yet have, on the migrations of the Buddhists over the Indian Ocean.

We must now turn back to notice some events in the history of Buddhism in the north of India, and beyond the Himâlaya. We have already seen that a country included in the kingdom of Cashmere received a Buddhist mission, B. C. 241. But the Râdjataranginî says, that one Asôka, whose reign it makes to begin eighty-four years after Buddha's death, or 459 B. C.,† "having extinguished within him every vicious inclination, and embraced the religion of Dchina (the *Vanquisher*, or Buddha,) spread stûpa-heaps widely in Suschkala here, where is the mountain of Vitastâ." The

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Medium der Pâli-sprache hindurchzugehn, also in einer Zeit und aus einer Gegend, wo die heiligen Buddha-schriften in Sanskritsprache gelesen wurden:" and he seems inclined to believe, that Buddhism was brought to Java from Kalinga on the eastern coast of Hindustan. But there may have been Sanskrit books in Ceylon which were transported to Java; and Humboldt makes it evident that the Javanese Buddhism was of a philosophical mould. We may perhaps be allowed to suggest, whether the translation of the Pâli Scriptures into Sanskrit, which Csoma de Kŏrösi supposes was made in the seventh century and afterwards, evidently with reference to the introduction of the Buddha-religion into Tibet and other northern countries, had not in fact been begun in Ceylon at a much earlier period, even at the beginning of our era, when the oral law of the Buddhists was first written in Pâli. It is not at all unlikely, that the conflict with Brahmanism led the Buddhists to go yet a step further, than to refine their provincial dialect, as it has been shown they probably did, for the sake of better appearance, on first committing it to writing, and that from that time they gradually embodied their Scriptures in the true classic language. The more metaphysical writings would naturally, according to this view, have received the improved dress sooner than others of a more popular character, and such may have been carried to Java. Were it true, that the Foĕ Kouĕ Ki speaks of Sanskrit books of Buddhism in Ceylon, in the fifth century, as Humboldt states on secondary authority, this theory would have some historical support: but the *language Fan* cannot be proved to signify in that narrative the Sanskrit any more than the Pâli, its proper meaning being the language of India, indefinitely; see note to Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, on p. 15.

* See Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, pp. 360, 364.

† See Note †, p. 101.

same history adds, "the Vitastâ here in the city was to be seen amid consecrated groves, and vihâras: the tchâitya ordered to be built was one of which the eye could not reach the summit."* The river called the Vitastâ in this passage is the Jelum, or Hydaspes, as the observation of an English traveller, Vigne, enables us to affirm.† The mountain of the same name must have been not far from this river in some part of its course: but whether Sushkala was in the valley of Cashmere, or not, cannot be determined; though there is no reason to doubt that it belonged to the dominion of the Cashmerian king. But the history of Cashmere represents Buddhism there, as from the first consisting merely in the worship of Buddha, together with Siva and Vishnu: that the people and their princes were Buddhists to some extent, in certain periods, is chiefly indicated by the building of vihâras and stûpas, and the erection of Buddha-images; or if, as is the case, one of the moral precepts of Buddhism, that no animated being should be destroyed, appears to have been sometimes recognized, we find, that there might be at the same time no worship paid to Buddha, and that the study of the Vèdas was encouraged.‡ Such was the incoherent form of the Buddhism of Cashmere, in general. Yet it is very possible, that it had a stricter character within the precincts of the vihâras, and that the principles of the religion were there inculcated.§ One period, however, formed an exception to this general representation of Cashmerian Buddhism. It has been already referred to, but deserves a more distinct notice. The Râdjataranginî says of the Turushkas, who reigned in Cashmere: "These kings, though of the race of the Turushkâs, were protectors of virtue. In the plain Sushka, and elsewhere, they built retreats for sacred studies, tchâityas, and other edifices. During their long

* See Râdjatar. i. 102, 103, and on the name Dchina, Troyer's Râdjatar. i. pp. 352, 353.

† "The Jelum, above Islâmabâd, is called the Sandren; thence to Baramala it is known only by the name of the Vet, or Wet, or Beyah: thence in the pass it retains with the Hindoos its Sanskrit name, the Vetasta." See Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, vi p. 767.

‡ See Râjatar. iii. 2—96; v. 29, 43, 64.

§ There is not in the Râjatarangini a single expression of the writer, which implies either that he was a Brahman or a Buddhist; he cannot, therefore, be supposed to have been guilty of a want of honesty, owing to religious prejudice, in handling the national traditions, and the conviction is strengthened, that he has given us, as he professes to do, the result of unbiased research.

reign, for the most part, the valley of Cashmere was in the power of the Bâuddhas, of great fame for their roaming about." A more graphic description of Buddhist Mendicants, zealously engaged in propagating their religion, could scarcely have been drawn: and it clearly appears, that the religion of Buddha was dominant in Cashmere under that dynasty, or between B. C. 393 and B. C. 249, according to a computation which has been already stated.*

But it is chiefly on account of the name of that race of princes, that reference is here made to it. The great geographer, Carl Ritter, supposes they may have been a Bactrian, or Geto-Scythian Turkish tribe of the north;† and perhaps it was through them, when their dynasty at length gave way to the line of native princes in Cashmere, that a knowledge of the religion, which they had so long fostered abroad, was first carried to their native plains; and possibly they were accompanied by some of those roaming mendicants, whom they had allowed to gain so much influence in Cashmere, but who, with the change of dynasty there, might not have retained their power in that country, had they remained behind. With the expulsion of the Turushkas from Cashmere, may indeed, with some plausibility, be connected those traditions of Northern Asia, which speak of Cashmerian Chamens or Srâmanas, that is, Buddhist *Mendicants*, who left their native land to spread "the religion of the vanquisher" in that wide domain of barbarism, where it was destined to exert so astonishing an influence.‡ Let us, therefore, examine whether there is any particular tradition, which may give a more historical air to this suggestion. It is known, that Khotan, the western part of Lesser Bochara, was a great mart of commercial intercourse in ancient times, between China and Persia, and of the traffic of the remote East with the countries westward of the Persian Empire, by the way of the Oxus and the Caspian Sea; and that it had also intimate relations with Central India, across Cashmere, is conclusively proved by the names of many places there, as given

* See Note †, p. 101.

† See Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, B. ii. s. 1100, &c.

‡ See Histoire de la Ville de Khotan, pp. 41, 45, &c. With Srâmanas, in Prâkrit Sâmanos, is probably connected the appellation, Σάμαναιοι, given by Greek writers to certain of the Indian philosophers.

by the Chinese authors, of which, according to Rémusat, the Sanskrit origin may still be recognized. We further know, that at the time of the Mongol conquest, Khotan had been long a centre of Buddhist influence; for the Buddhists of countries further to the east were then wont to make pilgrimages thither, to inquire after the sacred books, and the traditions of their religion.* The period of the introduction of Buddhism into that country is entirely undetermined, unless a certain tradition, which was current in Khotan in the time of the Chinese dynasty of the Thang, may afford the desired clue. The tradition is, that the prince of Khotan was miraculously descended from the deity Pi-chamen, which, if it has any foundation in fact, can scarcely be interpreted to signify less than that the civil state had been established under Buddhist influence. But we have the information of a Chinese author, that from the time of Wouti of the dynasty of the Hàn, an emperor whose reign was from B. C. 140 to B. C. 87, Khotan began to have political relations with China, and that the succession of its princes was not afterwards interrupted, down to the age of the Thang;† consequently, the tradition respecting the establishment of the principality must refer to a period as remote, at the very least, as the close of the first century before our era; and, though beyond this there is ground only for conjecture, it is worthy of remark, that the tradition relates to an event, which might very naturally have been connected with the expulsion of the Turushkas from Cashmere, about B. C. 249. Within what limits the religion of Buddha anciently spread in Northern Asia, or to what extent it still exists there, is not precisely ascertained.‡ So far as we know, its influence has been most powerfully felt in Tibet and Mongolia, which, under the great Mongol emperors, were united into one Buddhist diocese. Its history in these countries, therefore, has claims upon our attention.

According to a tradition of the Mongols, the foundation of Buddhism, in Tibet, was laid in A. D. 367, when certain books and objects held in veneration by the Buddhists as emblems,

* See Hist. de la Ville de Khotan, préface, and Ritter's Erdkunde von Asia, i. 228, &c.

† See Hist. de la V. de Khotan, pp. 37–40, and pp. 1 and 83.

p. 289, &c.

‡ But see Recherches sur les langues Tartares, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1820, p. 289, &c,

are said to have appeared in a mysterious manner; and it is added, that they were preserved as sacred treasures, unexplained in respect to their origin or their real value, until A. D. 632, when the reigning sovereign, named Srongdsan Gambo, sent to India to obtain an alphabet, in which the Tibetan language might be written, for the purpose of spreading the religion of Buddha in that country.* But it is evident, that whatever knowledge of Buddhism may have existed in Tibet previously to this period, in the seventh century, it had not been acquired from any books of that religion; for then the alphabet of such books would certainly have been adopted at once for the Tibetan language, when the object was to clothe the sacred words of Buddha in a more intelligible form; and there would have been no occasion to send abroad for an alphabet. Nor does tradition say, that it was any part of Srongdsan's design in sending to India, to obtain a key to those books, which, it is pretended, had been so carefully treasured for nearly three centuries, and which, if that had been the case, he would certainly have made it his first object to decypher, when he was seeking an alphabet for his native tongue. Most probably, therefore, the Buddhist books were first brought into Tibet in the seventh century, and the story of their previous introduction and preservation was a state trick, designed to give them more authority in the view of the people. We have only to suppose that the Buddhist religion had become, a short time before, somewhat known, and had already produced a movement in favor of civilization, which, according to tradition, took place in the reign of Srongdsan Gambo, and it will appear quite likely that this sovereign sought to procure an alphabet for the Tibetan, with a view to the wider promulgation of the religion newly introduced. His sending to India may have been merely because that land was famous in the north as a home of learning, or it may indicate that Buddhism was brought from thence into Tibet. One story gives the particular circumstance, that the mission deputed by Srongdsan Gambo went as far as to Southern India, with which coincides the account of native authors, that the most ancient sacred character used in Tibet was the Landsha, — a name

* See Ssanang Ssetsen, pp. 25, 27, 29, 31, and notes, pp. 326 - 328.

which is the proper Tibetan form of Lankâ, — and the fact, that the alphabet of Tibet, with which we are acquainted, as used for sacred purposes, has clearly a resemblance to the Akchara Buddha of Java, which probably came from Ceylon. The establishment of Buddhism on a firm footing in Tibet seems to have dated from about the middle of the seventh century, (A. D. 639–641,) when Srongdsan, as it is said, married two princesses, the one of China, the other of Nepal, who each brought with them to the Tibetan court large collections of Buddhist books, as well as images of Buddha. This was the era of the first general translation of the sacred writings of the Buddhists into Tibetan, and of the appropriation to its object, on an extensive scale, of the alphabet imported from India. A commission was appointed, consisting of an Indian Pandit, two Nepalese teachers, one Chinese, and a Tibetan, to translate "the books of doctrine and the ritual," which consequently were possessed, in part, in each of the languages of the foreign interpreters; and though this would not of itself justify the inference that some of them were in Sanskrit, yet the late discovery of Sanskrit Buddhist books in Nepal, from which a portion of the Tibetan version appears to have been made, is at once a strong presumption in favor of it, and a confirmation of this whole account of the embodying of the Buddhist writings in the Tibetan language.* By this translation of the "words of Buddha," "the sun of the religion was made to rise upon the dark land of Tibet." Yet that development of Buddhism, which seems to have been peculiar to Tibet, of Lamaism, was reserved for a later age. Under the Mongol

* See Ssanang Ssetsen, pp. 35, 37, and notes, pp. 333, 343. That Buddhist books were brought from Nepal at this time, and that learned Nepalese were concerned in the translation into Tibetan, shows that Buddhism had become acclimated there before it was in Tibet. See also, on this point, S. S. p. 335. The whole collection of the Tibetan Buddhist books consists of the Kahgyur, or *Translation of commandment*, in one hundred volumes, and the Stahgyur, in two hundred and twenty-five volumes. The latter, probably, corresponds in subject to the Atthakathâ of Ceylon. The former is sometimes called Dè-not-sum, which is equivalent to Tripitakan, and comprehends the three divisions, Dulva, or Vinaya, Do, or Sûtra, and Chhos-non-pa, or Abhidharma. See Analysis of the Tibetan sacred works, by Csoma de Körösi, in Asiatic Researches, 4to. vol. xx. p. 41, &c., and p. 553, &c. It should be added, that not all the Tibetan translations were made under Srongdsan Gambo, but that in the eleventh century, after a temporary suppression of Buddhism in Tibet, when many of the Buddhist books had been destroyed, or withdrawn from circulation, "the sacred writings not before known" were translated by an ecclesiastic of Hindustan. See S. S. p. 53, and note, p. 366. Comp. pp. 363, 364.

Tchinggis-khan, in the thirteenth century, temporal and spiritual power were first united in the person of the recognized head of the clerical order of the Buddhists, on his becoming elevated to the rank of a sub-king in Tibet, then included within the empire of the Mongols; for so is to be interpreted the message of the conqueror to one of the Lamas of Tibet, which tradition has handed down in these laconic terms: "I was minded to call thee; but as my race of worldly business is not run, I have not called thee. From here I trust to thee, defend thou me from there." * After the middle of the thirteenth century, when Buddhism had extensively spread among the Mongols themselves, a grandson of Tchinggis-khan made the Grand Lama of Tibet "king of the doctrine in the three lands," that is, Grand Lama, or Patriarch of the religion of Buddha for the whole empire; and, at the same time, this spiritual chief of the Buddhist religion was treated as having the prerogative of dispensing temporal power by consecration, just as the sovereigns of Europe, before the Reformation, were wont to receive their crowns and the unction of royalty at the hands of the Roman Pontiff.† Under the dynasties which succeeded the brief period of the Mongol empire, there seems to have been an increased parade of veneration for the Buddhist Patriarchs, while at the same time less power was in their hands. In these circumstances the ecclesiastical system of Buddhism reached that acme of absurdity, the lama-worship, which first became known to Europeans, through the Jesuit missionaries.

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* See S. S. p. 89, and note, p. 393, where may be found an extract from a Mongol author, who speaks of the different periods of the history of Buddhism among the Mongols, and says: "the first of these periods is that, when Bogda Tschinggis Khaghan sent an ambassador to the head Lama, with the following order: Be thou the Lama, to advise me now and in future; I will become Master and Provider of the alms-gifts, and make the rites of the religion a part of the state-establishment; to this end have I exempted all the clergy of Tibet from taxation."

† See S. S. pp. 115, 117, and note, p. 397. The proper signification of Lama is, *One who shows the way*, that is, takes the lead of others in consecration to spiritual concerns. It does not necessarily indicate hierarchical preëminence; and probably was applied to any Buddhist ecclesiastic in Tibet, before it became appropriated to denote spiritual supremacy under Tchinggis-khan. In speaking of a clerical head of the Tibetan Buddhists, whom the policy of Tchinggis-khan raised to a higher elevation, there is intended to be implied no more than that subordination with reference to relative attainments and reputation, which must exist among the Buddhist ecclesiastics, as a result of their monastic training. How far this had become a more fixed distinction of rank, in Tibet, even before the time of the great Mongol conqueror, it is not easy to say.

It is not surprising, that the Jesuits imagined a work of the Devil in the near "resemblance of the institutions, which constitute the exterior form of the worship of the Grand Lama, to those of the Roman church." "Chez les Tartares, en effet," says Abel-Rémusat, "on retrouve un pontife souverain, des patriarches chargés du gouvernement spirituel des provinces, un conseil de lamas supérieurs, qui se réunissent en conclave pour elire le pontife, et dont les insignes même resemblent á ceux de nos cardinaux, des couvens de mõines et de religieuses, des prières pour les morts, la confession auriculaire, l'intercession des saints, le jeûne, le baisement des pieds, les litanies, les processions, l'eau lustrale." The same writer goes on to say: "Tous ces rapports embarrassent peu ceux qui sont persuadés, que le christianisme a été autrefois fort répandu dans la Tartarie; il leur semble evident, que les institutions des lamas, qui ne remontent pas au delà du xiiime siècle de notre ere, ont été calqués sur les nôtres. L'explication est un peu plus difficile dans le système contraire, parcequ'il faudroit avant tout prouver la haute antiquité du pontificat, et des pratiques lamaiques."* That a knowledge of Christianity and of institutions associated with it, may have been disseminated in Tartary in the thirteenth century, is indeed easily conceivable, from the known extent of the conquests of Tchinggis-khan and his successors, which drew many strangers to their court from nominally Christian countries, from the zeal of the Nestorian missionaries, and of those sent out by St. Louis, and from the readiness of the Mongol emperors to give free scope, within their dominion, to all forms of faith and worship. But what M. Rémusat justly considered essential to the explanation of the resemblances in question, on other ground than that of imitation of the Roman Church, the proof of the high antiquity of the Buddhist pontificate and the lama usages, is in part afforded by the progress which Buddhism made in manifesting its principles in Ceylon; for we see, that there the Buddhist ecclesiastics were inclined to usurp power in the state, that a matured monastic institution was established, that processions were the most common ceremony of religious worship, and that auricular confession was in use, before the close of the sixth century; and there is not the least evidence that

* See Recherches sur les langues Tartares. Disc. Prélim. p. 7.

Christianity was known so early on that island. Had M. Rémusat been acquainted with the contents of the Mahâvanso, which was first published several years after he wrote the passage above quoted, he would not have so far countenanced the opinion, that the similarities between the Buddhist institutions, as observed in Tibet, and those of his own church, are to be ascribed to a modelling of the former upon the latter. The truth seems to be, that the Buddhist and the Papal ecclesiastical systems have something common in their essence, which produced similar developments, without any connection between them; and that when they were brought into contact, as in Tibet, the recognition of the foreign system by the Buddhists, as kindred with their own, in certain particulars, led to actual imitation of it in others, so that the resemblance became yet more marked. We can, however, discover a reason, why the element of temporal authority, as founded upon spiritual prerogatives, should have come to its culminating point in Buddhism precisely when it did, without the influence of any example, — and that is the policy of the Mongol emperors, which naturally led them to make those their vicegerents over a conquered people, who would have the highest power to sway the popular will, on account of the religious reverence paid to them by the nation. The Grand Lamas of Tibet were never wholly independent of the Mongols, even in spiritual matters; but their spiritual authority was made to subserve the interests of the empire by its union with a temporal power based upon it.

The Mongols were also the great patrons of Buddhism in China. In the thirteenth century, Koblai Khan brought a large part of China under the Mongol sceptre, and his reign was the period of the glory of the religion of Buddha in that country. It had its votaries there, however, previously, during many centuries. The date ordinarily assigned to its introduction, which was first stated by Deguignes on Chinese authority, is A. D. 65.* But since it has been shown, that the influence of Buddhism had probably extended to Khotan, as early at least as the end of the first century before Christ, and that political relations began to arise between Khotan and China not far from that time; we can scarcely hesitate to believe, that the propagandism of the Buddhists had

* See Histoire Générale des Huns, &c., par M. Deguignes. i. p. 30. Paris, 1756.

carried their religion into the Celestial Empire, even before our era; more especially as we find it to have been common, in later times, for Buddhist Mendicants of the cloisters of Khotan, to be employed in political negotiations with the Chinese empire.* During the first three or four centuries, Buddhist pilgrims were constantly on the way from China to India, and the eastern part of the Sassanidan empire, to obtain instruction in the faith of Buddha, and to collect the books of the religion; and a missionary zeal carried many from afar to China.† The first great era of the propagation of Buddhism among the Chinese, early in the fourth century, was owing to the influence of an Indian Buddhist, named Fo-thou-tchhing, or *Purity of Buddha*, who, by adroitly availing himself of a knowledge of the powers of nature, to effect the semblance of miracles of healing and of raising the dead to life, and by fortunate predictions and shrewd auguries, and the so-called gift of second sight, gained entire command of the popular mind.‡ But the system of Confucius was deeply rooted in the educated minds of the nation, and the opposition to Buddhism on the part of the Confucians made it odious to the Tartar prince, at whose court Fo-thou-tchhing had been received. The conception of virtue as a sort of social propriety, the putting away of the idea of deity as unessential, and the giving up of a future state of existence, all which belong to the doctrine of the great Chinese philosopher, are indeed directly opposed to the spirit of Indian religion, and more especially to the principles of Buddhism. Another philosophy, however, which was cherished by a certain class of the thinking Chinese, though not distinguishing the man of letters, as an adherence to the Confucian system did, the Tao-doctrine, may have prepared the way for the reception of Buddhism by the more instructed; for it so nearly resembles the Buddhist philosophy in its fundamental idea, Tao, which it defines to be something *nameless, deprived of action, thought, judgment, intelligence*, the occasion but not the cause of created existence; and in the view it gives of the highest perfection as an absolute qui-

* See Hist. de la Ville de Khotan, pp. 83, 85, 96.
† Foé Koué Ki. Introd. pp. 38–41.
‡ See Memoir of Fo-thou-tchhing in Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris, 1829. vol. ii. p. 179, &c.

escence, without action, thought, or desire, that the inquiry suggests itself, whether Lao-tseu, the author of the Tao-doctrine, whose age was the same with that of Buddha, can have had communication with the Indian sectary, or whether the coincidence of their principles is to be ascribed to revulsion from a system of pantheism known to both, or whether Buddhism was imported into China far more anciently than has been supposed. It is true, that the Tao-sse, perceiving the rapid progress of Fo-thou-tchhing's proselytism, regarded him as a dangerous rival, but jealousy without pride prefers concession, where the points of agreement outnumber those of difference.* A school was founded by Fo-thou-tchhing, which handed down the Buddhist doctrines among the Chinese. But within a century, the disciples of Buddha were afflicted with severe disasters from political convulsions, so that their faith almost expired, while they neglected to observe the precepts of their religion, and their sacred texts were dispersed or mutilated. It was in consequence of this state of things, that Chy-fa-hian, at the close of the fourth century, went on his pilgrimage into foreign Buddhist countries, of which the results are so invaluable at the present day, as a monument of that particular age of Buddhism. The information he obtained respecting the local traditions of Buddha's life and death, and the Scriptures and established institutions of the Buddhists, had also the effect, at the time,

* There is a singular tradition in the *Histoire de la Ville de Khotan*, p. 20, that at a short distance from the city of Khotan "is the place, where Lao-tseu, having converted the barbarians to his doctrine, became himself Buddha;" and Chinese tradition has much to say of the journeyings of Lao-tseu in countries far west of China. A very ingenious Memoir was written by M. Rémusat, to prove that the trigrammatic symbol of deity used by the Tao-sse,—I-HI-WEI,—had no signification in the Chinese language, and is merely a rendering of the sound of the Hebrew יהוה; and he supports his philological conclusions by reference to the traditions of Lao-tseu's western travels. But the distinguished living Sinologue, M. Stanislaus Julien, in a recent work has shown, from the commentary of a Tao-sse philosopher of the second century before Christ, that the mystic symbol has a distinct meaning in the Chinese tongue, and professes to have discovered that the journeys of Lao-tseu to the west are wholly fictitious. If these views are admitted, the ground of the striking similarity between the doctrines of Lao-tseu and of Buddha, can only be, either, that China had felt the influence of Indian religion at a very remote period, long before Buddhism was promulgated; or, that an indigenous pantheism had prevailed, out of which the system of Lao-tseu developed itself; or, that some knowledge of the Buddhist system had found its way into China already in the time of Confucius. See Mémoire sur la vie et les opinions de Lao-tseu, par M. Abel-Rémusat, in Mém. de l'Acad des Inss. et Belles-Lettres, (new series,) t. vii. pp. 1–54. Paris, 1824 And Le livre de la Voie et de la Vertu composé dans le VIe. siècle avant l'ère chrét. par le Philosophe Lao-tseu, trad. en Français, &c., par Stanislaus Julien. Paris, 1842. Introd. pp. 5–15.

to give a new impulse to the religion of Buddha in China. Fifteen years was this devout pilgrim abroad, in Tartary, India, the country beyond the Indus, Ceylon, and the Indian Archipelago; and after his return a critical digest of Buddhist doctrines and precepts was made by him, with the aid of an Indian Pandit, from the books, traditions, and observations collected on his way. The first general translation into Chinese of the Buddhist Scriptures, was made in A. D. 418, under the Tsin dynasty, and was probably a result of Chy-fa-hian's exploring tour. Another translation, which is the one now in use in China, was made A. D. 695, under one of the Thang emperors, by a friar of Khotan, — an age of persecution and laxity having intervened since Chy-fa-hian's return, which made it necessary to establish the scriptural code of the Buddhists anew, from sources existing out of China.*

I have thus endeavored to mark some of the most prominent events in the history of Buddhism, and have glanced at nearly every country where it has been propagated. Before concluding this sketch, however, I must notice more distinctly the last great era of Buddhist history, — that of its extirpation in the country of its origin, and in the Indus-land, where it once took such deep root. It has been seen from the Mahâvanso, that in the latter part of the fifth century, the Brahmans of Central India were actively engaged in combating the Buddhists. Another authority, entirely independent of that, acquaints us, that in the year A. D. 495, the Patriarch of the Indian Buddhists transferred his seat to China, and that the succession was continued no longer in India.† From the whole narrative of the Chinese pilgrim, Chy-fa-hian, we further learn, that, up to the commencement of the fifth century, there was no open hostility between the Brahmans and Buddhists, even in the city of Benares, which was afterwards to

* Foě Kouě Ki. Introd. pp. 40, 41, 51; Recherches sur les langues Tartares, p. 377; and Mélanges Asiatiques, par M. Abel-Rémusat, i. 150, 151. The original distinction of Text and Commentary in the Buddhist Scriptures, expressed in the Tibetan version, by the division into Kahgyur and Stahgyur, is also indicated in the Chinese translation by the classification into *works of the higher course* and *works of the lower course*, the legendary explanation of the Atthakathâ being regarded as a preparation for the Tripitakan itself. As to the language of the originals, from which the Chinese versions were made, Rémusat affirms it to be "certain, that all the sacred books of the Chinese Buddhists were translated immediately from the Sanskrit into Chinese." See note *, p. 111.

† See Extract from the *Japanese Encyclopedia*, in Mélanges Asiatiques, i. p. 125.

be the head-quarters of Brahmanism. But we have accounts of two other Chinese pilgrims, named Soung-yun and Hiuan-thsang, who, the one in A. D. 502, and the other between A. D. 630 and 650, traversed the same countries which were visited by Chy-fa-hian; and these show, that in the course of two centuries since Chy-fa-hian's tour was ended, and beginning as early as with the sixth century, the Brahmans had been gaining the upper hand in India, and that Buddhism had declined also in the countries to the west of the Indus.* To all this may be added, that the decisive overthrow of Buddhism in India is to be attributed to the influence of a philosopher, named Kumârila Bhatta, who lived, as is sufficiently well ascertained, in the seventh century.† The final rallying of Brahmanism against its formidable antagonist, seems to have been accomplished by this philosopher, through a simplification of the grounds of religious belief. The Mimânsa, a system of philosophy of which he is the principal expositor, assumes the Vêdas for its foundation, and lays itself out to ascertain the meaning of Scripture. Properly speaking, it is no philosophy, but rather a system of exposition; and it allows of no proofs, except by inference from association, comparison of resemblances, presumption from implication, and oral communication.‡ These stricter principles, while they drew the line of demarkation more definitely between the old orthodox creed, and all schemes of religion which had diverged from it, would, of course, place the subtle vagaries of Buddhism in the most unfavorable light. A royal decree is said to have gone forth: "Let those who slay not, be slain, the old man amongst the Bâuddhas, and the babe; from the bridge of Râma, (the strait between the continent and Ceylon,) to the snowy mountains (the Himâlaya.") It cannot, then, be far from the truth to say, that, from the middle of the fifth century, Buddhism began to be overpowered in India, and in the Indus country, and that the profession of this religion was not tolerated in Hindustan after the seventh century. The sect of the Jains, who are still found in some parts of India, and whose existence there may be traced back to the

* See Foĕ Kouĕ Ki. Introd. p. 44–46, and Appendix II.
† See Preface to Sanskrit and English Dictionary, by H. H. Wilson. Calcutta, 1819, pp. 15–20; Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. pp. 298, 332.
‡ See Colebrook's Misc. Essays, i. 302, 303.

eighth century, are probably a remnant of the Buddhists, who, by compromise and concealment, escaped the vengeance of the Brahmans.*

The occasion of the extirpation of Buddhism from the Indus-country, is hinted at in the language of Hiuan-thsang, who says of the Panjab, and the eastern borders of Afghanistan: "All these countries are uncivilized, the inhabitants gross, their language barbarous." For of a part of this very same region thus characterized, Chy-fa-hian observes: "the language of Central India is there spoken without any variation. The dress of the people, and their manner of taking food, are also similar to those of Central India. The law of Buddha is extremely honored there:" and this discrepancy of statement between two travellers, who each spent many years in making their observations, and whose credibility is unquestioned, can only be explained by supposing an inroad of barbarians, which had altered the character of the country, since the earlier traveller's visit to it.† We know, too, from the history of the Arabs, that the Turks, whose invasions of the eastern borders of the ancient Persian empire had been repeated from the age of Cyrus, were opposed to the arms of the followers of Mohammed in Afghanistan, in the latter half of the seventh century.

Within the period of the decline of Buddhism in the country about the Indus, as fixed by comparison of the narratives of Chy-fa-hian and the other Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, is the date, which a Chinese historian, who lived about the commencement of the seventh century, has assigned to the introduction of Buddhism into Japan; and the same authority gives us the highly interesting information, that it was brought there from a country near to the Indus on the western side. "Formerly," says the historian, "the religion of Buddha did not exist in this country (Fou-sang, or Japan.) It was in the fourth of the years Ta-ming, of the reign of Hiao-wou-ti of the dynasty of the Soung (A. D. 418,) that five pi-khieou (Bhikkhus,) of the country of Ki-pin, went to Fou-sang, and spread there the law of Buddha: they brought

* The best sources to be consulted respecting the Jains, are contained in Asiatic Researches, 4to. vol. ix. and Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. i.

† Comp. Foě Kouě Ki, p. 381, with ibid. pp. 45, 46.

with them the books, the sacred images, the ritual, and established the monastic usages, which caused the manners of the inhabitants to be changed."* Ki-pin, which is mentioned also in the itinerary of Chy-fa-hian, is supposed to be the same with *Κωφηνή* of the classical geographers, or the country watered by the most western branch of the Indus, called *Κωφής*, and has been identified with the neighborhood of the cities of Ghizneh and Kandahar. The history of Japan by Kaempfer, from native authorities, speaks of the "spreading of the foreign Pagan Budsdo worship," in the sixth century, in consequence of the arrival there of "idols, idol-carvers, and priests from several countries beyond sea:"—which points again to the same period hinted at in the account of the first propagation of the religion of Buddha on this island, and is probably to be connected with the circumstances in which the Buddhists found themselves, at that time, in India and on its western borders.†

It is to be expected that the sources of knowledge on this whole subject, here presented in a meagre outline, will be greatly multiplied within a few years, when it will be safe to go more into the detail, and the principal facts may be better established. Certain writers have entertained notions, in regard to the influence of Buddhism upon the Scandinavian mythology, and upon the civilization of the Indian races in the central part of our own country, which, though as yet too visionary to receive any more than this passing notice, may be found to embody some important historical truth. Our own countrymen in the east, of various professions, enjoy opportunities of collecting materials respecting the doctrines, local traditions, religious usages, and ecclesiastical organization of the Buddhists, which we hope they will not neglect to improve. But enough has been ascertained to excite our astonishment at the power of Buddhism, to propagate itself amid every variety of national culture, spirit, and temperament. I will therefore suggest, very briefly, a

* See Klaproth's Aperçu de l'Hist. Mythol. des Japonais, pp. 5, 6, in Nipon o Dăi Nitsi Ran, ou Annales des Empereurs de Japan, trad., par M. Isaac Titsingh, accomp. de Notes, &c., par M. J. Klaproth. Paris, 1834. Also on Ki-pin, Foĕ Kouĕ Ki, pp. 22, 23, and Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques, par M. Abel-Rémusat. Tome i. p. 205, &c.

† See Extract from Kaempfer's History of Japan, in the History of Java, by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. London, 1830. Vol. ii. pp. 91, 92.

few reasons, which have occurred to me, for the rapid spreading of this religion in India, and its wide diffusion abroad.

1. Buddhism elevated the regal dignity. One of the most ancient traditions of Central India, preserved in the fiction of the avatâra of Vishnu, as Parasuràma, or *Rama of the club*, refers to a primitive strife between the Brahmans, and the Kshattriyâs, or *warrior caste*, which ended in victory to the Brahmans. The position of royalty, under Brahman institutions, has always been one of entire subservience to the acknowledged superiority of the spiritual caste. Theocracy, in a certain sense, has been the form of the state. But with the Buddhists, the king was the proper ruler of the land, inasmuch as they looked to him for countenance against the jealousy of the Brahmans: and the result was a mutual dependence, which tended to strengthen both the royal authority and the cause of the new sect;—quite like that confederacy of king and people against an overpowering aristocracy, in early times of European history, when those two powers of the state, with seeming contrariety of interest, for awhile made common cause with each other against their common enemy. This parallel might be carried further; for the spiritual power of the Buddhists, fostered by royal favor, subsequently rose to such a height, that it controlled the sovereign: just as royalty in Europe availed itself against popular rights of that preëminence which it had obtained only by the temporary union of the will of the people with it. Hence we do not find that the principle of deference to civil authority, which contributed to gain for the followers of Buddha that position which they acquired in India, actuated them to the same extent in the measures they adopted to establish themselves in other countries: for, not to speak of the absence of an ancient priestly domination in most of the foreign countries where Buddhism was introduced, against which the civil power might have been invoked for protection,—the Buddhist clerical order itself had become tinged with priestcraft, at the very time when their system was first propagated out of India; and this managing spirit seems constantly to have gathered strength, of itself, and by the concurrence of circumstances, as Buddhist proselytism enlarged its bounds.

2. Buddhism was most extensively propagated among

those, who, so far as there existed any intercourse between themselves and the inhabitants of India, were held in contempt by the Brahmans, as Mletchtchhas, or *Barbarians*,— outcasts from all participation in their religious knowledge, and unworthy to enjoy their institutions. The Buddhists appearing as befrienders of these despised foreigners, whom they so zealously sought out in their homes, in order to instruct them, had the great advantage of a striking contrast between their seemingly benevolent labors for others, and the haughty, unsympathizing, despiteful spirit of the Brahmans. A leading maxim of conduct with the Buddhists, equally pertinent here, to whatever motive it may be referred, is this:

> " Whatever happiness is in the world, it has arisen from a wish for the welfare of others:
> Whatever misery is in the world, it has all arisen from a wish for our own welfare."

3. Another reason which may be assigned for the extensive propagation of Buddhism is, that, as its distinctive peculiarities are philosophical, and not derived from any particular mythological conceptions, it could take to itself any mythology, which it found established with this, or the other nation, and under that cover insinuate its principles the more effectually.

4. Buddhism asserted for humanity an essential quality and worth, in opposition to the arbitrary distinctions of caste. There was, indeed, from the first, a clerical order among the Buddhists; yet such was its constitution, that it operated rather as an inducement, than as a bar to general effort, to reach the higher attainments of which the soul was supposed to be capable: for emulation was quickened by the admission to its privileges, on equal footing, of all ranks of social life; and the prospect held out to all alike, who should consecrate themselves to its moral and intellectual training, was one well adapted to inspire ambition, whether the state of sanctity pretended to be connected with such consecration was considered, or the powerful influence over others, and the opening of wide fields for its exertion in missionary enterprise, which was actually associated with becoming a Bhikkhu.

That separation, too, of human nature from pantheistic absorption in the Deity, which is a fundamental principle of

Buddhism, could not fail to be attended with a quickening of the sense of power in the human soul itself, and of a higher destiny belonging to it, than to be the merely mechanical organ of an all-engrossing Deity. It would be in vain to object, that Buddhist doctrine makes all things to be unreal except the great Svabhâva: for no human being could long hesitate, between consistency with an abstruse metaphysical speculation on the one hand, and acquiescence in the prompting of instinctive feeling on the other, that there is a self-activity in human nature. Nor should the inanity of the highest perfection to which the soul can attain, according to the Buddhist notion, be supposed to be an objection to this view of the influence of Buddhist philosophy in calling forth the instinctive sense of power: for besides, that real acquisitions of knowledge and moral discipline are made requisite for the attainment of Nirvâna, it really matters not how trifling or inane the object may be, human nature is prone to assert its privilege of spontaneous action, even for a prize which has in itself nothing stimulating. Nor, again, does the emanation-system of the Buddhists take away the faculty of originating action: for it is evident from the calls, which the moral precepts of Buddhism address to mankind to exert and discipline themselves,' that human actions are not included, at least, practically, in that system of fatality.

But the principle of the inherent capability of man, as such, was not only fitted to lead those, who had been disciplined to a mystical passive surrender of individuality under Brahmanism, to throw off that bondage, but may also be supposed to have exerted no slight influence in quickening the human soul to cast off old habits of barbarism, by giving scope and direction to the consciousness of a capacity of improvement; and the impression which Buddhism has made upon rude nations is to be explained, partly, by this consideration.

A result of the general elevation of society effected by Buddhism, is seen in its creation of history. In India, while Brâhmanism held undisputed sway, there were indeed traditions of the past handed down by the epic bards; but so blended with mythology were these traditions, that their historical meaning was obscured, or obliterated. The only memorialists were of that caste, which could not justly pre-

serve the remembrance of most of the great events determining the destiny of the nation, without giving undue prominence to matters which concerned classes of society, depreciated by themselves as inferior and not worthy of account, and especially their chief rivals, the warrior and regal caste, whose glory they would be most reluctant to celebrate. But to the Buddhists the affairs of kings were of the highest moment, and as they deeply sympathized in the growth of their power, even when they presumed to sway it to their own advantage, they would be disposed to treasure with the greatest care the remembrance of the events by which it was obtained: and the concern they professed for the general welfare of the people, would lead them to take note also of events of more general interest. Hence we find, that the proper history of India opens with the promulgation of Buddhism, and that every Buddhist nation has annals, which have a claim to the name of history, far superior to that of the epic or puranic traditions of Brahmanism.

THE HISTORY OF PAPER MONEY IN CHINA.

It is a common remark, that the ingenious Chinese had anticipated the Europeans, by many centuries, in three of the most important discoveries — the mariner's compass, the art of printing, and gunpowder. But, we believe, few persons are aware, that *paper money*, in the modern financial sense of the term, has been used by them at various periods, from so early a date as the *tenth* century.

The following interesting article was drawn up by that eminent Chinese scholar, *Klaproth*, who died not long ago. It is taken from original Chinese works, of established authority; and, to those persons, who wish to know the real history of this curious portion of our race, as well as to the political economist, it certainly presents a collection of facts of the greatest interest and importance.

I have, in the translation, omitted the notes containing the particular references to the Chinese works cited by Mr. Klaproth, and which are not all familiarly known to every student of Chinese; but I here subjoin the titles and volumes of the works, for the use of those who may wish to consult them: Szu-ki, vol. xxx; Thoung-kian-kang-mou, vol. iv, and the Mantchoo edition of the same; Wen-hian-thoung-kao, vols. viii. and ix: Khiun-chu-pi-khao, vol. iii; Thoung-kian-kang-mou-siu-pan, vol. xiii, and the Mantchoo edition, same volume; vol. xxi, Mantchoo translation; vol. xv, Mantchoo translation; Thoung-kian-ming-szu-kang-mou, vols. ii. and vii. P.

[Translated from the Paris *Journal Asiatique*, vol. i. p. 257; for November, 1822.]

ON THE ORIGIN OF PAPER MONEY.

BY M. KLAPROTH.

The celebrated traveller Marco Polo, of Venice, was the first person who made known in Europe the existence of the *paper money*, which was used at that period by the Mongols, who were the masters of China. These same Mongols afterwards introduced it into *Persia;* in which country their paper bills (assignats) were called *djaou* or *djaw*, a word evidently derived from the Chinese *tchhaò*, which means the same thing.*

* This Chinese word (or character) is compounded of *kin*, metal, and *chao*, little; and it means, *the lack of metal*, (that is, *coined metal.*) When it is pronounced *chaò*, it means *to take by force, to steal, to possess one's self of the property of another.*— We have followed the French in the orthography of Chinese words.

The circumstance, that the Mongols, both in China and Persia, made use of paper money, has led some authors to think that they were the inventors of it; and the celebrated Schloetzer, of Gottingen, published a dissertation under this title: *The Mongols inventors of paper money in the XIIIth century.** But this learned man might have avoided giving out so hazardous an assertion, if he had read the *History of Tchinghiz-khan* (Jenghiz khan) and of the *Mongol dynasty in China*, composed, on Chinese authorities, by Father Gaubil, and published in 1739, about sixty years before the Memoir of Mr. Schloetzer. In that history (p. 114) is considered, the suppression of the ancient paper money, which was in use under the *Soung* dynasty, which reigned in China before the Mongols; and there is also mention made of a new species of paper bills (assignats) which were substituted for the ancient ones, in 1264, by the minister *Kia-szu-tao*.†

It seemed to me, that it would be interesting to investigate, in Chinese authors, the date of the invention of paper money; and my undertaking having been crowned with success, I have the honor to offer the result of my researches to the Asiatic Society.

The most ancient financial operation devised by the Chinese ministry, in order to meet the public expenditures, which had become too great for the revenues of the state, has its date in the year 119 before the Christian era, and in the reign of the emperor *Ou-ti*, of the great *Han* dynasty. At that period they introduced the *phi-pi* [pronounced phee-pee] or *values in skins*, which were pieces of the skins of certain white deer, that were fed in the interior park of the palace. They were a foot square, Chinese measure, and were ornamented with extremely delicate paintings and embroidery. Every prince or grandee, and even the members of the imperial family, who wished to make their court to the emperor, or who were invited to ceremonies or repasts in the palace, were obliged to cover with one of these skins the screen (*tablette*) which they held before their faces in the presence of the "son of heaven." The minister of the emperor's household had fixed the price of these *phi-pi* at 40,000 de-

* Schloetzer kritisch-historische Nebenstunden. Goettingen, 1797, in 8vo. p. 159, &c.

† This name is sometimes written *Kiasetao*. [Translator.]

niers, which is nearly 300 francs. They were current at that rate in the palace and among the grandees; but it seems they never passed as money among the people.

Ma-taouan-lin relates, that after the years *ta-nie* (A. D. 605–617) until the end of the dynasty of the *Soui*, the general derangement of affairs in China having reached its height, they made use of all sorts of things in the guise of money; as, little circular pieces of iron, cut pieces of cloth, and even pasteboard.

At the beginning of the reign of the emperor *Hian-tsoung*, of the *Thang* dynasty, or about A. D. 807, coined copper having become extremely scarce, they renewed their prohibition against making use of vessels and utensils of that metal.* The Emperor also compelled the traders, who arrived in the capital, and the rich families, generally, to deposit their specie in the public chest; and, in order to facilitate trade, they received securities (*bons*) which had a currency every where, and to which they gave the name of *fey-thsian*, or "flying money." However, scarcely three years had elapsed when they were obliged, in the capital, to suppress the use of this paper; which then was no longer current, except in the provinces.

Thai-tsu, the founder of the *Soung* dynasty, and who ascended the throne A. D. 960, permitted the traders to deposit their silver, and even merchandise, in the different imperial treasuries; and the securities (*bons*) which they received were called *pian-thsian*, or "convenient money." They received them eagerly every where. In the year 997, paper of this kind had been issued for 1,700,000 ounces of silver; and in 1021, there had been an addition to it equivalent to 1,130,000 ounces.

It was in the *Chou* [Shoo] country, which is now the province of *Sze-tchhouan*, that they introduced for the first time a real paper money currency, that is to say, paper bills (assignats) substituted for silver, and not guaranteed by any pledge whatever. A certain *tchang-young* introduced it as a substitute for the *iron-money*, which was too clumsy and

* The cause of the scarcity of copper, which was so often experienced in China, was chiefly the manufacturing of a great amount of bronze images, representing *Foe*, [Fohi,] and the saints of his religion. Accordingly, we find copper and money reappearing after every persecution suffered by that religion in China.

inconvenient.* These paper bills were called *tchi-tsi*, or *coupons*. In the reign of *Tchin-tsoung*, of the Soung dynasty, (from 997 to 1022,) this example was followed, and they made bills under the name of *kiao-tsu*, or "exchanges." These were payable every three years; so that in the space of sixty-five years, there would be twenty-two periods of payment. Every *kiao-tsu* was equal to one *string* of a thousand deniers, and represented one ounce of pure silver. Sixteen of the richest houses directed this financial operation; but, in the end, the undertakers of it not being in a condition to fulfil their engagements, they were obliged to become bankrupt, which gave occasion to much litigation. The Emperor abolished the bills of this company, and took away from the individuals the power of issuing paper money, reserving to himself the establishment of a bank for bills, at *Y-tcheou*.

About the year 1032, there were 1,256,340 ounces in the bills called *kiao-tsu*, or "exchanges." In 1068, it was found that there were counterfeits of them; and they imposed the same punishment on the counterfeiters as for counterfeiting the government seals. At a later period they established, at different intervals, banks for the *kiao-tsu* bills, in several provinces of the empire. The bills of one province were not current in the others; and they often altered the terms of payment, and their mode of circulation.

Under the emperor *Kao-tsoung*, in 1331, they were desirous of making a military establishment at *Ou-tcheou;* but as the necessary funds arrived with great difficulty, the mandarins, who had the direction of that undertaking, proposed to the *houpou*, or minister of the treasury, to issue some *kouan-tsu*, or securities, with which they might pay the persons who furnished provisions for the troops. Those securities were redeemable at a special office for that purpose; but it appears they gave rise to abuses and occasional murmurings among the people. Subsequently, similar securities were put in circulation in other provinces of China.

In 1160 (still during the reign of *Kao-tsoung*) the *houpou*

* The first *iron* money was make in China by the rebel *Koung-sun-chou*, who died A. D. 36. The emperors, however, did not follow his example before 524. It was at that period that *Ou-ti*, of the *Liang* dynasty, coined similar pieces, and since that time they have often been used.

created a new paper currency, called *hoei-tsu*, or *conventionals*. In their origin, these new bills were current only in the province of *Tche-kiang* and its vicinity; but they were soon disseminated through the whole empire. The paper, which they used to make them of, was originally manufactured only in the towns of *Hoei-tcheou* and *Tchhi-tcheou* of *Kiang-nan*. At a later period they also made it at *Tching-tou-fou*, in *Sze-tchouan*, and at *Lin-ngan-fou*, in the province of *Tche-kiang*.

The first *hoei-tsu* (conventionals) were equivalent to a *string* of one thousand deniers; but under the reign of *Hiáo-tsoung*, in 1163, they made them of 500, 300, and 200 deniers. In five years, that is to say, up to the seventh moon of the year 1166, they had issued this paper to the amount of 28,000,000 of ounces; and on the 13th of the eleventh month of the same year, that amount was found to be increased by 15,600,000 ounces. During the remainder of the reign of the *Soung* dynasty, the quantity of this paper went on constantly increasing.

Besides this, there were also the *kiao-tsu*, and some other paper peculiar to the provinces; so that the empire was flooded with paper bills, which depreciated from day to day, in spite of the different changes and modifications which the government thought fit to make in them, in order to enhance the currency of them.

Finally, in the reign of *Ly-tsoung*, of the same dynasty, and in 1264, the minister *Kia-szu-tao*, seeing the currency of the *hoei-tsu* so low, and the price of provisions so high, thought it proper to substitute in part for this paper, a new description of bills, which he called *yn-kouan*, or *silver obligations*. The *hoei-tsu of seventeen terms*, as they were called, were entirely abolished; and they took up three of those of *eighteen terms* with one of the new bills, which bore the character *kia*. But, though they received even the torn bills in payment of imposts, the minister could not succeed in effecting a rise in the currency in the paper issued by the treasury, nor a reduction in the price of merchandise.

While the latter emperors of the *Soung* dynasty were withdrawn into the south of China, the north part of the country found itself under the domination of the *Niu-tchy*, a people of the Tungusian race, that had founded a new em-

pire under the name of *Kin*, or *Kingdom of Gold*. Their princes are known in the Arabian and Persian historians, by the name of *Altoun-khan*. The continued wars which laid waste all China, had considerably impoverished all the provinces of that fine country; so that in the year 1155, copper having become extremely scarce in the kingdom of *Kin*, they were obliged to establish among them banks for paper bills, upon the plan of the *kiao-tsu* of the Soung dynasty. The bills of two, four, eight, and ten *strings* of a thousand denier, were called *large bills;* and the *small bills* were of 100, 300, 700, and 900 pieces of copper. Their rate was fixed for seven years; and after that term they exchanged the old bills for new ones. In all the provinces there were banks, and the government retained fifteen pieces of copper for each *string* of one thousand, in order to cover the expense of making and registering the bills.

In the latter half of the XIIIth century, the Mongols made themselves masters of China, where they founded the dynasty called *Youan*, which reigned from 1279 to 1367. Even before the entire subjugation of China, *Koublaï-khan* or *Chitsou*, the first emperor of that dynasty, had introduced paper bills (assignats) among the Mongols, between 1260 and 1263. In 1284, he directed the mandarin *Lou-chi-joung* to present to him a plan for the emission of new paper money; but that emission did not take place till 1287; and from that time the Mongols only increased the quantity of their paper bills called *pao-tchhao*, or *paper money of value*.

Bills of *one string*, made in the years *tchi-youa*, (1264–1294,) were substituted for those of *five strings*, or of 5000 deniers, which they had created during the years *tchoungthoung*, (1260–1263,) and which were made of the bark of the *tchu* tree, (morus papyrifera,) and one foot square, Chinese measure. Those of *one string* of the year *tchi-ti*, (1308–1311,) succeeded those of *tchi-yuan* of five strings. They were valued at one ounce of pure silver, and the tenth part of an ounce of gold. In this manner the government had reimbursed, by four per cent. of value, the capital of the first emission, and by twenty per cent. that of the second. Towards the end of the *Youan* dynasty, the paper money had lost much of its credit; and in 1351 they found themselves obliged again to make changes in their system of pa-

per currency; but all their expedients and attempts to produce a rise in the funds were fruitless; and the Mongols were compelled to abandon China, which they had totally ruined by their *tchhao*, or "paper money of value."

This state of things obliged the emperors of the *Ming* dynasty, who succeeded the Mongols, not only not to abolish the *tchhaos*, but to create a new emission of them. In 1375, they issued six different kinds of paper, viz:—Bills of *one string*, of a thousand deniers, of 500, 300, 200, and 100 copper pieces; those of a thousand deniers were equivalent to one ounce of silver. They prohibited the people's making use of gold, silver, or valuable articles to trade with. The value of these bills fell at once, and they would only give thirteen strings of copper pieces for seventeen in paper.

It appears that the first Ming emperors increased considerably the quantity of these bills; for in 1448 they had so little credit, that they would only give three deniers for one *tchhao* of a string of one thousand. The government thought to remedy this disgrace of its paper, by prohibiting the use of copper pieces, and by forcing the people to use only paper bills. Seven years afterwards there appeared an ordinance, which provided that they would collect in the paper currency the imposts of the markets in the two capitals of the empire. However, these measures did not produce the desired effect, and the *tchhaos*, having remained in discredit, terminated by disappearing from circulation. At least, history makes no further mention of them after the year 1445.

The Mandchous, [Mantchoos,] who succeeded the Ming dynasty, and who are at present the absolute masters of China, have never attempted to issue any paper money whatever.

Note. The paper bills (assignats) of the *Soung-Kin*, and *Mongol* dynasties, were all made of the bark of the *tchu* tree. Those of the first were only sheets printed and authenticated, with the government stamps; but those of the *Mongols* exhibited other ornaments. The paper which was used by the *Mings* to make their bills, was made from all sorts of plants. We find in the work of Father Du Halde, (vol. ii. p. 163,) a figure of one of the paper bills of the time of the Mings.

J. P.

CHINA:

ITS POPULATION — TRADE — AND THE PROSPECT OF A TREATY.*

I. POPULATION.

In the successive explorations of modern times, there has been no portion of the globe accessible by sea, which has defied curiosity more successfully, and been more worthy of investigation, than the Empire of China. Its vast resources, its mighty population, its "tame and immovable" civilization, and its pretensions to universal supremacy, have but enhanced the interest of its mysterious isolation from other nations. Within the last few years, the terrible war of which it became the victim, and the consequent opening of its ports to a general traffic, have made it the subject of general attention. If we add to these sources of interest the reasons that have made China a problem of the deepest significance to the learned world from the time of Marco Polo, the peculiarity of her language, the extent of her literature, the research of her philosophy, the antiquity of her history, and the light thrown upon the early ages of Asia by her annals, enough is adduced to prove the importance of accurate information upon the character of the Chinese population, the resources of the empire, and the probable nature of its future intercourse with foreign nations.

The documents translated by M. Pauthier, and the pamphlet by Mr. Forbes, contain much that is necessary to our purpose upon the statistics of China in reference to the amount of population, the nature of the existing trade, her ability to

* 1. Documents Statistiques Officiels sur l'Empire de la Chine, traduits du Chinois, par G. Pauthier. Paris. 1841.
2. Remarks on China, and the China Trade. By R. B. Forbes. Boston. 1844.
3. Documents Officiels Chinois sur les Ambassades Etrangères envoyées près de l'Empereur de la Chine, traduits du Chinois, par G. Pauthier. Extrait de la Revue l'Orient. Paris. 1843.

consume foreign manufactures, and her disposition to a more equal and reasonable reception of foreigners. The question of population and resources is a deeply important one to the United States, as it involves ability to consume, and to pay, for our manufactures. These two points being settled, it will then be time to consider whether our efforts to open amicable relations with the court of Pe-king will be successful. We propose to give a summary of such parts of the works before us as may throw light upon these points, and to deduce such conclusions as the premises may warrant.

In examining the "Documents Statistiques Officiels," it will be necessary to lay before our readers a summary of the principal facts therein stated, in order to give due force to the arguments for or against their credibility. They admit, at present, of no direct tangible proof, and no argument can compel conviction like a plain, undeniable fact. No foreigner has it in his power to know, from his own observation, the amount of the population; and the accounts of the natives are, therefore, the only statements that can pretend to accuracy. How far, then, are the official documents to be believed?

The original Chinese, which is the eleventh book of the great "Collection of Administrative Statutes of the reigning Dynasty of China," * comprises the Census, the Survey of the Land, and the Apportionment of Taxes; the two first constituting the permanent foundation, upon which the last is levied. The three parts form a collection of valuable facts, which can be derived from no other source.

The Census is the first and most important. The Law and the Commentary are side by side, and we will endeavor to sum up the results, translating only such passages as prove the careful manner in which the numeration is made. After directing how the registers shall be kept, the decree proceeds to declare, that the registration shall be made by *yen hoo*, fireplaces or doors, to be divided into twelve classes, (which it is not necessary to specify here,) and to be counted in the following manner: — The males, who are over sixteen years of

* Taï-thsing-hoeï-tien; or, more correctly, Ta-tsing hwuy-teen; Kioum ix. fol. 1–28, section Hou-pou, administration of Finance; Chinese Chrestomathy, p. 572. In the orthography of Chinese, we shall follow, as far as practicable, the system of Mr. Pickering.

age, are called *ting*, able-bodied men; the women, and all under sixteen, are named *kow*, mouths. The men and the mouths, *ting-kow*, (that is, all the population,) are directed to inscribe their names upon tablets hung upon the door of every house, so that each individual may be numbered in the census. In order to obtain the total population of each province, its governor and lieutenant governor cause these tablets to be deposited in the appointed places by the officers called *pao-kea*, chiefs of ten houses. In the tenth month of every year they are forwarded to the administration at Pe-king, and at the same time the proportion of taxes is levied. The board of finance, at the end of the year, puts together all these documents, and forms from them the imperial list of the taxes and the revenues of the empire. Every year the increase of population is examined, but, if small, no account is made of it.

Before giving the results of the census of 1812, which is embraced in the *Ta-tsing hwuy-teen*, it would be desirable to notice the numeration of 1712, contained in the same work, and taken for the assessment of a *poll-tax*. It will be observed, that this was only one hundred years before the last census, and its comparative smallness is the foundation of the great discrepances which prevail in the estimates of foreigners, when attempting to assign reasonable limits to the extent of Chinese population. In the eighteen provinces, the registration in the year 1712, contained the names of 29,042,492 *jin-ting*, taxable males. Father Amiot, in the year 1744, by multiplying this sum by five, which he considered the average number of each family, obtained the arbitrary result of about 145,000,000. But after the abolition of the poll-tax, which entailed also military service, and after the pacification of certain turbulent provinces, the government was enabled, in due course of time, to prepare and enforce a careful and systematic registration. Taxes being levied upon landholders, they were divided by law into several classes, with great exactness, and every individual was numbered. Ten families now constitute a *pai;* ten *pai* form a *kia;* ten *kia* make a *pao*, century, and each of these divisions has its appropriate ruler, who watches over his little government, and furnishes to his superior officer annual returns of the population of his district. So that, after the regular routine, the various amounts arrive at Pe-king, and it is the

result of one of the operations of the system to which we now have arrived. The contrast between the census of 1712 and 1812 will strike every one, and we must ask a short suspension of opinion before their great discrepancy of numbers is allowed to condemn both.

The following table comprises the total population of each province, contained in the lists sent to the Board of Finance in the seventeenth year of the Emperor Kea-king, which is A. D. 1812. We give, side by side, the French and English orthography of M. Pauthier and Dr. Morrison.

Provinces.		
French Orthography.	*English Orthography.*	*Population.*
1. Tchi-li,	Chihle,	27,990,871
Fong-tien,	Fungteen,	942,003
Ki-rin,	Kirin,	307,781
2. Chan-toung,	Shantung,	28,958,764
3. Chan-si,	Shanse,	14,004,210
4. Honân,	Honan,	23,037,171
5. Kiang-sou,	Keangsoo,	37,843,501
6. Ngan-hoei,	Ganhwuy,	34,168,059
7. Kiang-si,	Keangsee,	23,046,999
8. Fo-kien,	Fuhkheen,	14,777,410
Males *fan* of Taïwan,	Tawan, (Formosa,)	1,748
9. Tche-kiang,	Chekiang,	26,256,784
10. Houpé,	Hoopih,	27,370,098
11. Hou-nan,	Hoonan,	18,652,507
12. Chen-si,	Shense,	10,207,256
13. Kan-sou,	Kansuh,	15,193,125
Parkol and Puroumoutsi,	Parkol,	161,750
14. Sse-tchouan.	Szechuen,	21,435,678
15. Kouang-toung,	Kwangtung,	19,174,030
16. Kouang-si,	Kwangse,	7,313,895
17. Yun-nân,	Yunnan,	5,561,320
18. Kouei-tcheou,	Kweichow,	5,288,219
		361,693,179

Besides this large sum, the population of China Proper, the census includes those provinces beyond the frontiers, dependent upon the empire, which are numbered by fire-places, or houses. It will be sufficient to give the sum, which is 193,823 houses. It will be observed, also, that in the table just given, the inhabitants of Tawan, or Formosa, are counted by *fan*, males alone, so that the enormous total falls short of the whole population of the Chinese empire, according to their own statements.

Having now seen the manner in which the census is taken, and its result, we are better prepared to enter upon an examination of its credibility. An analysis of its details, and of some of the causes which influence its apparent overstatements, may enable us to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion.

The next table, showing at a glance the population of each square mile in the different provinces, and the average for the whole empire, is derived from two sources. The amount of population in each province is the same just given from the Ta-tsing hwuy-teen, and the number of square miles and acres is taken from Sir George Staunton.

Names of the eighteen Provinces.	*Population.*	*Sq. miles in each Province.*	*English Acres.*	*Pop. on ea. sq. mile.*
Chihle,	27,990,871			
Fungteen,	942,003	58,949	37,727,360	496
Kirin,	307,781			
Keangsoo,	37,843,501			
Ganhwuy,	34,168,059	92,961	59,495,040	774
Keangsee,	23,046,999	72,176	46,192,640	319
Chekiang,	26,256,784	39,150	25,056,000	670
Fuhkheen,	14,777,410	53,480	34,227,200	276
Tawan,	1,748			
Hoopih,	27,370,098	144,770	92,652,800	318
Hoonan,	18,652,507			
Honan,	23,037,171	65,104	41,666,560	353
Shantung,	28,958,764	65,104	41,666,560	444
Shanse,	14,004,210	55,268	35,371,520	251
Shense,	10,207,256			
Kansuh,	15,193,125	154,008	98,565,120	162
Parkol, &c.,	161,750			
Szechuen,	21,435,678	166,800	106,752 000	128
Kwangtung,	19,174,030	79,456	50,851,840	241
Kwangse,	7,313,895	78,250	50,080,000	93
Yunnan,	5,561,320	107,969	69,100,160	51
Kweichow,	5,288,219	64,554	41,314,560	81
	361 693.179	1,297,999*	830,719,360	277

It will be seen, that the density of the population is not so comparatively great as has been supposed. The number of inhabitants on each square mile is

In England,†	297
In Belgium,‡	343
In Lucca,§	311
In China,	277

* This sum is said to be derived from astronomical calculations. Though probably near the truth, the remarkable coincidence in extent of Honan and Shantung will hardly add to its credibility.

† Census of 1841. ‡ Black's General Atlas. Edinburgh, 1841. § Id.

The two provinces of Keangsoo and Ganhwuy exceed in density of population the others, but the average does not seem improbable, when we recollect that Lancashire has 944 and Surrey 767 inhabitants to the square mile. So that in the figures themselves, there is nothing conclusive against the truth of the official statement. The immense amount of beings included under one general name, and under one government, though sufficiently startling, must be rejected on some other account than the mere magnitude of the sum.

Although our readers may be somewhat wearied with figures, we must ask their attention to one more table before summing up our brief argument on the credibility of the Ta-tsing hwuy-teen. For further information on its details, they are referred to the work from which it is taken.*

	Population.	*A. D.*	*Authorities.*
1.	60,515,811	1393	Kang-keen-e-che.
2.	21,312,200	1710	Anglo-Chinese Col. Report.
3.	28,605,716	1711	Ta-tsing hwuy-teen, new edition.
4.	157,301,755	1743	Amiot.
5.	103,050,060	1753	Ta-tsing hwuy-teen, new edition.
6.	198,214,553	1762	Grosier.
7.	155,249,807	1790	Z. of Berlin.†
8.	307,467,200	1792	Anglo-Chinese Col. Report.
9.	333,000,000	1792	Sir Geo. Staunton.
10.	361,693,579	1812	Ta-tsing hwuy-teen, new edition.

These ten statements, though seemingly inconsistent, are reconcilable with one another. The first is not improbable; the second and third were taken in reference to a poll-tax and military service, and a part of the empire was disturbed by civil war. The fourth sum is arbitrary, supposing five inhabitants to each family, and is, besides, founded on number three. The fifth shows a great increase on the third, which is to be explained from the interdiction of the poll-tax about this time, and consequent removal of the principal reason for under statement. Grosier's is the first which is supposed to give a full account of all the population, and in this connection is credible. Mr. Z. of Berlin gives a purely arbi-

* Chinese Repository, vol i. p. 361.
† Published in the London Times, July 23d, 1830.

trary result. Sir George Staunton's is in round numbers, and does not pretend to accuracy. The eighth and tenth statements are not inconsistent with one another from the ordinary ratio of increase. This short summary, added to what has been said previously in relation to Father Amiot's calculation, is, we think, sufficient to show, that no argument derived from the difference of these ten sums can be entitled, at present, to set aside the official documents.

How far, then, does our actual knowledge of the country and its institutions corroborate the statements of the Ta-tsing hwuy-teen? Are there physical, social, or political reasons, acting as preventive checks, sufficient in potency to invalidate the Chinese documents?

There are three causes, which to some degree act unfavorably upon the increase of population, in some parts of the country. They are the practice of infanticide, which prevails to some extent; domestic slavery, which sometimes prevents the marriage of the person sold; and the dissolute habits of the lower classes. They are not, however, powerful enough to stem the strong tendency to increase, and are only mentioned to show how few and inefficient are the physical causes, which have yet come to light, capable of offering any impediment to the progress of population.

On the other hand, China is abundantly able to support an immense population. The advantages with which the country has been gifted by nature, have been improved to the utmost by its industrious inhabitants, in the actual state of their knowledge and social condition; agriculture, the source of food, has been honored and encouraged beyond every other pursuit; and the culture of the land, (even when divested of the exaggerations of early writers,) and the nature of its produce, are such as afford the largest return, under the circumstances, to the labor employed. It has been remarked, too, that the prevalence of agricultural over manufacturing occupations, must tend to prolong life, as well as to increase food. Excepting those of the emperor, in the vicinity of the capital, there are no extensive parks or pleasure-grounds, reserved from the operations of productive industry. In the prevailing absence of wheel carriages and horses, the least possible ground is occupied by roads; and the only tracts devoted to sepulchral purposes, are the sides of barren

hills and mountains. There is no meadow cultivation whatever; nothing is raised for the food of cattle, but all for man.* Nor is the water exempted from the same searching operation for food as the land. In no part of the world is so much sustenance derived from fisheries.

Nor is the effect of the whole political system less potent in stimulating production. The rights of a father extend over the lifetime of a son, and render male heirs not only important, but necessary. Every care is taken to prevent families from becoming extinct, and, in default of male heirs, there is a legalized mode of adoption. So far are the efforts of the government to increase population carried, that every owner of a female slave, who does not procure a husband for her, is liable to prosecution. By the same system of concentration, the property of families is made to support the greatest number practicable. Emigration, the safety-valve of over-populous countries, is forbidden by law. Early marriages prevail to an extent seemingly only possible in new countries. The whole political divisions of society are arranged on the grand patriarchal system; power is in proportion to the extent of the family, and no fear of want of sustenance has imposed preventive laws upon the people. Above all, for the past century, China has been comparatively free from the three great scourges of the human race,— war, pestilence, and famine.

It will be seen, then, that, if the statements of the Ta-tsing hwuy-teen are to be rejected, it must arise from some internal evidence of want of accuracy. But its minute attention to detail has been remarked before. Every care has been taken, in the laws, to provide for the enrolment of all the population. The document, too, is intended for their own information; no intended deception of foreigners lies at its foundation. There would seem, too, to be no adequate motive for over or under stating, as the poll-tax has long since been removed, and the numeration has no unfavorable effect in increasing individual burdens. Besides this, it may be mentioned, that, in the eighteen provinces, there are 1518 of

* History of China and its Inhabitants. By John Francis Davis. Vol. ii. p. 364. N. Y. 1840. A work of great interest, from the long, intimate, and official connection of the author with the Chinese.

† Chinese Repository, vol. i. p. 395.

the smaller divisions,—*heens*, *chows*, and *tings*,—each of which, were the population equally divided, would have about 237,000. But, as far as the Europeans have had it in their power to confirm this, in the vicinity of Canton, the average has proved to be rather under than over this amount.

In the examination of the Chinese account of the population of the empire, we have been unable to find any reason for setting it aside, from facts which have yet come to light. We have seen that the whole social, political, and physical tendencies stimulate to overproduction; that there is no evidence in the documents themselves to impugn their own credibility; and, in fine, that we must accept, for the present, the accuracy of the official documents. The same reliance must be placed upon them as upon the census of any civilized country, until some new reason exists for setting them aside.*

II. TRADE.

The pamphlet of Mr. Forbes upon China, and the China trade, is published very opportunely. It embodies, in clear, straight-forward language, some results drawn from a long experience and a thorough knowledge of the subjects upon which he treats. It is published at a time when correct information is very much needed by the mercantile community upon the state of things in China, and when the tendency to wild speculations in her markets is rapidly on the increase. Whoever has attained experience, and generously unfolds it, without the hope of reward, for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, is a public benefactor. Mr. Forbes has performed one of these quiet, unobtrusive services, and richly deserves the thanks of the public.

The work is a simple statement of facts upon a few subjects, upon which information is not readily attained by the reading public. The Hong merchants — their origin, history, position, and purpose; the manner of conducting trade through them; the articles of traffic, and the circumstances which affect prices; the former restrictions, and their modification by recent events in China; the advantages gained by Great

* Those who wish to pursue the subject further, are referred to Grosier's General Description of China; Macartney's Embassy to China, by Sir George Staunton; Travels in China, by John Barrow; Malte Brun's Universal Geography; Report of the Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca, 1829; Companion to the Anglo-Chinese Kalendar, 1832; Chinese Repository, vol. i. and Davis's Chinese.

Britain, from her "cruel and oppressive war;" the history, nature, and present management of the opium trade; and the probable result of the mission of Mr. Cushing; forming in all a catalogue of subjects, to which justice cannot be done here without more copious extracts than our limits will allow. It is extremely difficult to make quotations from a work of this nature. All the facts are valuable, and it would be necessary to give a sketch almost as long as the pamphlet itself, to include all that is worthy of notice. If we were to specify any part which should be read by all, and which embodies more information that is novel and interesting, it is that portion which relates to the *opium trade.*

It did not come within the objects of the work to enter upon any discussion of the moral and physical effects of the opium trade. Mr. Forbes, like every other well-wisher to his race, condemns the traffic, as alike wicked and impolitic. His object was to state the facts in the case, and to leave to others the natural inferences to be drawn.

"It is, no doubt, fresh in the recollection of most of our readers, that the 'superintendent of trade,' Captain Elliot, on the 27th of March, 1839, issued a public notice, calling on all the merchants engaged in the opium trade, to surrender to him, for the service of Her Majesty, all the opium under their control, in the waters of China, and to forward to him immediately, a sealed list of all the drug *within their control;* and in default of their doing so, by six o'clock of that day, he declared Her Majesty's government free from any liability, in respect to British-owned opium. Under this notice, all the opium which was then at and about Lintin, and the other outer anchorages, as well as all that which was supposed to remain unsold, on board of vessels on the Coast of China, was surrendered to Captain Elliot, and he in turn declared to the Imperial Commissioner, Lin, that he would immediately give orders to hand over to him, at the Bocca Tigris, twenty thousand two hundred and eighty-three chests of the drug — valued at that time, by the holders, at over £2,400,000 sterling, — but for which the British government has only paid about half that sum, leaving out interest for three years, altogether. When Captain Elliot warned the British merchants who were engaged in the opium trade, within the Bocca Tigris, that they must remove outside with their small craft, the press called on him, in no measured terms, to show the authority whereby he assumed the duties of protecting the revenue of China. He was loudly denounced, by many of his countrymen, for interfe-

ring with their business, — but when he called on them to surrender to him, on account of Her Majesty, more than twenty thousand chests of opium, much of which was far out of the reach of the Chinese, they did not ask for his authority — they were perfectly satisfied, under the circumstances, to surrender their drug, and consider the Queen as their debtor. By this process they got rid of one half of the year's crop of opium — most of which belonged to merchants in India — at what they deemed a fair price, and they, no doubt, looked forward to the sale of the balance of the crop, then in India and on its way, at a much better price than it could have been sold in a market overstocked by an inordinately large crop, estimated at over forty thousand chests. It is well known to all those familiar with the China trade in 1840, that these expectations were fully realized; for the trade flourished, and large sums were made by those who could afford to carry on the traffic in armed vessels, in despite of the Chinese cruisers. During this period, and for a year or two before and after the trade assumed all the characteristics of a *bonâ fide* smuggling trade, the Chinese were more vigilant and the foreigners more daring. The trade was carried on, during the period named, we believe, entirely by the British — the Americans having retired from it as soon as they found it for their interests to do so, fearing that it would embarrass their regular business, and knowing that they would be within the power of the local authorities of Canton, while the British were out of their reach, at Macao and at Hong Kong." — pp. 49, 50.

To afford some indication of the resources of the country, it may be mentioned, that the amount derived from direct and indirect taxes, in 1812, was about $46,000,000. Each province is assessed a fixed sum which has not been changed for years, and which is again distributed among the different classes, in their just proportions. The divisions are as intricate, and the law and its provisions are as minutely enforced, as in the case of the census, and the numeration of the lands. The gross amount of revenue collected in all the provinces cannot be ascertained; the cost of collection is very great, and there are at present no means of increasing the amount which reaches Pe-king. For several years, the revenue fell short of the expenses of government, and no plan could be devised, by which they should be permanently increased. Public opinion in China, settled on all points, could not comprehend the propriety of a direct tax in any form, and

a despotic power could not levy taxes, which would have been practicable in a representative form of government. Be the wealth of the country, however, greater or less, attention to the following paragraph may place some proper limits to our commerce: —

"There can be no doubt that the opening of new places of trade will enable us to get rid of a larger quantity of domestic goods; but we must reiterate the opinion expressed in the early part of the last year, in a letter published in the *Daily Advertiser*, that the prospective extension of the China trade, in consequence of the opening of four new ports, is very much overestimated. It appears to us, that we must materially increase the consumption of tea and silks in this country, before we can expect to enlarge materially our trade to China; and the same remark applies to Great Britain. After we have paid for ten or twelve million pounds of tea, and a few hundred thousand dollars' worth of silks, matting, cassia, &c., by giving in exchange our domestics, lead, &c., there must be an end of profitable trade with China. At present, owing to the demand for home consumption, and the consequent high price of cotton goods, we cannot expect successfully to compete with British goods in the markets of China. So with England; after she has paid for her thirty-six to forty million pounds of tea, and what little raw silk she requires from China, by exchanging her cottons, woollens, &c., there also is an end of profitable trade to her. We can neither of us afford to bring away bullion, or to return with bills in our pockets. Therefore it is clear, that we can only sell in China, profitably, just as many goods as will pay for the articles of export from China, which we respectively want. All the spare *cash* to be had in China, is needed to pay for the opium grown under the auspices of the government of Great Britain, and under the immediate superintendence of the servants of the Honorable East India Company. Could the opium trade be abolished, there is no doubt that a compensation would be found in the increased sale of manufactured goods, because there would be more ready cash, and more industry in the country to pay for them." — pp. 55, 56.

One other quotation, upon the multifarious duties of the linguist, one of the most important conduits of trade, must close our extracts from the work.

"It may be imagined, from the name, that this individual was learned in the languages, but this was not a necessary qualification. His *duties according to law*, were to examine and report

on all goods coming and going; he was a runner between the foreign merchant, the Hong merchant, and the Hoppo's office; a public servant and slave to all these — and his character in general corresponded well with his onerous task. He was the sub-scapegoat of the three contending interests named. If the duties were too largely assessed, the foreign merchant blamed him; if they were too small, and insufficient to satisfy the rapacity of the Hoppo and his myrmidons, he fell into bad odor there; and if any thing went wrong at the Hoppo's office, or at the foreign merchants', the Hong merchant, being responsible, put as much of the burden on the 'lingos' as he could throw off his own shoulders; the consequence of these contending interests and liabilities made the linguists, by necessity, the greatest rogues in the empire. They were always ready, for a consideration, to do the bidding of their master for the moment, and having three most exacting masters, they had a hard time of it. If they could not make out a crape shawl to be a handkerchief, or a piece of goods, containing eighty yards to have only forty, or resolve any other impossible quantity into a totally different description of goods, they were considered entirely unfit for their places; they were never expected to speak the truth on any subject, and one would as soon quote the opinion of the Father of Lies, as that of a 'lingo.'" — p. 17.

III. THE PROSPECT OF A TREATY.

We come now to the laws of China, relative to the reception of foreign embassies, which are very minute in their requisitions, and which will probably decide the fate of our own effort to open relations with the Court of Peking. We can hardly hope to be more successful than the embassies which have preceded ours. A short sketch of the official intercourse between the government of China and foreign nations may afford some solace to our wounded pride, if our ambassador should return without having succeeded in the objects of his voyage. Each mission, in turn, except the Dutch, has flattered itself that an exception to the ceremonial regulations would be made in its favor, and all have been equally disappointed at the uniformly unsuccessful result of their diplomacy.

The earliest embassies sent to China, are mentioned in the Chinese Annals, and have escaped the notice of the Greek and Roman historians. We have account of five embassies from the West; the first, from An-tun, or Antoninus (Mar-

cus Aurelius,) and the last, in the year 1371, from Matthew Cantacuzene. It is worthy of observation, that one of the emperors is called Kaï-sa, or Cæsar. The Chinese have not always been the secluded, uncommunicative nation which they now are. The spirit of separation and non-intercourse owes its origin to the Tartar dynasty.

Of the European nations, Portugal, Holland, Russia, and England, have each, at different times, sent ambassadors for the purpose of opening a commercial intercourse, and of securing a safe and honorable footing in China. The Portuguese were the first to perceive the advantages of the trade, and despatched a mission as early as the year 1521. They have since sent three ambassadors, the last in the year 1753. The possession of Macao, conceded to them by the Chinese government, in the hands of France or England, would have proved an important entering wedge for further advantages, but the narrow, vacillating, and cowardly spirit of the Portuguese has failed to make it a place of consequence, and has unfortunately increased the contempt of the Chinese for Europeans, which only the recent exhibition of English power has removed.

The three Dutch embassies have submitted, in all its detail, to the humiliating requisitions of court etiquette; and, notwithstanding their obsequiousness, have failed in obtaining any important result. In performing the ceremonials required from *tributary* states, they acknowledged the inferiority of their government, and consequently had no right to demand the favor of trade upon an equal footing.

The Russian and English embassies have invariably refused the performance of these ceremonies. Russia, with commendable perseverance, has sent no less than eight ambassadors for commercial purposes, which have been as unsuccessful as the two English embassies of Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst, so well known to the reading public. It is needless to recount the various steps, and the vexatious delays, of these two gentlemen. The reasons given for the want of success of Lord Macartney, were, briefly: because he did not carry presents for the ministers of state, and for the son of the emperor; because he neglected the customs of the country, in the salute of the emperor; because all the persons in the embassy presented themselves in too simple and

too ordinary dresses; because the ambassador was not careful to make presents to the different officers of state; because his demands were not written in the tone and style of the country. All these reasons reduce themselves simply to a refusal to comply with the code from which we shall shortly give an extract.

The Chinese consider all embassies as *tributary* in their nature. Indeed, any other object than the bearing of tribute does not enter their sphere of possibility, so perfectly well satisfied are they of their own invincible supremacy; and consequently no provision is made in their unalterable ceremonial for the reception of any mission on equal terms. It must be admitted under the law of ceremony which already exists, or not at all. On either hand of the dilemma, the embassy is sure to fail. If it does not comply with the requisitions of court etiquette, it fails, because it does not obey the law; if it attends most rigorously to the minutest ceremonies, it cannot succeed, because it has admitted the inferiority of its own government to the Court of Pe-king, and cannot, of course, demand any favors.

We come now to the law itself. After going through, by way of practice, certain prostrations and minute and troublesome ceremonies in the presence of one of the masters of ceremonies attached to the Board of Rites,* and after the presentation of credentials, which is also attended by the same perplexing and unpalatable routine of performance, the ambassador, at last, is admitted to a solemn audience of the emperor.

"The ceremony of the presentation of credentials by the tributary ambassador having been finished, he is conducted reverentially into the great court of the palace. The emperor, clothed in his ordinary court suit, descends into the great hall of

* There are six Supreme Boards, which serve to connect the supreme head with the subordinate branches of the administration, and have cognizance of all that appertains to the civil service in the eighteen provinces. They are, (1) the Board of Civil Office; (2) the Board of Revenue; (3) the Board of Rites; (4) the Board of War; (5) the Board of Punishment; and (6) the Board of Works. The duties of the Board referred to in the text are, to attend to whatever appertains to the ordinances for regulating precedence and literary distinctions; to the canons for maintaining religious honor and fidelity; to the orders respecting intercourse and tribute; and to the forms of giving banquets, and granting bounties. Eight volumes of the Collected Statutes are filled with the details of the duties of this Board. Bridgman's Chinese Chrestomathy, pp. 576 – 578. Chinese Repository, vol. iv. p. 139.

audience of supreme concord, where all the ministers and great functionaries of the state are assembled, to perform the prescribed ceremonies. These ceremonies completed, the officers in charge of foreign guests will introduce the tributary ambassador, with all the officers of his suite. Advancing from the west of the vestibule of vermilion, the functions of the officers in charge of foreign guests cease. Notice is given to the heralds of the palace, who present themselves, and go through the prescribed ceremonial. They proclaim, 'The favor of the emperor permits you to be seated! the favor of the emperor grants you *tea!*' If it is then convenient, and if it is not a periodical or annual reception at court, the Board of Rites deliberates, and settles the day of the official presentation. This is communicated to the emperor, who is entreated to be willing to grant this audience. The grand marshal of the imperial palace makes all the preparations for the ceremony, by giving the necessary orders, and drills the *tributary* ambassador, with his interpreters, in the proper manner of executing the prescribed ceremonial.

"The day of audience having arrived, the tributary ambassador, agreeably to previous arrangement, clothed in the official or public dress of his country, and the interpreters, in their 'supplementary' dress, present themselves on the outside of the gate of the palace, where they wait respectfully until some one introduces them.

"The emperor, dressed in his ordinary suit, enters the hall of audience, where are assembled, by command, the grand officers of the palace, and the imperial guard, who are ranged standing on the right and left, according to habitual usage. One of the presidents of the Board of Rites, dressed in his extraordinary court suit of embroidered dragons, enters, conducting the tributary ambassador. The interpreters follow. Coming to the west of the vestibule of vermilion, they perform the ceremony of the three kneelings, and of the nine prostrations. This ceremony being finished, they conduct the ambassador toward the hall of audience, causing him to mount the steps by the western side. Arrived at the exterior of the door of the hall, or of the pavilion of the throne, he kneels. The emperor then deigns to make known his august will, and interrogates the ambassador with benevolent and gracious words. The president of the Board of Rites receives the questions and repeats them; the interpreters translate and explain them to the tributary ambassador. The tributary ambassador answers; the interpreters translate his words; the president of the Board of Rites repeats them to the emperor. This ceremony finished, they rise; and the ambassador is directed to descend on the western side. Having

gone down, they reconduct him (to the gate); and, if he wishes to remain, they entertain him with spectacles. Thus end the ceremonies of this day."

At the next interview, the ambassador is admitted into the hall of audience. The emperor is then surrounded by all the great dignitaries of his empire, and regards with complacency the kneelings and prostrations, which are repeated by the ambassador four or five times. During this interview, the emperor asks questions as before. This is the result of the second interview.

After some few days of repose, the tributary ambassador is invited to a third presentation, to take leave, and to thank the emperor for the favors which he has received. After going through the three kneelings and nine prostrations, he concludes "the solemn audience of the emperor," having accomplished nothing of the objects of his embassy. The ceremonial of offering the presents which he has brought the emperor takes place before the last interview, and is attended with pretty nearly the same ceremonies.

On this point, we will add the opinion of M. Abel-Rémusat, one of the profoundest Chinese scholars of our generation, whose works are an authority upon all Chinese subjects to which they relate. He says:—

"It is a mistake which has already occurred, and may easily happen again, to regard an embassy to Pe-king as a means of obtaining something from the Chinese government, of concluding a treaty of commerce, or of transacting any particular business; for the invariable customs, and even the laws, are opposed to such a result. An ambassador, going to court, is considered merely as an envoy commissioned to offer to 'the son of heaven' the homage of his master, and to bring tribute from him. The duration of his visit, the number of audiences which he can obtain, the officers to whom he must address himself, are all determined by regulations which he cannot evade; he cannot pass beyond the limits assigned to him, nor speak of business to the emperor or his ministers. Such is the ancient usage, to which the Chinese remain inviolably attached. Those ambassadors, who have hoped that an exception might be made in their favor, have little known the spirit of the Chinese nation, its subjection to ancient customs, and, above all, its pride,

interested in the maintenance of every thing which seems to attest the preëminence it affects in regard to all other nations."

It is hardly possible, that the character of the whole people should be so completely changed by the results of the last few years as to place the court of Pe-king upon the same platform with civilized powers. The humiliating lesson taught by the arms of England, affects only the parts of the country liable to be visited by foreigners. Commercial acuteness, in addition to this strenuous proof of the civilization of other nations, has impressed upon the governors of certain provinces the policy of a change of their commercial relations; and, through their strong representation, the Imperial Court has been prevailed upon to relax the strictness of the coast regulations. No personal contact with the "barbarians," however, has humbled the pride of the emperor, and no approach of a hostile army has terrified the court of Pe-king into a rational and civilized communication with foreigners. The heart of the country, and the general spirit of its institutions, are still unchanged, and the result of the American embassy to China is, we fear, not very problematical. We do not pretend to say, that no good will be derived from it. The arrival of an American squadron, conveying an ambassador from the distant United States of America, will extend the knowledge of our country, and procure respect for our power. It will strengthen the amicable position of our merchants. It will extend our own information, upon the commercial resources of China, and the prospects of advantageous trade.

We understand, that Mr. Cushing has begun his labors by the study of the Manchou language, intending to employ that copious and expressive vocabulary, instead of Chinese, in his communication with the Court. The sovereign of China, and many of the high officers of state, are Manchous. To each of the six supreme Boards previously mentioned, there is a Manchou as well as a Chinese President. It seems to our Envoy, that a knowledge of the language of the Manchous, the present rulers of China, will, to say the least, be politic, besides affording a less figurative and simpler language for intercourse. If the acquisition of their language, for the first time, by a foreign ambassador, in addition to the employment of the usual methods, should not produce the

desired result of a favorable reception at Pe-king, it may safely be asserted, that all honorable means have been used. We heartily hope that he may be successful.

All that talent and perseverance can effect in attempting to change the settled laws of the country in favor of the United States, will be done by Mr. Cushing. If his utmost efforts end in disappointment, it will be no reflection upon his skill or his fidelity; and if he should succeed, he will have the proud satisfaction of being the first foreigner, who has treated with the "son of heaven" upon equal terms, and secured for his own country an honorable footing in China.

W. W. G.

PETER S. DU PONCEAU, LL. D.

SINCE the publication of the last number of our Journal, the Society has been called to lament the death of its distinguished associate, MR. DU PONCEAU. The loss is deeply felt by the Society, and by the country at large. The following obituary notice of this eminent man has been prepared from two others drawn up by a member of the Society who had been intimately acquainted with him for many years, and which were published in two of the journals of the city, at the time of his death, which took place April 1st, 1844.

THE painful intelligence of the death of this eminent man has just reached us; and, with those few surviving individuals who had enjoyed a long personal intercourse with him, it has caused a sensation, which is the more keenly felt, as his illness (bronchitis) had not, until the last two or three days, assumed a character which gave his friends occasion for alarm. He expired on the morning of the first of this month, having nearly completed the eighty-fourth year of his age, and having closed a long and honorable life, through which his eminent talents and virtues had enabled him to render lasting services to society, and especially to his adopted country.

Mr. Du Ponceau was born on the third day of June, 1760,

in the *Isle of Ré*, which lies a few miles from the coast of La Vendée, in France. His family was of the Catholic religion; and his father, who was an officer in the French army, was at one time desirous that his son should be educated for the church. He was accordingly, at an early age, placed under the care of an ecclesiastic of that denomination; but his instructer, it would seem, had not a mind that could cope with that of his pupil. Mr. Du Ponceau soon began to discuss theological questions, and probably had the advantage of his teacher in the argument; for, when he asked for *reasons*, which his master had not the ability to give, the latter would silence him by the voice of authority. The active and independent mind of the pupil could not submit to this; in a very short time their discussions ended in an open rupture, and caused a separation, when Mr. Du Ponceau relinquished his theological studies, with a determination to devote himself to some other pursuit. Whether it was at this or a later period that he relinquished the Catholic faith, we do not know; but after he came to this country, as we are informed, he was a Protestant, and worshipped at one of the Presbyterian churches in Philadelphia.

It happened about this period of his life, that the well-known Baron Steuben arrived in Paris on his way to the United States, to join the American army; and, being unacquainted with the English language, he was making inquiries for some young man who could speak English, to accompany him as his secretary. He was informed of young Du Ponceau, who happened then to be in Paris, and an arrangement was made with him accordingly. We recollect to have heard Mr. Du Ponceau say, that at that time, though he had never been out of France, he understood and could speak English as perfectly as he ever could afterwards. And, as the smallest circumstances in the history of such minds as his cannot but be interesting, we will here add — we have heard him state, that while a child of only six years of age, his curiosity to know something of the English language was intensely excited by his accidentally meeting with a single torn leaf of an English book, in which he discovered the strange letters *k* and *w* — for such they were to a child, who had never seen them in any books in his own language — and this circumstance, trifling as it may appear, first

directed his attention to our language. At that time General Conway, who was afterwards somewhat conspicuous, during the American Revolution, as a member in the British House of Commons, had the command of a regiment stationed in the *Isle of Ré;* and, being struck with the remarkable points of character in a child of so tender an age, and with his aptitude for the study of languages, obligingly took pains to instruct him in English; and such was his progress, that in a very short time he was able to read Milton, Shakspeare, and other English classics, whose works are far beyond the grasp of ordinary youthful minds. As he proceeded he became so delighted with the works of the great English masters, that he never afterwards acquired a truly national fondness for the poetry of France. So much, indeed, were the English writers in his thoughts and conversation, while a boy, that his school-fellows used to reproach him with the name of the "little Englishman" — *le petit Anglois.*

While he resided in Paris, he was Private Secretary to *M. Court De Gebelin,* the well-known author of the voluminous, though now neglected work, the "*Monde Primitif, analysé et comparé avec le Monde Moderne,*" which, amidst a mass of the antiquated philology of seventy years ago, still contains some general views and speculations, that are not wholly unworthy of attention.

Mr. Du Ponceau left Paris, in the suite of Baron Steuben, for the United States, fired with the ardor of youth, and full of zeal in the cause of American liberty, which he ever fondly cherished. He landed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the first day of December, 1777, an event in his life, which he often alluded to with the most lively interest.

He entered the American army, as an aid-de-camp to Baron Steuben, with the commission of a captain. But, independently of his natural distaste for military life, he was ill-qualified for its active duties, in consequence of his being extremely near-sighted — a physical defect, which sometimes led him to commit mistakes of the most ludicrous character, and much to the amusement of his comrades, as he used himself to relate with much humor. His reminiscences of that portion of his life, which brought him into the society of the leading men and the distinguished American women of that day, were of the most interesting character; and the

points of view, in which almost every thing was then seen, in this new condition of society, by an observing and highly intelligent young man, just fresh from the social life of Paris, would furnish instructive subjects for reflection. He remained in the American army about three years, and after quitting it, was employed as an under secretary in the War Department, an office which he discharged with much ability. At the close of the war, he had fixed his mind on the profession of the law — and, if we are not mistaken, entered upon his legal course of study under the late Judge Shippen, of Philadelphia. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of foreign birth, and a foreign language, his success at the bar was complete; and many years did not elapse before he attained to the first rank, and, by the public voice, took his place by the side of Lewis, Rawle, Tilghman, Ingersoll, Dallas, and others, whose names are as familiar to the lawyers of that city, as those of their distinguished successors, who hold the same rank at the present day.

What Mr. Du Ponceau accomplished at the bar may be seen in the books of Reports of that period; he was engaged in all the important causes, which then came before the courts of the State as well as of the United States. At that day the controversies, which arose between France and the United States, and the position of the United States as a neutral power, while all Europe was at war, gave rise to questions of international law, for which our lawyers, generally, were then quite unprepared; and his knowledge of the civil and continental law of Europe, which were easily accessible to him, by means of his native language — a language then studied, or read, by very few persons in this country — gave him many decided advantages at the bar in cases of the kind alluded to. So little was the language or practice of the French law then known among American lawyers, that the writer of this notice, while a student in Philadelphia, well recollects being present at a trial, when Mr. Du Ponceau was called upon in court to explain the meaning of so common a term as a *procés-verbal.*

As to the knowledge of the civil or foreign law, indeed, at that day, even the well-known chapter of Huber, *De Conflictu Legum*, was but just beginning to be known among us; and, for the benefit of lawyers, and judges too, who

could read nothing but English, this chapter was translated (by Mr. Du Ponceau, as we have understood,) and published by Mr. Dallas, in the third volume of his Reports (p. 370), and thus led the way to a more extended acquaintance with that admirable jurisprudence, so skilfully drawn from the fertile sources of the civil law, and administered by Mr. Chancellor Kent, while on the bench, and more recently made familiar to us, on the particular topic of the law just mentioned, by Mr. Justice Story, in his learned work on that subject.

The very high legal ability of Mr. Du Ponceau, and the advantage of speaking the French language, naturally drew to him French and other foreign clients, among whom were the diplomatic and other agents of the French Government in the United States; and he was constantly engaged as their counsel in all causes of importance; in all which, public as well as private, his purity of purpose, incorruptible integrity and independence, never suffered him, during periods of the highest political excitement, to deviate from the sacred duty of a faithful legal adviser, even when pressed by the almost irresistible influence of national feeling or partisan principles, or — what in our own time is a still stronger stimulant — the corrupting lure of political advancement. We may add here, that, at the period in question, whenever he took part in the public measures agitated by the great political parties of that day, he was ranked with that of which Mr. Jefferson was considered the head; for whose opinions, however, he had much less deference in after life, — when he applied the powers of his own intellect, and his matured experience to the examination of the great questions which agitated the union, — than during the fervid season of youth.

After quitting the active practice of the bar, Mr. Du Ponceau still employed himself in devising whatever might conduce to the promotion of juridical science in the United States. He was one of the founders — whether the originator or not, we do not know — of the Law Academy in Philadelphia, of which he was chosen the first provost, and presided over that association for several years; thus, by his noble example, stimulating the elder members of the fraternity, and, like an affectionate parent, encouraging and giving a useful direction to the industry and zeal of the younger ones.

The junior members of the profession were much in the

habit of resorting to him, when they were about publishing an essay, or dissertation, or review, on legal topics; and some individuals of the profession, who have, in particular instances, had credit with the public as writers on jurisprudence, owe it to the friendly suggestions of his well-stored mind, as well as to the actual service of his pen; and, if he had had the ambition to lay claim to every thought or suggestion that had been wrought into legal dissertations by his young friends, or furnished to their hands by himself, he might, in numberless instances, have said, in the spirit of the Roman poet— *Hos ego versiculos feci; tulit alter honores.*

Of his publications connected with Jurisprudence, the following are all (we speak from memory only) that we can now call to mind: Translation of Bynkershoeck's Law of War, with highly valuable Notes by the Translator, published in 1810; Dissertation on the Nature and Extent of the Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States — 1824; the article *Law*, in the American edition of the Edinburgh Encyclopedia; Preface to Hall's Admiralty Practice — 1809; Review of Chancellor Kent's Commentaries, published in Walsh's American Quarterly Review; Discourse at the opening of his Law Academy in Philadelphia, in 1821; A Brief View of the Constitution of the United States — 1834. To these we may add the following unpublished manuscripts: A Translation, with valuable Notes, of Dalyarney's German Treatise on the Law of Nations, made many years ago, and lent to Judge —— of New Orleans, in whose hands it probably is at this time; Translation of Rayneval's work on the rights of Neutral Powers, and the Principle of the Armed League (Armed Neutrality) of 1781, that "Free Ships make Free Goods." This, we hope, will be found in the Library of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, where we believe he had deposited it.

We do not give this as a list of all his publications on legal subjects; it is true, however, that he did not write much on professional topics.

Among his various professional engagements he was occasionally consulted upon great questions of constitutional law, arising in other States than his own, and by individuals of eminence in the British Provinces, where the civil law was in use. In the year 1821, his opinion was requested on be-

half of the newly formed State of Alabama, in relation to the construction of their Constitution; and he had the satisfaction of learning afterwards by a friend from that State, that his advice had settled their difficulties; a fact which he has mentioned to us, with that earnest emotion which is nature's own pledge of sincerity. So lately, too, as the session of Congress in 1811, his professional opinion on the constitutional right of the delegate from Florida (Mr. Levy) to a seat in the House of Representatives, is believed to have had no inconsiderable weight in obtaining a decision of that body favorable to the claim of the delegate. In his translation of Bynkershoeck, he first suggested the application of the distinction between an *absolute* and a *qualified* neutrality, to the case of the United States and France; considering our neutrality not to be absolute, but qualified by the treaty with France, in 1778. His remarks (in the same work) on the doctrine of the *jus postliminii*, present some new and important views, which, if we rightly recollect, have been adopted by Mr. Wheaton, in his valuable work on International Law. We believe, too, that Mr. Du Ponceau was the first to announce the opinion, in the same work, that *piracy* might be committed on land as well as at sea; which principle was afterwards incorporated into the act of Congress on that subject. But we find ourselves treading on professional ground; and we will only add, in general, that, upon a review of his opinions on important legal questions, there can be no doubt, that his profound legal knowledge and strength of intellect, operating through different channels, have, directly or indirectly, had an important influence on the jurisprudence of the United States.

During the latter part of his life, after he had acquired a competent fortune by his profession, he devoted most of his time to his favorite study of *General Philology*, a science which has employed the first intellects of the old world, from the time of the great Leibnitz to that of the late illustrious Baron William Humboldt, in our own time; and there can be little, if any doubt, that the labors of Mr. Du Ponceau in that noble, but boundless field, have, among the profound scholars of Europe, contributed more to establish our reputation for solid erudition, than those of any other individual in this country. He had a philosophical mind; he first gave to

the learned of Europe, as well as to our own countrymen, just and philosophical views of the aboriginal languages of America; a field, which, if we except Dr. Barton's early but limited researches, had been left unexplored, and not before applied to the purposes of general philology. The valuable results of his investigations are well known, and his merits have been honorably recognized in Europe, by the voice of all Germany, and by the award of the prize of the French Institute, and his election as a corresponding member of that distinguished body.

In another department of philology he published, a few years ago, a work unfolding new views of the remarkable language of China, which has been long enveloped in almost as much mystery as the hieroglyphic system of ancient Egypt. Not agreeing with those who held the opinion, that the Chinese language is *ideographic*, that is, that the *written* characters denote *ideas* of things, and do not represent *spoken* words — so that different nations of the East could understand each other by the *writing*, when they could not by *speaking* — just as the Arabic numerals are understood alike, for example, by a Frenchman and Englishman when written, though not when spoken — contesting this opinion, we say, Mr. Du Ponceau boldly assumes the position, that the Chinese must be like other languages, and that the written characters, or words, represent *spoken* words or sounds, as in all the languages of Europe. The Sinologists of the old world are acquainted with his book, but are not prepared to adopt his views, though some of them are silently making use of his terminology, and so far give countenance to his results. Yet, if he is wrong, and if the language of the Chinese is not like other languages of the *human race*, in the particular in question, the fact will present a more extraordinary phenomenon, than any of the extraordinary characteristics hitherto known of that singular people.

With the languages of Europe, from Germany to Italy, he was well acquainted; and in early life he had studied the *Russian*, which at that period was a *terra incognita* to scholars in general; and on his arrival in this country he kept his journal in the French language, written in the *Russian character*. He was also a good classical scholar; and we do not recollect any individual, who had always at his command a

greater stock of those maxims of wisdom, and those grand and ennobling sentiments, the invaluable fruits of well directed classical studies, which the great statesman of England and friend of American liberty, Lord Chatham, enjoins with so much earnestness, in his well-known letters to his young relative at the university: "I hope," says he, "you taste and love those authors (Homer and Virgil) particularly. You cannot read them too much; . . . . . they contain the finest lessons for your age to imbibe; lessons of honor, courage, disinterestedness, love of truth, command of temper, gentleness of behavior, humanity, and in one word VIRTUE, in its true signification."

Mr. Du Ponceau's fondness for these studies continued to the latest period of his life; and no longer ago than the last autumn, he wrote to a friend in this city in the following earnest tone in relation to a recent and most interesting publication on the Life and Writings of Horace: "I am now reading a French book, which I warmly recommend to you to send for and add to your library. It is entitled — "Histoire de la vie et des poesies d'Horace" — by Baron Walckenaer, 2 vols. 8vo. It is a delightful work; England has nothing to compare to it, except, perhaps, Middleton's Life of Cicero. You are, I am sure, a lover of Horace. This charming book of Walckenaer, with your Horace on your table, will be the delight and comfort of your old age. *Experto crede.*"

We ought not to omit mentioning, that, among the varied attainments of Mr. Du Ponceau, was his knowledge of the *science* of music; he was not practically skilled in it, but he had a knowledge of counterpoint very rarely to be found among amateurs; and he was familiar with the compositions of the great masters, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and others of their school, upon whose works his taste was formed. In this, also, as in all studies, his ardent American feeling stimulated him to look for merit among our own countrymen, who have hitherto established but slight claims to the rank of *composers.* Only a few years ago he made an effort to collect the publications of our well-known *Billings*, whose *melodies* highly pleased him, though he was fully sensible of that author's lamentable want of skill in the science of *harmony.*

Mr. Du Ponceau enjoyed the well-earned honor of being made a member of various learned societies in Europe and in this country, and for many years he was the President of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. We mention our own country in particular, because this eminent man felt a higher pleasure in the honors conferred upon him by our own learned associations, than those which he received from abroad. In short, his heart was purely and entirely *American;* and no reminiscence, even of his native country, could excite a more thrilling sensation in his bosom, than those relating to his adopted country. So strong, indeed, was his American feeling, that he has been known, on some occasions, to deem it affrontive, to be called or treated otherwise than as an *American.* And, in respect to his own personal merits, he ever strenuously insisted, that the country had bestowed upon him more honors and more marks of regard, than he was entitled to.

We will only add, that the purity and elevation of his moral character were not surpassed by his eminent intellectual endowments. With these were united a purity and elevation of moral worth, that are rarely to be found; and we may justly apply to him the sentiment of his favorite Horace, —

> ————Cui Pudor, et Justitiæ Soror
> Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
> Quando ullum invenient parem?

Such is a very imperfect sketch of the interesting life of this great man; who was an honor to his adopted country and to the human race.

He had reached a venerable old age, and had outlived almost all his contemporaries; and, out of his bereaved family, he has left behind him few individuals, that were not of an age too far differing from his own, to experience that anguish which is most keenly felt by those who are our equals in years, and in the associations of past times. To the writer of this notice, for whom he had long cherished an affection almost parental, his death is an irreparable loss; a long-tried friend and counsellor is no more!

> Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit
> Nulli flebilior quam mihi.

J. P.

Boston, April 6, 1844.

A TREATISE ON ARAB MUSIC,

CHIEFLY FROM A WORK BY MIKHÂIL MESHÂḲAH, OF DAMASCUS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC,

BY ELI SMITH.

TREATISE.

INTRODUCTION.

[BY THE TRANSLATOR.]

THE investigations which have led to the compilation of the following article, were not entered into in consequence of a knowledge of the science of music, or of any particular taste for it, for I can lay no claim to either; but in consequence of the necessities of my calling. The mission with which I am connected, has not yet succeeded in introducing singing into Arabic worship. The obstacles which have prevented, are two; *one*, the peculiarities of Arabic versification, the *other*, the equally strong peculiarities of Arab music. The former is such, that a hymn composed according to Arabic rules of prosody, would, in very few cases, if any, be adapted to our tunes; and one composed according to our rules, would be still less adapted to Arab taste. This point, or rather the whole science of Arabic versification, has been thoroughly studied by my colleague in missionary labors, the Rev. C. V. A. Van Dyck, and I hope some early number of the Society's Journal may be enriched by an article, which he has already prepared on that subject.

The obstacles arising from the peculiarities of Arab music are such, that; not only do we find the singing of the Arabs no music to us, but our musicians have found it very difficult, often impossible, to detect the nature of their intervals, or imitate their tunes. The first intimation I had of the nature of the difficulty, was derived from observing, that a native singer, in attempting to repeat the octave in company with one of our musical instruments, did not observe

the same intervals, and of course the two were not at every note in unison. Subsequently one of my colleagues attempted to write Arab tunes on our stave, and found that he was unable to do it, owing to some peculiarity in the intervals. But it was not until I fell in with the work, which has served as the basis to this article, that the whole subject was revealed to me. Its author, Mikhâil Meshâḳah, of Damascus, is my personal friend and correspondent, and one of the most intelligent of his nation whom I have known. Having a good knowledge of mathematics, as well as much practical skill in music, he was well qualified for his task. In translating, I have abridged his work a good deal, have not always observed his order in the arrangement of the sections, and have frequently taken the liberty to express his thoughts in my own style.

It is of *modern* Arab music only, that Meshâḳah treats; and to explain that, is the specific object of this article. The ancient, having been closely copied from that of the Greeks, has less of oriental interest. The subject of musical *rhythm*, however, perhaps from its natural affinities with versification, the Arabs of those times seem to have treated more in their own style; and, my author being defective here, I have resorted to the ancients. For an ability to do this, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Salisbury of Yale College, whose valuable collection of Arabic books, contains two very important works on this subject. One is a manuscript in folio, of nearly two hundred pages, by an anonymous author, composed in the year of the Hegira 666. From this I have translated most of the chapter on rhythm, and also the section on the ancient guitar, dealing as freely with it in translating, as with Meshâḳah's work. The other work is Kosegarten's edition of Ispahâny's *kitâb el-aghâny*, (Book of Odes;) to which the editor has prefixed a labored treatise on ancient Arab music, taken chiefly from the great authority on that subject, Fârâby's Book on Music, and containing large extracts from that work. It is from Fârâby as thus quoted, that my extracts are taken. He died at Damascus, A. H. 339. Owing to want of time and feeble health, my examination of these two books has been hasty and superficial. It is hoped that their possessor will erelong

cull much more from them, to interest and instruct the lovers of oriental learning.

It is a matter of sincere regret to me, that the compilation of this article has not fallen to some one, capable of throwing an additional interest around it, from a personal acquaintance with the science of music. As it is, I claim only to have done the work of a translator and compiler; and it is possible that even in doing this, I may have fallen into errors, from ignorance of the science under discussion. I have endeavored, in all cases, to make apparent to the reader, the author of every paragraph and sentence. Where no other authority is given, he will understand that it is Meshâḳah who is speaking.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF MELODY.

§ 1. *On the Classification of Tones.*

It is of the nature of sound to be divided into classes, or groups of tones, each containing seven, ascending one above the other; and these groups are, in theory, without limit as to number, each being the *response* to that which is below it, and the *base* to that which is above it. The groups are called *octaves*, (Ar. *diwân*, a council,) and the tones composing them are called *notes*, (Ar. *burj*, a tower.) Each note has its distinctive name. The first is *yegâh;* the second, *'ösheirân;* the third, *'arâḳ;* the fourth, *rest;* the fifth, *dûgâh;* the sixth, *sîgâh;* the seventh, *jehârgâh.* This is the first octave. Above it is the second, the first note of which is *nawa;* the second *ḥuseiny;* the third *auj;* the fourth *mâhûr;* the fifth *muḥaiyar;* the sixth *buzrek;* and the seventh *mahûrân.* The last is the response to *jehârgâh,* and the end of the second octave. Then comes the third, the first note of which is the response to *nawa,* and is called *remel-tûry;* the second is the response to *ḥuseiny;* the third, the response to *auj,* &c. The notes of the ascending

octaves are named in like manner, only repeating an additional "response" for each succeeding one. As, for example, response to the response to *nawa*, &c., and then response to the response to the response to *nawa*, &c., ad infinitum. In like manner, a similar system of nomenclature is used in the descending series of octaves below *yegâh*. In the first, you say the base to *jehârgâh;* the base to *sîgâh*, &c.; and in the next, the base to the base, &c., ad infinitum.

Observe that the beginning of the notes of the octave with *yegâh*, as above, is not necessary in the nature of things. Some authors begin with *rest;* and the Greeks begin with *dûgâh*. One may begin where he chooses, provided he make the octave consist of seven successive notes, so that the eighth shall be the response to the first.

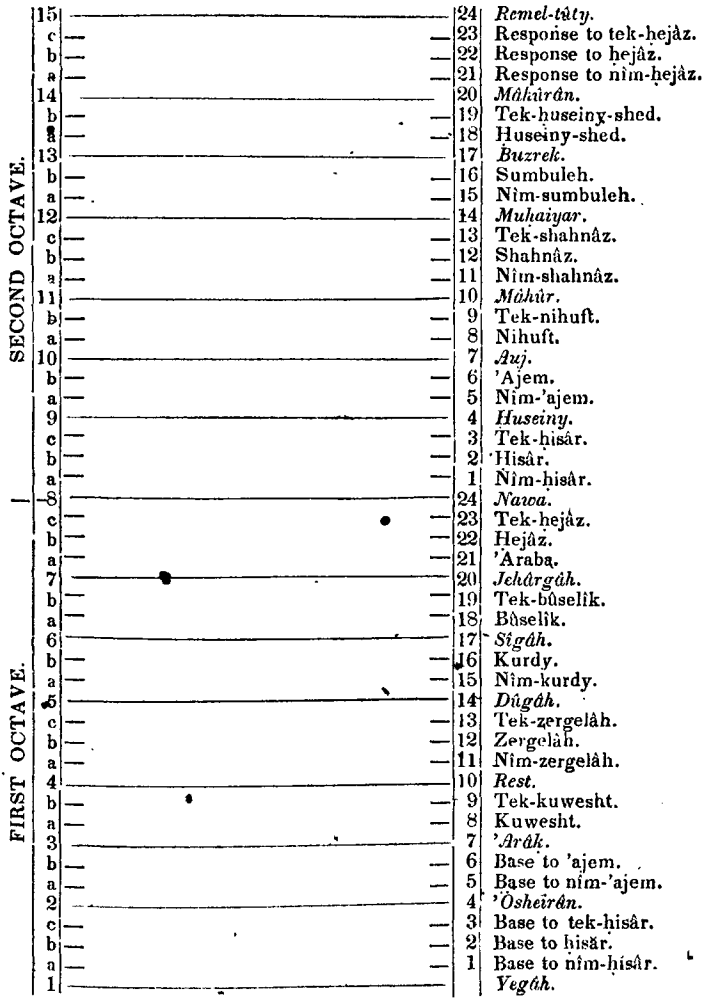
The human voice, in ascending from the base to the response, or in descending from the response to the base, naturally makes but seven notes. Were you, for instance, to divide the octave into *ten* notes, the voice could be brought with great difficulty to strike them; and the effect produced upon the ear would be very disagreeable. Hence it appears, that the division of the octave into seven notes, is according to nature.

§ 2. *On the Classification of the Quarters.*

The notes treated of in the preceding section, ascend one above the other like the steps of a ladder. But the intervals between them are not equal, some being larger than others. These intervals the Arabs divide into *two* classes, greater and less. The greater intervals contain four quarters, and the less three. The former are between *yegâh* and *'ösheirân*; between *rest* and *dûgâh;* and between *jehârgâh* and *nawa*. The latter are between *'ösheirân* and *'arâḳ;* between *'arâḳ* and *rest;* between *dûgâh* and *sîgâh;* and between *sîgâh* and *jehârgâh*. The first class, therefore, contains three intervals with twelve quarters in them; and the second four intervals, having likewise in them twelve quarters. The whole number of quarters in the octave is consequently twenty-four.

[The following table exhibits the Arab scale for two octaves, as explained above, with the names of the notes and quarters.

Table I.


SECOND OCTAVE.
FIRST OCTAVE.
15 c b a 14 b a 13 b a 12 c b a 11 b a 10 b a 9 c b a 8 c b a 7 b a 6 b a 5 c b a 4 b a 3 b a 2 c b a 1
24 Remel-tâty.
23 Response to tek-hejâz.
22 Response to hejâz.
21 Response to nîm-hejâz.
20 Mâhaîrân.
19 Tek-huseiny-shed.
18 Huseiny-shed.
17 Buzrek.
16 Sumbuleh.
15 Nîm-sumbuleh.
14 Muhaiyar.
13 Tek-shahnâz.
12 Shahnâz.
11 Nîm-shahnâz.
10 Mâhûr.
9 Tek-nihuft.
8 Nihuft.
7 Auj.
6 'Ajem.
5 Nîm-'ajem.
4 Huseiny.
3 Tek-hisâr.
2 Hisâr.
1 Nîm-hisâr.
24 Nawa.
23 Tek-hejâz.
22 Hejâz.
21 'Araba.
20 Jehârgâh.
19 Tek-bûselik.
18 Bûselik.
17 Sigâh.
16 Kurdy.
15 Nîm-kurdy.
14 Dûgâh.
13 Tek-zergelâh.
12 Zergelâh.
11 Nîm-zergelâh.
10 Rest.
9 Tek-kuwesht.
8 Kuwesht.
7 'Arâk.
6 Base to 'ajem.
5 Base to nîm-'ajem.
4 'Ôsheirân.
3 Base to tek-hisâr.
2 Base to hisâr.
1 Base to nîm-hisâr.
Yegâh.

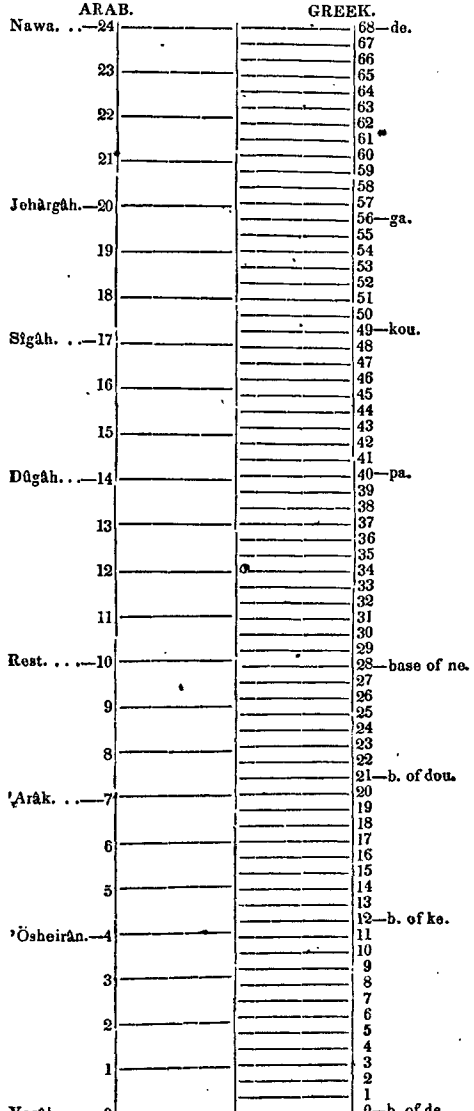
This scale is usually drawn in Arab treatises in the form of a circle. I have given it a shape better suited to occidental taste. In a column on the left I have placed numbers and letters, which, for the convenience of the reader, I propose to use occasionally in the place of the corresponding words on the right. E. g. 2, for *'ösheirân*, 3a for *kuwesht*, &c. The author invariably has the names written in full.—E. S.]

The modern Greeks divide the intervals between the notes into *seconds;* and of the intervals themselves they make *three* classes. The *first* class corresponds to the class of greater intervals in the Arab scale; only each interval is divided into *twelve seconds*. The *second* class, includes the intervals between *dûgâh* and *sîgâh*, and between *ḥuseiny* and *auj;* and in each of these intervals there are *nine* seconds. The intervals of the *third* class are between *sîgâh* and *jehârgâh;* and between *auj* and *mâhûr;* and each of them has *seven* seconds. In the first class, therefore, there are three intervals, and thirty-six seconds; in the second, two intervals, and eighteen seconds; and in the third, two intervals, and fourteen seconds. And the whole octave contains seven intervals, and sixty-eight seconds.

§ 3. *On the difference between the Arab and Greek scales.*

The Arab and Greek scales coincide at only four points; viz., at the note *yegâh* which coincides with the base to *de;* at the sixth quarter, or the base to *'ajem* which coincides with the seventeenth second; at the twelfth quarter, or *zergelâh*, which coincides with the thirty-fourth second; and at the eighteenth quarter, or *bûselîk*, which coincides with the fifty-first second. All other coincidence between notes in the two scales is merely an approximation. This may be seen by drawing the two scales side by side, so that *yegâh* and *nawa* in one shall coincide with the base to *de* and *de* in the other, as in the following table.

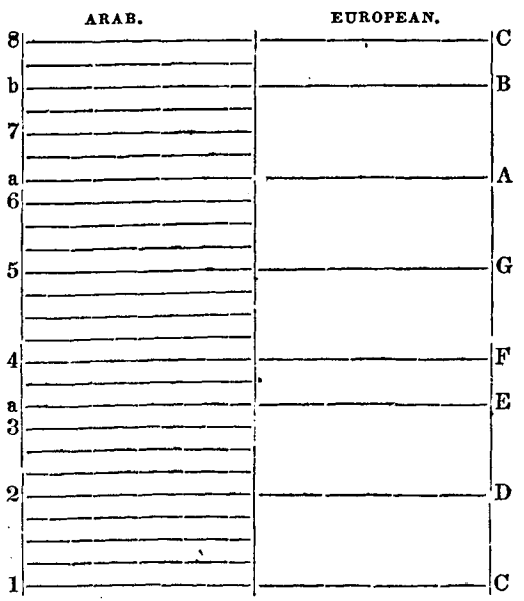
TABLE II. *Comparison of the Arab and Greek Octaves.*



The reason of this difference is, first, the division of the Arab intervals into two classes, while the Greek are divided into three; and second, the division of the Arab octave into twenty-four quarters, and of the Greek into sixty-eight seconds, which two numbers coincide only at four points; [in other words, four is their greatest common measure.—E. S.]

[For the same reason, the Arab and European octaves coincide in all the points of the latter; inasmuch as the greatest common measure of twelve the number of its semitones, and twenty-four, is twelve. But the coincidence at three points in the natural scale is with quarters, viz., *kuwesht*, *bûselik*, and *ḥejâz*; as may be seen in Table III.

TABLE III. *Comparison of the Arab and European Octaves.*



From the above it appears, that the regular notes of the Arab scale, do not represent our interval of a *third*. It may be added, that Arab music deals only with *melody*. *Harmony* is unknown to it.—E. S.]

§ 4. *On the division of the Octave into two analagous subdivisions.*

From the description of the octave already given, it is evident, that it may be divided into two subdivisions analagous to each other; viz., one from *yegâh* to *dûgâh*, and the other from *rest* to *nawa*. The two notes *rest* and *dûgâh* are included in each; and thus each consists of five notes. So *nawa* is included likewise in the first subdivision of the second octave. The analogy arises from the fact that the successive intervals in one subdivision, are the same as the corresponding intervals in the other. E. g. the interval between *yegâh* and *'ösheirân* is the same as between *rest* and *dûgâh;* and that between *'ösheirân* and *'arâḳ*, the same as that between *dûgâh* and *sîgâh*, &c. In singing, therefore, the descent from *dûgâh* to *yegâh*, is like that from *nawa* to *rest*. Hence there is a correspondence between *rest* and *nawa*, *dûgâh* and *ḥuseiny*, *sîgâh* and *auj*, and *jehârgâh* and *mâhûr*. If the first of either of these pairs of notes, is the key note of a tune, the other is called its *fifth*, (Ar. *ghŭmmâz*, a sycophant,) it being the nearest to it in resemblance, except the response or octave. For if you strike any note you please, and then strike its octave, you have the most agreeable of all successions of sounds; and next to it in agreeableness, is the fifth.

The interval between a note and its fifth, is always fourteen quarters. To find, therefore, the fifth of a note, take the number of the quarter to which the note belongs, then add fourteen to it, and the sum, if it be not more than twenty-four, will show the quarter of the fifth. If the sum be more than twenty-four, subtract twenty-four from it, and the remainder will show the quarter of the fifth in the octave above. E. g. *'ösheirân* is at the fourth quarter, (see Table I.) and you will find its fifth as follows: 4+14=18, which is the quarter of *bûselik*. Again, *sîgâh* is at the seventeenth quarter, and you proceed as follows: 17+14—24=7, which is the quarter of *auj* in the octave above.

§ 5. *On variety in tunes, and their division into modes.*

The difference between tunes is of *four* kinds. The *first* is in the *key note*. If you strike, for example, *rest*, then *'arâḳ*, then *'ösheirân*, and end with *yegâh*, making it the key

note, the sound differs from what it would be, if you struck *dûgâh*, then *rest*, then *'arâḳ*, and ended with *'ösheirân* for the key note. And this difference does not arise from the height of *dûgâh* and *'ösheirân*, with which you begin and end the one, above *rest* and *yegâh* the first and last notes of the other. For difference in height, were the intervals between all the notes the same, would occasion no variety in tunes, and you might vary the key note, without varying the melody. But as it is, varying the key note varies the tune, because the intervals are unequal, and a succession of them is passed over in the one case, differing from that passed over in the other. As in the example above adduced; in the *first* strain, the *first two* intervals are of *three* quarters each, and the *third* of *four;* while in the *second* strain, the *first* interval is of *four* quarters and the *other two* of *three* quarters each. Thus appears the first kind of difference between tunes. In consequence of it, tunes are divided into *modes* according to their key notes, and are named from them; one being called *rest*, another *dûgâh*, &c.

The *second* difference arises from *two* circumstances independent of the key note, which may remain unchanged. *One* is a difference of execution in passing from note to note, which is not to be described in words, and which the Arabs have no notation, as the Greeks and Franks have, to express. The *other* is a difference in the notes with which different tunes *begin*. The two tunes *dûgâh*, and *ṣŭba*, for example, are both keyed on *dûgâh*, but the first begins with *rest*, and the other with *jehârgâh;* as we shall see when we come to the description of particular tunes.

The *third* difference arises from a *change* of some notes, by substituting certain quarters for them. For example, in the tune called *ḥejâz*, the note *jehârgâh* is not used; but in ascending and descending it is passed over, and the quarter *ḥejâz* is struck in its place. So in the tune *beyâty*, the quarter *'ajem* is used in the place of the note *auj*.

The *fourth* difference arises from the tunes being double; the *first* or *second* cause of difference being united with the *third*. In this case, the voice passes over more than seven notes, striking notes in two octaves, which are the responses and bases to each other. For example, the tune *muḥaiyar*

is the tune *dûgâh* repeated; *dûgâh* being first sung on an octave above *dûgâh*, and then the voice descending to the base of that, which is the octave to which *dûgâh* itself belongs. So the tune *shed-'arabân*, is made up of two *hejâzes*, on two different octaves. And *'ösheirân* is almost *beyâty*, sung from above *huseiny*, and then ending in *beyâty* on *'ösheirân*.

§ 6. *On Transposition, or the performing of a tune on another than its natural scale.*

Musicians are sometimes obliged to perform tunes on other than their proper key notes. For example, *dûgâh* and *hejâz*, whose proper key note is *dûgâh*, are usually performed on *nawa*, in order, by a higher pitch, to give more pleasure to the hearer. This change is sometimes *necessary*. As, when a double tune, which takes in more than one octave, is keyed on a high note. *Shed-'arabân*, for example, whose key note is *dûgâh*, requires the voice to ascend to the response to *huseiny*, which is extremely difficult for most performers, and even if accomplished, produces an unpleasant effect upon the hearer. Hence this tune is generally performed on *yegâh* or *'ösheirân*. The same key notes, also, are generally adopted for the tune *muhaiyar*. A similar necessity likewise exists, when you wish to play on two instruments together, one of which, as a large *kânôn* for example, is made for very low notes, and will not bear tuning for high ones, and the other, as a short *kerift*, is pitched very high. Then the performance on the two will not agree, unless one of the performers transposes the tune so as to play it on such a key note as shall accord with the key note on which the other performs. Hence the professors of the art of music, have found it necessary to be exceedingly careful in the composition of tunes, to define and observe the exact number of quarters which compose the intervals between the different notes. For it is only in consequence of this exactness, that the musician is able to transpose a tune by changing its key note.

For illustration of what has been said above, take two examples. *First;* suppose it be desired to transpose a tune keyed on *dûgâh*, so as to perform it on *nawa*. Then it will

be necessary to change two notes, *ḥuseiny* and *auj*, by striking instead of them, the quarters *tek-ḥiṣâr* and *'ajem*, next below them. This being done, the succession of intervals in the transposed tune, will be the same as in the original, as may be seen in Table IV., below.

Second; suppose it be desired to transpose a tune on *rest* so that it can be performed on *nawa*. Inasmuch as *nawa* is a fifth above *rest*, the first five notes will require no change, for reasons explained in section 4. But the next two notes do not correspond, and it becomes necessary to raise *buzerek* and *mâhûrân* each one quarter, by using the quarters *response to bûselik* and *response to nîm-ḥejâz*, instead of them, in order to preserve the intervals of the original tune, as may be seen in Table V.

TABLE IV.

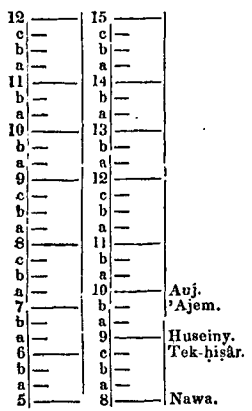
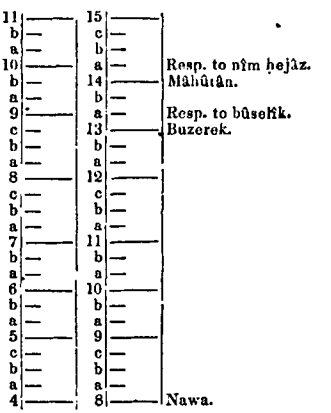


TABLE V.



CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF MELODIES NOW IN USE.

IN this chapter, I have arranged the melodies now used in Syria, each under its key note, without regard to their rela-

tive congruity, giving to each key note a distinct section. These sections thus amount to eleven, but the melodies are ninety-five.

§ 1. *Melodies keyed on Yegâh.*

1. *Nehuft of the Arabs.* Its notes are *nawa*, *mâhûr*, then *nehuft*, then *tek-ḥiṣâr*, then *nawa*, then it ascends note by note to *rest*, then *base to nehuft* called *kuwesht*, then *base to tek-ḥiṣâr*, then *yegâh.** This arrangement differs from *ḥejâz-nawa* only in the execution, and the key note.

2. *Shed-'arabân.* This is in fact *ḥejâz* repeated in two octaves, to render the pitch easy for the singer. Its notes are 8, 8b, 8, 11, 10a, 8b, 8, 12, 12b, 12, 11, 10a, 8b, 8, 7, 5b, 5, 4, 3a, 2, 1. (See Arab Tune, No. 1.)

3. *Nehuft of the Turks.* Its arrangement is exactly that of *mâhûr* transposed to *yegâh;* differing from it only in the execution, and the pitch. Its notes are, 8, 9, 7b, 6a, 8, 10, 9, 8, 7b, 6a, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1.

4. *Nawa*, called *yegâh.* This is also *mâhûr*, transposed to *yegâh.* Its notes are, 8 distinctly,† then 7b, 6a, then it descends to 3, then 4, 3, 2, 1.

§ 2. *Melodies keyed on 'Ösheirân.*

1. *'Osheirân.* First perform *beyâty* on 9, as will be explained in § 5, then 8, 7, 6a, 5, 4, 3, 2.

2. *'Ajem-'ösheirân.* First perform *neirîz* as directed in § 5, then descend to 2, and stop.

[* Thus our author goes on through the whole ninety-five tunes, describing each by naming every note in it. I have sought for brevity by substituting for the *names* of the notes, the *numbers* and *letters* introduced into Table I. of the preceding chapter. It will be perceived, that all the tunes are in the state which the author subsequently calls "free," (see chap. 3, § 1,) not being fixed either as to rhythm, or length of notes. I have written a few of the tunes on lines corresponding to the Arab intervals, in order that the reader may the more readily see their composition. The *intervals* simply, are all that I have aimed to exhibit. Every regular note is written *on* a line; of the quarters, the *lower touches* the *lower* line, the *upper* touches the *upper* line, and where there are three the *middle touches neither.* I have added the letters of our octave, for the sake of comparison.—E. S.]

† [The words translated "distinctly," "glanced at," "obscurely," and "lightly touched," appear to be used technically, and their technical meaning I do not fully understand. The last three appear to be used interchangeably.—E. S.]

3. *Muâḳbil-'öshcirân.* Its notes are 9, 11, 10a, repeated to 9, then 11, then it descends note by note with 6a, to 2.

§ 3. *Melodies keyed on 'Arâḳ.*

1. *'Arâḳ.* It is 8, then descends note by note to 3. (See Tune No. 2.)

2. *Sulṭân-'arâḳ.* Its notes are, 8, 7b repeated, then it descends note by note to 3, ascends to 11, then descends note by note to 5. It ought properly to be classed with the melodies keyed on 5; but the masters have put it here, and I have followed them, as I shall likewise do in some other cases of irregularity. Only let the reader remember, that the classification is theirs and not mine.

3. *'Arâḳ zemzemy.* Its notes are 3, 4, 5, then 8, then it descends note by note to 3, then 6 distinctly to 5, then 9b glanced at, then it descends note by note to 5, then 6 distinctly, then descends note by note to 1, then 4, then 6, then 8, then descends note by note to 5. (See Tune No. 3.)

4. *Mukhâlif-'arâk.* Its notes are 3, 4, 5, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3.

5. *Râḥat el-arwâḥ.* Its notes are, 8, 7b repeated, 5, 5b, 5, 4, 5b, 5, 4, 3. (See Tune No. 4.)

6. *Râḥat el-arwâḥ of the Greeks.* It is the same as *ḥejâz* to 4, then 5, 5b, 5, 4, 3.

7. *Remel.* Its notes are, 8, 7 repeated, then 8, 7b, then 9 glanced at, then 8, 7 repeated with 6b, then 7, then 8 glanced at, then 6 distinctly, 5, 4, 3. (See Tune No. 5.)

8. *Râḥat shedha.* It is the same as *ṣŭba*, only stopping at 3.

§ 4. *Melodies keyed on Rest.*

1. *Rest.* Its notes are, 4, 5, and thus ascending to 8, then return to 4, then 1, then stop at 4.

2. *Nikrîz.* Begin with 8, then 7b, 6 distinctly, 9, 8 distinctly, 7b, 6, 5, 4. Hence it appears that 7 is altered in this melody to 7b. (See Tune No. 6.)

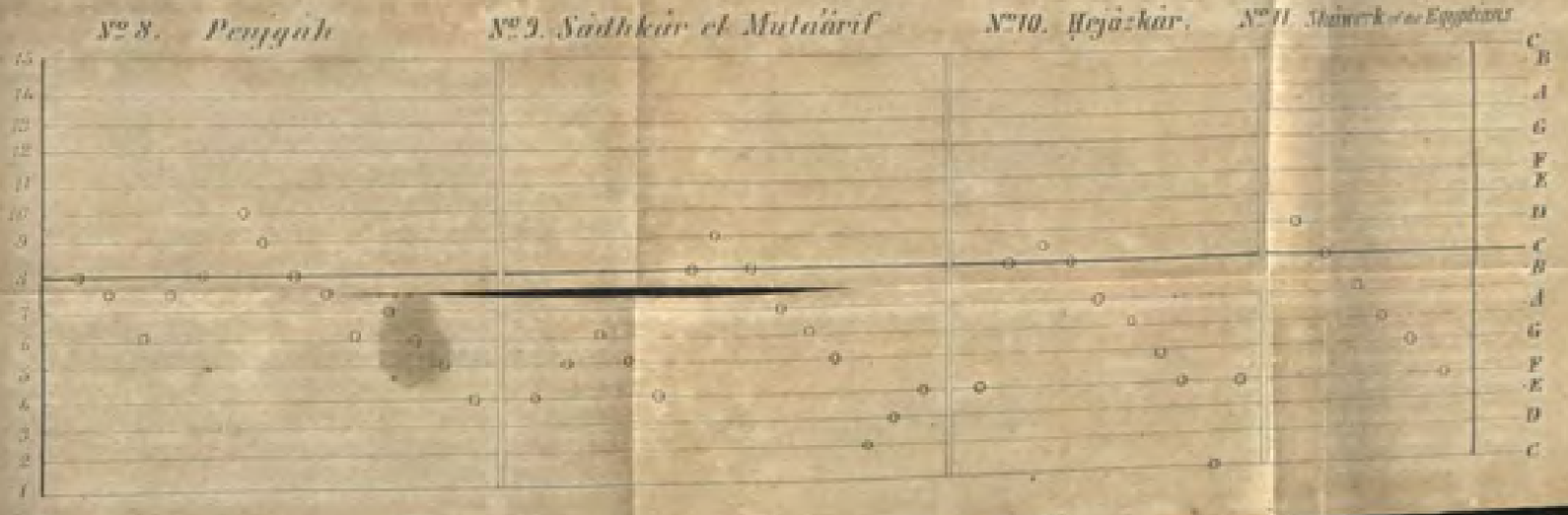
3. *Sâdhkâr eṣ-ṣaḥiḥ.* Strike 6 distinctly, then press upon 6a, then 5 distinctly, 8, 6a, 5, 2, 3, 4.

4. *Ma-renna.* It is *ṣŭba* keyed on *rest.*

ARAB TUNES.

№1. Shed 'arabán
№2. Arák
№3. Arák Zemzemy

№4. Rahat el Arwah
№5. Remel
№6. Nikriz
№7. Nishawerk


№8. Penjgah
№9. Sabhkar el Mutahirf
№10. Hejazkar.
№11. Shawerk of the Egyptians

5. *Nishâwerk.* It is 8 distinctly, then 7b, 6a, 5, 4. In this 7 and 6 are altered to 7b and 6a. Such, at least, is the doctrine of the masters. But my opinion is, that this is to be regarded as one of the tunes that are keyed on 7. Then will its notes be, 11 distinctly, 10, 9, 8, 7; and the intervals will remain the same as above, while the use of quarters is avoided. If it be objected, that 10 corresponds to 7a and not to 7b, and that thus it becomes necessary to use 10a for 10, so that after all, quarters are not avoided, and therefore little is gained; my reply is, *first*, that 7b is generic and includes 7a and 7c; and if this is not allowed, my *second* reply is, that in the first arrangement two quarters are used, and in the latter but one, so that there is, after all, a gain. (See Tune No. 7.)

6. *Penjgâh.* It is 8 distinctly, then 7b, 6a distinctly, 7b, 8, 10 distinctly, 9, 8 distinctly, 7b, 6a distinctly, 7 distinctly, 6, 5, 4. Hence it appears that, in this melody, 7 and 6 are at first altered, and then in the end restored. (See Tune No. 8.)

7. *Sâdhkâr el-muta'ârif.* It is 4, 5, 6a distinctly, 5, 4, 8 distinctly, 9 distinctly, 8, 7, 6a, 5 distinctly, 2, 3, 4. Thus in this tune, the quarter 6a is used for the tone 6. And the truth is, that it does not differ from the tune *jehârgâh*, except in the execution, as the intervals are exactly the same. (See Tune No. 9.)

8. *Hejâzkâr.* It is 4, 8 distinctly, 8b, 8 distinctly, 7 distinctly, 6a, 4c, 4, 1, 4. Thus the Constantinople masters have arranged it. In it 5 and 6 are altered to 4c and 6a. Evidently this arrangement is that which is necessary for the performance of the tune *hejâz* itself; except that the quarter 7b must be made 7a. And if it be thus arranged, and 5 be made its key note, it will be easier, or only one note, viz. 7, will be altered to a quarter. (See Tune No. 10.)

9. *Shâwerk of the Egyptians.* It is 9 distinctly, 8 obscurely, then 7a and 6a each distinctly, then 5, 4. It ought to have been regarded as one of the branches of *jehârgâh*, and then the tones would have remained whole. (See Tune No. 11.)

§ 5. *Melodies keyed on Dûgâh.*

1. *Dûgâh*, called *'Ashshâk of the Turks.* It is 5, 4, 5, 4, 5, 4, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 5, then ascends note by note distinctly

to 9, then 9b, 8,.7 distinctly, 6, 5. Most of the Syrians consider it a variety of the tune *beyâty*, by reason of its being keyed on 5, and the use in it of 9b for 10. The difference will be pointed out in treating of *beyâty*, and its varieties.

2. *Ṣŭba*, called *Rekb*. It is 7 distinctly, 9 glanced at, 7, 6, 5.

3. *Ṣŭba hemâyûn*. It is 4, 6 distinctly, 5b, 5, 4 obscurely, 7 distinctly, 6, 5. In this, the quarter 5b is not used in the place of a regular tone for forming the melody, but is merely glanced at; since the tones above and below it, are not dispensed with.

4. *Ṣŭba-châwîsh*. It is 7 distinctly, then 7b and 7 each distinctly, 11 distinctly, 11b glanced at, 11, 9b distinctly, 9, 7b, 7, 6, 5. In it, 8 and 10 are altered to 7b and 9b; and by reason of the altering of 8, its fifth 12 is also altered and 11b is glanced at in its place, inasmuch as it is the fifth of 7b, which has taken the place of 8. In our day, the Egyptians often use the movements of this melody in singing *ṣŭba*, except that they rarely ascend in it to 11.

5. *Nâdy*. It is 8 distinctly, then 7, 6a obscurely, 5. In it 6 is altered to 6a.

6. *Beyâty 'ajemy*. It is 8 somewhat distinctly, 9b very distinctly, 9, then 8 and 7 distinctly, 9b, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5. In it 10 is altered to 9b, and the voice does not rise above 9b.

7. *Beyâty-nawa*. It is 8 distinctly, then 8a lightly touched, then 8, 7 distinctly, 8, 8b, 8, 7, 6 distinctly, 9b, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5. In it 9b is substituted for 10; but 9 remains, except that 8a is glanced at in the beginning.

8. *Beyâty-ḥuseiny*. It is 9 distinctly, then 9a lightly touched, then 9, 8 distinctly, 7, 6 distinctly, 8, 9, then descends note by note to 5. In this, nothing above 10 is used, and 9b is used in the place of 10. The Syrians, in our day, know this as *beyâty*, but the Egyptians call it *neirîz*. The true *neirîz*, however, is something else, as will soon appear.

9. *Shûry-beyâty*. It is 8 distinctly, then 11, 10a, 8c, 8 distinctly, 7, 6a distinctly, 8, 8b, 8, then descends note by note distinctly to 4, then 9b, then descends note by note to 5. It is composed of two melodies, viz., *ḥejâz* at the beginning, keyed on 8, whence the necessity of substituting 8b and 10a for 9 and 10; and *beyâty-ḥuseiny* at the

end, in which 8b is dropped and 9 used, and 10a is dropped and 9b used; so that only 10 is altered throughout, 10a being used for it in the first place, and then 9b.

10. *Zûry-beyâty.* It is 8 distinctly, 12, 11, 9b, 9, 8, then 7, 6a distinctly, 9b, then descends note by note to 5. In it 9b is substituted for 10; but 6 is not altered throughout, only at first 6a is used for it, and then at last 6a is dropped and 6 is used.

11. *Zeirakend.* In it you are to treat 8 as 5, by using 8b and 9b instead of 9 and 10, and perform upon it the tune *ṣŭba*, then 7, 6, 9b, 8b, and then descend note by note to 5. Thus the masters have described it. But my view is, that you are to perform *ṣŭba* on 5, and then descend note by note from 7 to 2. For thus the same intervals are preserved, and the extreme awkwardness of their directions, as well as the inconvenience of using quarters, is avoided. In reference to this tune, it is to be observed, that it is the very tune now known in Syria, as the *ẓŭrfakend;* while the real *ẓŭrfakend* is another thing, as will appear in its place.

12. *Ḥuseiny.* It is 9, 7, 8, 9 distinctly, then 11 and 10 each obscurely, then 8 distinctly with 7b, then 8, 9, 11, then descends note by note to 5. The quarter 7b is not used throughout, but only when the performer is coming down to it, intending again to ascend from it. When he intends to go below it, whether to reach the key note and end the tune, or to ascend again before reaching the key note, and also in ascending from below to above it, it is passed by and 7 is used. N. B. When we subjoin to any note or quarter the word "distinctly," and say "descend note by note" to a given note, our meaning is, that only the regular notes, and not the quarters, shall be struck.

13. *Ḥuseinik.* It is 9, 8b, 8 obscurely, 7, 6, 5.

14. *Bûselik*, generally known as *'Ashshaḳ.* It is 9, 8, 7, 6a, 5. In it 6a is substituted for 6.

15. *Ḥiṣâr-bûselik.* It is 9 and 8b repeated, then 12, 11b, 10, 9, 8b, 7, 6a, 5. Thus this tune is highly irregular, for in it three notes, viz., 6, 8 and 11 are altered, and the quarters 6a, 8b and 11b are used in their places. I have known some musicians transpose it to 3, in order to avoid this irregularity; in which case they raise 4 a quarter to 4a, and

lower 5 a quarter to 4c, thus preserving the same intervals, and making 3 the key note.

16. *Hiṣâr.* It is like the preceding, except that 6 is retained, and 6a not used.

17. *Shahnâz.* It is 12 with 11b repeated, then 10, 12, 11b, 9, 8, 10, 9, then the tune *ḥejâz* to its end on 5. In it 7b and 11b are used for 7 and 11.

18. *Shahnâz-bûselik.* It is the tune *shahnâz* entire, then 8, 7, 6a, 5. Hence it appears that the proper *shahnâz* has with it the tune *ḥejâz*, and this has not, but has instead of it *bûselik.* Therefore in this, 6 is altered, and in that 7, and in both 11.

19. *Kurdy-ḥuseiny.* It is the tune *ḥuseiny*, except that 5b is used in it for 6, and it descends to 5 with 4.

20. *Zŭrfakend.* It is 11 and 10 repeated, then 11 to 8 distinctly, then 11, then 8 and 9 obscurely, then 10 distinctly, then 11, 10, 9, 8 distinctly, then 9b obscurely, then descends note by note to 6, then 5, 4, 11 with 12 glanced at, then descends note by note to 5. In it no note is dispensed with, but only in some of the movements 9b is glanced at, if the beginning of the descent be from it, and not from above it. N. B. This tune and the one which follows, and also some others, the masters in Egypt do not, in our day, distinguish from the tune *ḥuseiny;* and that, because of their want of a thorough acquaintance with the science. For their principal aim being to give such point to the words, and expression to the music, as shall provoke their hearers to low mirth, and a departure from the rules of good manners, they care little to ground themselves in the principles of the science, and its details.

21. *Nejdy-ḥuseiny.* It is 11 distinctly, then descends note by note to 7, then 8, 9, then 9b glanced at, and descends note by note to 6, then 7, 11, then descends note by note to 5. In this also 9b is only glanced at, when it is the highest point from which you descend.

22. *Ṣŭba-ḥuseiny.* In it put 9 in the place of 5, and perform on it the tune *ṣŭba*, then descend to 8, 7, and finish with *ṣŭba* proper on 5.

23. *Shurûḳy.* It is 9 distinctly, then 11 and 10 obscurely, 9 distinctly, 8, 7b, 5, then end with the tune *ṣŭba.* In

the beginning, and when descending from above, it will be perceived that 7b is used for 7, then in the end it is dropped and 7 is used.

24. *'Arûb.* It is the tune *ḥejâz* entire, then descends to 2, then returns to 5. In it 7b is used for 7.

25. *Ḥejâz.* It is 8 distinctly, then 7b, then 6, 5. In it, as in the preceding, 7b is used for 7. But in our day *ḥejâz* is commonly performed like the tune *'araba*, and in most cases its performers ascend to 10, and even higher.

26. *'Araba.* It is 8 distinctly with 7a repeated, then 9 distinctly, then 8, 7a distinctly, 6, 5. In it 7a is used for 7.

27. *Iṣfahân ḥejâzy.* It is 8 distinctly, then 7b, both repeated, then 9, 8, 7b, 6, 9, 8, 7b, 6, 5. In this also 7b is used for 7.

28. *Shâwerk.* It is 8 distinctly, then 9, 8, 7a, 6a, 5. Thus the masters have described it; but it would be better to treat it as one of the tunes that are keyed on 8, and then there would be no need of using quarters, as may be seen by a comparison of the intervals.

29. *Ma-renna of the Greeks.* It is the tune *shahnâz* above described; then in descending to the key note, the tune *ṣŭba* is used, instead of *ḥejâz* with which *shahnâz* concludes. So that in this only 11 is altered, 11b being used in its place.

30. *'Arazbây.* It is 11 distinctly, then 9b, 9, 11, 9b, 9, 8, 7, 9b, 9, 8 to 5. In it 9b is used for 10.

31. *Rendîn.* It is 11, 10a, 8c, 8, 7, then *beyâty* to 5. Thus it stands described, and consequently 10a, and 8c are used for 10 and 9. But it would be better to treat it as one of the branches of *'ösheirân*, and then only one quarter would be used, viz. 7c for 7.

32. *Neiriz.* It is 9b distinctly, 11, 12, 11, 9b, 9, 8, 7, 5b, 5. But if, after this, you descend to 2 and stop, it is called *'ajem-'ösheirân.* In it 9b is used for 10, and 5b for 6.

33. *Bâba-ṭâhir.* It is 12, 13 glanced at, 12, 11, 10, 11, 10, 9, 8, 9, 8, 7, 6, 7, 6, 5, 4, then *'arazbây.* In it no note is altered; only on taking up *'arazbây*, 9b is used.

34. *Muḥaiyar.* Take 12 for 5, and perform upon it the tune *ṣŭba;* then descend to 9, and perform *ṣŭba* upon it also, and then descend to 5, and in like manner perform *ṣŭba* upon it.

35. *Muḳâbil-muḥaiyar.* It is 12, then descends note by note to 8, then *beyâty-nawa* to 5. In it, at the end only 8b is lightly touched, by reason of its closing with *beyâty.*

36. *'Abkary.* It is 4, 6, then 5a to 4, then closes with the tune *ḥejâz* to 5. In it 5a is at first used for 5; and then in closing with *ḥejâz*, 5a is abandoned and 5 ends it as the key note, while 7b is used for 7.

37. *Ghuzzâl.* In it, perform *ḥejâz*, then strike 4, 3a, 1c, 1, then return to 5. The explanation of the tune is, that it is [in the beginning] *ḥejâz* on 5, then it descends with the movement of *ḥejâz* on 1, and then returns and stops on 5. So it would be were you to perform *ḥejâz* on 9, and then descend with the movement of *ḥejâz* on 5, and return and stop on 9.

38. *Zergelâh.* It is one of the tunes which are keyed on quarters; all of which, inasmuch as they are but few, it has seemed best to class under the nearest note, in order to avoid the necessity of distinct sections. It is 5, 4b repeated, 6a, 7b, 8, 7b, 6a, 7 distinctly, 6a, 5, and stop on 4b.

39. *Esky zergelâh.* It is 5, 4b, 3, 4b, 5, then closes with *ḥejâz.* In it, at the beginning, 4b is used for 4, and in the end 7b is used for 7.

40. *'Ajem Bûselîk.* It is the tune *'ajem*, then 9, and then the tune *bûselik* on 5.

41. *Kara Dûgâh.* It is *ṣûba* to 5, then 4b, 3, 5. In it 4b is used for 4.

§ 6. *Melodies keyed on Sîgâh.*

1. *Sîgâh.* It is 6, 4, 6, 8 distinctly, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6. In it no quarters are used. But the Egyptian masters use 8b for 9.

2. *Muśta'âr.* It is 9 distinctly, 8, 7b, 10 distinctly, 9a, 9, 8, 7b, 6; and does not descend to 4. In it, 7b is used for 7. But 9a is used only in descending to the key note after leaving 10; and that, as if it were the beginning of the movement. For it will not answer to follow 10 with 9a, or 9b, and then the two with 9, inasmuch as a succession of three notes at unequal distances in the space of two tones, is opposed to the nature of the human voice, as was explained in chap. 1, § 1.

3. *Hazâm.* It is 8 distinctly, 8b, 8, 7b, 11, 10a, 8b, 8, 7, 6. In it 8b and 10a are used for 9 and 10; but 7b is used only at the opening, and then 7 takes its place.

4. *Hadhâm.* It is 8 distinctly, 7b, 8, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 6. In it 7b is used at the beginning, and afterwards abandoned.

5. *Màyâh.* It has the composition of *beyâty nawa* to 5, then to 6.

6. *Selemek.* It is 8 distinctly, then 8a, 8, 7, 8a, 8, 7, 6. In it 8a is used for 9.

7. *Hiṣâr Sîgâh.* It is 10 distinctly, 9a, 10, 11, 12a, 13, 14a, 13, 12a, 11, 10, then descends note by note to 6. In it, there are many substitutions, in consequence of the use of quarters, some of which are abandoned after being used. Among them, 12a and 14a are used for 12 and 14. But 9a is used only at the beginning for 9, and then 9 takes its place. Were 9a not used, it would have been better to say, that this melody begins with *ḥejâz* transposed to 8, and ends with *sîgâh* on 6, as you will see by comparing the intervals.

8. *Bestnîkâr.* It is 10, 11, 10, 9, 8 distinctly, 11, then descends note by note to 6. In it no note is altered. The difference between it and *sîgâh*, is in the execution only; for *sîgâh* begins with 6 and 4, and this with 8 and 11.

9. *Nejdy-sîgâh.* It is 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 9, 8, 9, 10, 11, then descends note by note to 6. This tune also differs from *sîgâh* only in the performance.

10. *'Ajem Sîgâh.* It is the same as *'ajem*, only stopping at 6.

11. *Buzrek*, called also *ṣŭlât Allah.* It is 13, 11, 12b, 13, then descends note by note to 6.

12. *'Arâḳ Penjgâh.* It is 8 distinctly, 8c, 9b, 8c, 8, 11, 8c, 11, 9b, 8c, 8, 7, 6. Thus it stands described, and according to the description 8c and 9b are used for 9 and 10. But the right way would have been to class it among the tunes keyed on 3, and then no quarters would have been used.

§ 7. *Melodies keyed on Jehârgâh.*

1. *Jehârgâh.* It is 7, 8, 7, 11, 9b, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 11, 9b, 9 to 7. In it 9b is used for 10.

2. *Zunguleh.* It is 7, 8, 7, 6 distinctly, 7, 11, 9b, 9, 8, 7. It differs from the preceding only in the execution.

3. *Mâhûrân.* It is 14, then descends to 11, then 9b, 9, 8, 7. In it 9b is used for 10.

§ 8. *Melodies keyed on Nawa.*

1. *Nawa.* It is 8, 9, 9b, 9, then descends note by note to 5, and stops; though some stop on 8. In it 9b is used for 10.

2. *Nahâwend.* It is 8, 12, 9b, 9, 8, 7 and 8 repeated, 7, 5b, 4, 8. In it two notes, viz., 11 and 5 are lost entirely; and two, viz., 10 and 6 are altered to 9b and 5b. Thus the masters have described it.

3. *Nahâwend es-ṣŭghir.* It is 8, 11, 9b, 9, 8, 7b. Thus it stands described; but some musicians perform it on 3, or 10, without using quarters.

4. *Rahâwy.* It is 8, 9, 8 and 9b repeated, 9, 8, 9b, 8. Some perform it on 6, with 7a and 5a, thus preserving the same intervals.

5. *Nishâpôr.* It is 8, 9, 10 distinctly, 11, 9b, 9, 8, 7b, 6a, 8. In it 6 and 7 are altered to 6a and 7b; but 9 is used for 10 only in coming down from 11. It would have been more correct to class it with the melodies keyed on 4; and then there would have been no need of quarters, except in coming down from 7 to 4, when 5b would have been used for 6.

§ 9. *Melody on Huseiny.*

Huseiny of the Egyptians. It is 11, 10 repeated three times, then finish *ṣŭba* on 9, then ascend to 11, and descend note by note to 7, then ascend to 9, and descend note by note to 4, and stop on 5, then ascend to 11, and perform *ṣŭba* on 9, and stop on it; though some return to 5, and stop on that.

§ 10. *Melodies keyed on Auj.*

1. *Auj.* It is 10, 9 distinctly, 7b with 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 glanced at with 12, 11, 10, then descends note by note

to 3. In it no note is dispensed with; but the use of 7b is only when the movement is from 8 and upwards; in going down with the aim of reaching the key note, it is 7, and not 7b, that is used.

2. *Pehlawân.* It is 10, 9, 8, 7b, and stops on 6a, then returns to 10.

3. *Auj Dârah.* It is *'auj* entire, then 11a, 10, 9a, 8, 7, 6, 5a, 4, 3, then returns to 10.

4. *Auj Hiṣâry.* It is the tune *auj* as above; then descends to 8, then *shed-'arabân* distinctly, then 7, 5b, 3.

5. *Auj Khurâsân.* It is first the tune *auj*, then *hejâz*, and stops on 5.

6. *'Ajem.* It is exactly the tune *neirîz*, then returns and stops on 9b. It is mentioned here because 9b is a portion of the tune *auj.*

§ 11. *Melodies keyed on Mâhûr.*

1. *Mâhûr.* It is 11, 10, 9, 8, 9, 8, 7, 6a, 5, 4, 6, 11 to 4.

2. *Kârdâny 'Araby.* It is *mâhûr* without 6a, then 11, then the tune *beyâty.*

3. *Remel-tûty.* Begins with 15, then the tune *remel*, stopping on 11.

CHAPTER III.

ON MUSICAL RHYTHM.

§ 1. *General Remarks.*

HAVING treated of the construction of melodies, we come now to speak of their rhythm. Melodies are sometimes *fixed*; i. e. have their parts set to certain rhythmical movements, so that when the key note is reached, the whole is repeated without change. They are then sung to words of measured syllables, arranged in a succession of rhythmical

measures, corresponding to their own rhythm, and called odes. In other cases, melodies are *free;* i. e. the movement of their parts is optional, and set to no rhythmical measure. Such may be sung, either to words having the rhythmical measure of poetry, or to unmeasured words, like a verse of the Koran. In singing to either, the performer may follow his taste to the extent of his genius, adapting any, or all, of the known melodies, to the same words. And even when he begins with one melody, he may pass to another, as a play of his art; provided he always returns to the key note of the first, at the end. This, when one person is performing alone.

The movements of the fixed melodies are regulated by certain rhythmical laws, invented to guide a company of musicians, so that, by not anticipating or falling behind each other, they may perform as if they were but one individual. These laws are composed with the aid of terms borrowed from the technicalities of versification; especially the *light sebab* and *heavy sebab,* represented by *dum* and *teka*, which, repeated and arranged in different orders, compose certain expressions like the feet of poetic metres, and serve to measure the different rhythms, while they also have names that distinguish one rhythm from another. When one wishes to set a tune to an ode, he selects the melody, and then fixes its movements to some one of the rhythmical measures which suits it. But the ability to set melodies to particular odes, can be arrived at by no knowledge of the rules of the art, any more than a knowledge of the rules of versification can enable a man to write poetry. Native genius is necessary to success in either.

[Thus far Meshâḳah. The remainder of the chapter is taken chiefly from the anonymous manuscript of Professor Salisbury, mentioned in the introduction. In that, terms borrowed from the technicalities of versification, alluded to above, are largely introduced; and some explanation of such as occur, may therefore not be out of place.

The "*light sebab*" is the smallest portion of a poetic foot in Arabic, and is a compound syllable, i. e. consists of two consonants with a vowel between them, as *dum*, or *tan.* A "*heavy sebab*" is two simple syllables, i. e. it consists of

two consonants with a vowel after each, as *teka*, or *tana*. A syllable *beginning* with a vowel, the language does not admit of. The "*collected watad*" consists of three consonants, with vowels after the first two, as *tanan*. The "*fâṣileh*" consists of four consonants, with vowels after the first three, as *tananan*.

From the above, as elements, poetic feet are composed. The feet are not called by particular names, such as iambus or spondee; but are represented by artificial words, which in their own composition actually contain the measure of the foot in question. These words are all formed from the root *fa'al*, the same root from which are derived the names of the conjugations of the verb in Hebrew grammar. In Arabic, this root not only furnishes the model for the conjugation of the verb in all its forms with their numerous derivations, but is also used in prosody to exemplify and give name to all the feet; and here too we meet it in music, measuring out the different kinds of rhythm. Thus, *mufâ'ilum* is a foot composed of two *collected watads*, and equivalent to *tanan tanan*. Our prosodists would call it a double iambus, and represent it thus $\smile - \smile -$. In our system of music, it would be represented by four notes, of which the second and fourth would be double the first and third respectively.

The reader will understand that, in writing Arabic words with English letters, the apostrophe (') stands for the Arabic consonant *'ain;* and the circumflex accent (^) for a letter, which in prosody is equivalent to a consonant, and follows the vowel over which the accent stands.—E. S.]

§ 2. *Development of the Laws of Rhythm.*

[From the anonymous MS.]

Rhythm is a collection of beats,* separated by times of definite length, according to certain proportions and places, and appropriated to equal strains, whose equality is judged of by a correct and delicate taste. Two simple syllables can be pronounced only by two beats of the tongue, as *tana*,

[* By a *beat* is meant, according to Fârâby, the beginning of a note, which is supposed to be formed by striking the string of a musical instrument.—E. S.]

between which there may be a longer or shorter time. A succession of such syllables may be pronounced with the times between the beats *equal* or *unequal*. If the *equal* times are repeated indefinitely, there can be perceived no recurrence of strains. But in order to this, there must be between each group of beats, a longer time. And then, if one of these groups, or strains exceeds another, though it be by only one beat, there is perceived in it a departure from the regularity of the measure, and the taste rejects it.

A group of beats between which the times are *equal*, is called a *connected rhythm;* a group between whose beats the times are *unequal*, is called a *divided rhythm*. The *connected rhythm*, when the time between the beats is the *shortest* appreciable, so short as not to be divisible into two beats, is called by Fârâby, the *quick hezaj*. This time corresponds to that which intervenes between the beats made in pronouncing two simple syllables, (Ar. *heavy sebab*,) as *tánà*, and may be represented by the letter *a*. If the time between the beats be *double* that of *a*, the same master calls the rhythm the *light hezaj*. This time corresponds to that which intervenes between compound syllables, (Ar. *light sebab*,) pronounced consecutively, as *tán tán tán*, and may be represented by the letter *b*. If the time be *triple* that of *a*, he calls the rhythm the *light heavy hezaj*. It is, as if, in pronouncing a simple and compound syllable together, (Ar. *collected watad*,) and repeating the same consecutively, you were to make a beat only at the simple syllables, as *tánan tánan*, or *máfâ'ilun*. This time may be represented by the letter *c*. If the time be *quadruple* that of *a*, he calls it the *heavy hezaj*. It is as if, in pronouncing two simple syllables together with a compound one, (Ar. *fâṣileh*,) and repeating the same consecutively, you should make a beat only at the first at the two simple syllables, as *tátanan tátanan*, or *fá'ilun fá'ilun*. This time may be represented by the letter *d*. Further than this, you may go on separating the beats by as long times as you choose, and call them by any names that please you.—So much respecting the *connected rhythm*.

We come now to the *divided rhythm*, which also includes several subdivisions. In one, every *two* beats are followed by a longer time; and this is called the *first divided*. In

another every *three* beats are followed by a longer time; and this is called the *second divided.* In a third every *four* beats are followed by a longer time; and this is called the *third divided.* The longer time in each case, is called a *divider,* (Ar. *fâṣileh.*)

The *first divided,* if the time between the two consecutive beats, be of the length *a,* is called the *quick first divided.* If the time be of the length *b,* it is called the *light first divided.* If it be of the length *c,* it is called the *light heavy first divided.* If it be of the length *d,* it is called the *heavy first divided.* The *divider* in each case must exceed the time between the consecutive beats. It may exceed it by a part, or parts, or the whole, or more. It is most appropriate, however, that in the *quick,* it be double; in the *light,* one and a half; in the *light heavy,* one and a third; and in the *heavy,* one and a quarter. The last is the longest of the dividers, and its time is equal to five of *a.*

The *second divided* may have its two times *equal,* in which case it is called the *equal triple;* or *unequal,* and then it is called the *unequal triple.* The *equal triple* has the same subdivisions as the *divided rhythm,* mentioned above. [Of the *first equal triple* the kinds in use are the *light* and the *light heavy;* and they are now called the *light remel.* Of the *second equal triple,* the Arabs call the *quick* and the *light,* the *light first heavy;* and the *light heavy* and the *heavy,* the *first heavy.*—Fârâby.] The *unequal triple* may have the shorter of the two times first, or the reverse. [The former is called the *unequal triple,* or *second heavy.*—Fârâby.] In either case, if the shorter be of the time *a,* then the longer is either double, or triple, or quadruple of *a.* If the longer be double of *a,* the *divider* must be triple of the same; if it be triple of *a,* the *divider* must be quadruple of it; and if it be quadruple, the *divider* must be quintuple. If the shorter be double of *a,* the longer will be triple of the same. If the shorter be triple of *a,* the longer will be quadruple of it, &c. If the shorter precede the longer, and is of the time *a,* it is called the *quick unequal triple.* If it be double of *a,* it is called the *light unequal triple.* If it be triple of *a,* it is called the *light heavy unequal triple.* If it be quadruple of *a,* it is called the *heavy unequal triple.*

Of the above *unequal triple*, the kinds in use are the *light* and the *light heavy*. The *heavy* and the *quick* are but little used. The Arabs call the *heavy*, the *second heavy*. The *quick* and the *light* are sometimes called the *mâkhûry;* and sometimes the *light second heavy*. If the longer time precedes the shorter, its three varieties are called [the *unequal triple* or] *remel;* [and all the three varieties are in use.—Fârâby.] So much may suffice respecting rhythm in general.*

§ 3. *Descriptions of the specific Rhythms used by the ancient Arabs.*

[From the same author as the preceding.]†

We now come to the rhythms of particular strains, in current use among those who practice this art.†

1. By the *first heavy* is meant, in our day, a collection of beats at unequal distances, embraced in a strain equal in length to *sixteen* beats, with the time *a* between each.

It may be expressed by *two watads*, a *fâṣileh*, a *light sebab*, and a *fâṣileh*, which will be in feet thus:

mufâ'ilun fa'ilun mufta'ilun.

Then you may give to each vowel a beat, thus:

/ / / / / / / / / / / /
mufâ'ilun fa'ilun mufta'ilun,

and the times between the beats will be:

a b a b a a b b a a b

the last time *b*, being between the last beat in this strain, and the first in the next, in case of repetition.

[* Fârâby goes on to treat of the *equal quadruple*, and the *unequal quadruple;* and adds, that of all the varieties beyond these, none are used by the Arabs.—E. S.]

[† Fârâby's enumeration of them is as follows: *hezaj, light remel; heavy remel, second heavy, light second heavy, first heavy*, and *light first heavy*. These seven, he says, are all the rhythms current among the Arabs, and he explains their formation out of the general rhythms described above. The difference between him, and the author I am following, is, that one mentions only a *light heavy* in general, and the other specifies a *light second heavy*, and a *light first heavy*. I find that Ispahâny in his *kitâb el-aghâny*, mentions all the three, viz., the *light heavy*, the *light first heavy*, and *light second heavy*. All the other rhythms he mentions also, and adds a *remel ṭambûry*.—E. S.]

Or, you may suppress six of the beats, and retain only five; thus,

/ / / / /
mufâ'ilun fa'ilun mufta'ilun,

and then the times will be:

c c d b d

Two of these strains may also be regarded as one, so that each strain may consist of halves, with a *divider* between them; thus:

/ /// /// /// //// //// /// /// ////
mufâ'ilun fa'ilun mufta'ilun | mufâ'ilun fa'ilun mufta'ilun
• a b a b a a b b a a b | a b a b a a b b a a b

2. By the *second heavy* is meant, in our day, a strain half as long as that of the *first heavy*. It may be represented by the foot

mufâ'ilâtun.

Giving every vowel a beat, the beats will be as follows:

/ / / / / /
mufâ'ilâtun,

and the times:

a b a b b.

Or, you may suppress the second and fourth beats; thus:

/ / /
mufâ'ilâtun,

and the times will then be:

c c b

3. The *light heavy* is a strain half as long as that of the *second heavy*. It may be represented by the foot

fa'ilun.

Giving a beat to every vowel, the beats will be as follows:

/ / /
fa'ilun

and the times will be:

a a b

4. Of the *remel* every bar is of the length of *twelve* beats, with the time *a* between each. But the second, sixth, eighth and twelfth are suppressed, and thus each bar is made

to consist of eight beats. It may be represented by the feet

/ / / / / / /
mufta'ilâtun fa'ilun,

and the times will be:

b a a b b a a b.

Or, you may suppress four of these beats and leave only four; thus:

/ / / /
mufta'ilâtun fa'ilun

and the times will be:

b d b d

Some represent this rhythm by the foot *fa'ilâtun* repeated; thus:

/ / / / / / / /
fa'ilâtun fa'ilâtun
a a b b a a b b

5. Inasmuch as *mufta'ilun* repeated is the same as *mufta'ilâtûn fa'ilun*, the former has been taken to represent the *remel*. And then, a strain of *remel* being divided into two equal parts, the half has been considered a strain, and called the *light remel;* thus:

/ / / /
mufta'ilun
b a a b

Moreover, since the masters who practise this art, consider it necessary that a strain should be divisible into halves, like a verse of poetry, they have come to regard two strains of the *remel* as one; and so of the *light remel.*

6. The *hezaj* is represented by a succession of *watads*, every two *watads* being considered a strain; thus:

/ / / /
tanan tanan
a b a b

The Persians have very many melodies, of the *double remel*, of which every bar is of the length of twenty-four beats with the time *a* between them. The master can form an idea of them by conceiving each strain to consist of two beats upon some other than a stringed instrument, one of them being the first, and the other the nineteenth. And if he

wishes to reduce this idea to practice, he may pronounce a *fâṣileh* and a *sebab* four times in each bar, giving a beat to the first vowel of the first and of the fourth *fâṣileh*. He will then find between these two vowels the space of seventeen [eighteen ?] beats, and between the last of the two and the first vowel in the next strain, the space of five [six ?] beats; thus:

fa'ilâtun fa'ilâtun fa'ilâtun fa'ilâtun
a a b b a a b b a a b b a a b b

The Persians have also many varieties not current among the Arabs, the most common of which is one called *fâkhity*. The length of its strain is twenty beats, with the time *a* between them. It may be represented by twice pronouncing a *light sebab* and two *fâṣilehs*, and giving a beat to the first vowel in each *sebab* and *fâṣileh;* thus:

mufta'ilun fa'ilun mufta'ilun fa'ilun
b d d b d d

Sometimes this rhythm is varied by adding another *fâṣileh*, so as to pronounce three successively; thus:

mufta'ilun fa'ilun fa'ilun mufta'ilun fa'ilun fa'ilun
b d d d b d d d

A single melody may be made to embrace all these different strains, if the composer is acquainted with the ratio one strain bears to another. For example, if he wishes to compose a tune of two rhythms, one the *double remel*, and the other the *second* [*first?*] *heavy*, he must set three bars of the latter against two of the former. For the *double remel* being of the length of twenty-four beats, and the *second* [*first?*] *heavy* of sixteen beats, three of the latter are equal to two of the former. In other words, the ratio between them, is that of 2 to 3, or $1\frac{1}{3}$.

This example may help the composer in any case to unite several varieties of strains in one tune, if he is acquainted with the ratios the strains bear to each other. These are as

follows:—The ratio of the *first heavy* to the *double remel* is $1\frac{1}{3}$; to the *second heavy* 2; to the *remel* $2\frac{2}{3}$; to the *light heavy* $5\frac{1}{3}$; to the *fâkhity* $1\frac{1}{5}$; to the *increased fâkhity* $1\frac{1}{7}$. The ratio of the *double remel* to the *second heavy* is $1\frac{1}{2}$; to the *light heavy* 3; to the *fâkhity* $1\frac{1}{5}$. The ratio of the *increased fâkhity* to the *double remel* is $1\frac{1}{6}$; to the *fâkhity* $1\frac{2}{5}$; to the *second heavy* $1\frac{3}{4}$; to the *light heavy* $3\frac{1}{2}$.* In this manner an estimate may be made of the ratio of each strain to every other, which is omitted here, on account of the almost infinite variety of proportion.

In all, keep in mind *two* things. One is, that the standard measure of every bar is the *quick hezaj*, the times between the beats of which are all of the length *a*. The other is, that a bar is never to be *single*, for then there can be no halves. All must go by *pairs*.

CHAPTER IV.

ON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

§ 1. *Description of the ancient 'Ud.*

[Taken chiefly from the anonymous MS.]

THE most common and perfect of our musical instruments, is the *'ûd*, (Ar. guitar.) It has *five* strings, of which the bass (Ar. the highest,) is called *bem*, and the others in order are called *mithlath*, *methna*, *zîr* and *ḥâdd*. Their arrangement is such, that the entire of one string is equal to three fourths of the one below (Ar. above) it; [and between the entire of one string and the entire of the next, is an interval of a *fourth*.—Fârâby.] Thus two complete octaves are embraced between the *entire* of the *bem*, and the *binṣir* of the *ḥâdd*, the middle note being at the first ninth, [the *sebâbeh*,] of the *methna*.

[* In this paragraph there appear to be many mistakes in the manuscript, which I have not attempted to correct.—E. S:]

Moreover, *bands* are tied around the neck of the *'ûd*, at certain points, which serve to mark where the strings are to be pressed by the fingers, in order to produce particular notes. The custom is to have *seven;* and they are tied at the extremities of the *great third, direct* and *reversed*, the sharpest being at the extremity of the first quarter, in each string. [See Fig. 1.]

Let the figure A B C D represent the five strings of the *'ûd*, A D being the head, and B C the bridge. Take one ninth of A B from A and tie the band 4; and the note of A, or the entire string will be $1\frac{1}{8}$ of the note of 4. Then take one ninth of 4B, and tie the band 7; and the note of 4 will be $1\frac{1}{8}$ of the note of 7. Then take one fourth of A B, and tie the band 8; and the note of 8 will be the fraction of a tone that belongs to the *great third.* Hence these three bands will be at the extremities of the *great third, direct.* [Or, inasmuch as between A and 8 there is an interval of a *fourth*, and between A and 4, and 4 and 7, respectively, there is a whole tone, there will be between 7 and 8, a fraction of a tone, (Ar. a remnant.) Hence it appears that these bands are tied at the extremities of the *great third*, (Ar. *dhu el-muddetein el-kawy*, strong ditone.)—Fârâby.] The band at 4 is called the band of the *sebâbeh*, (Ar. fore finger,) that at 7, the band of the *binṣir*, (Ar. ring finger,) and that at 8, the band of the *khinṣir*, (Ar. little finger.)

For the bands of the *great third, reversed*, divide B8 into eight parts, add to it one part from 8A, and tie the band 5; and the note of 5 will be $1\frac{1}{8}$ of the note of 8. Then divide B5 into eight parts, add to it one part from 5A, and tie the band 2; and the note of 2 will be $1\frac{1}{8}$ of the note of 5. The band at 5 is called the *old wasṭa*, (Ar. middle finger,) and the band at 2 is called the *zâid.* The notes of A, 2, 5, and 8, will be the order of the *great third, reversed*, called the *sharper second doubled.*

Then take three fourths of B2, and mark the point X, add to it one eighth of itself, and tie the band 6, called the *wasṭa of zelzel;* and the note of 6 will be $1\frac{1}{8}$ of the note X.*

[* There seems to be some error of the manuscript in this direction. Fârâby directs to tie the band of *wasṭa zelzel* half way between the *binṣir* and the *Persian wasṭa*, soon to be mentioned.—E. S.]

Then divide B6 into eight parts, add to it one part from 6A, and tie the band 3, which is called the *mujennab*.

These are the seven bands, that are tied upon the neck of the *'ûd*.—Most frequently the band 3 is tied half way between 2 and 4; and sometimes half way between A and 6. But in all the three cases, it is called the *mujennab*. Sometimes a band is tied half way between the *sebâbeh* and the *khinṣir*, which is called the *Persian wasṭa*. This is much used in our day, and the *zelzel* and *zâid* are but little used. [Fârâby directs to tie the *Persian wasṭa* half way between the *sebâbeh* and the *binṣir*;* and he adds that the *wasṭa* which occurs in reversing the *great third*, (i. e. *the old wasṭa*,) was used in his day, not as the *wasṭa*, but as the *mujennab of the wasṭa*, while one of the other two was used as the *wasṭa*.—E. S.]

Fârâby, [says our anonymous author,] has in his book a table of the numbers of these bands, which we insert here, adding the names of the proportions, for the sake of elucidation.

The entire string, ...	20,936
The mujennab of the sebâbeh for the reversed great third,	19,683
" " for the halving of the first tone,	19,584
" " for the Persian wasṭa, .	19,072
" " for the wasṭa of zelzel, .	18,816
The sebâbeh, ...	18,432
The mujennab of the wasṭa, [old wasṭa] . .	17,436
The Persian wasṭa, ...	17,408
The wasṭa of zelzel, ...	16,896
The binṣir, ...	16,384
The khinṣir, ...	15,552

[The *'ûd*, thus tuned, is made the basis of the musical scale of our anonymous author, and also of 'Abd el-Ḳâdir, a Turkish writer referred to by Kosegarten in his introduction to the *kitâb el-aghâny*. Each note is expressed by the number it bears in the diagram, (Fig. 1,) from 1 to 35, being two octaves.

The *original 'ûd* had but four strings, and these, in the

[* The disagreement is probably owing to an error in one of the manuscripts. The reading in Fârâby accords best with the proportions given in the subsequent table, as it brings the *Persian* and the *old wasṭa* very near together.—E. S.]

time of Ispahâny, appear to have been marked by only four bands, called the *sebâbeh*, *wasṭa*, *binṣir*, and *khinṣir*, being the names of the four fingers. After the same fingers also the *strings* seem, in his day, to have been named, the word *mejra* (Ar. course) being prefixed; and his only method of naming a note, is to mention the string and band, where it is formed,—which method of distinguishing the notes by the fingers, he says, was first introduced by Isḥâk ibn Ibrahîm, of Mosul, who died A. H. 235. For example, in connection with almost every ode, Ispahâny names the tune to which it was sung, mentioning for this purpose, the rhythm of the tune, and what I suppose to be its key note, after the following manner,—e. g. 'its tune is the *light remel*, with the *sebâbeh*, on the *mejra* of the *binṣir*'; which reminds one of the captions of some of the Psalms,—e. g. "To the chief musician, with *neginoth*, upon the *sheminith*." See Ps. vi.

Fârâby expresses the *fifteen* notes of two successive octaves, by certain Arabic letters, which Kosegarten regards as corresponding to the letters used in the European musical scale; thus:

ا ح د ه ر ح ط ي ك ل م ن س ع ف

A H c d e f g a h c̄ d̄ ē f̄ ḡ ā

His division of the scale is such, that he finds and treats of the following intervals, viz., *quarter tone*, *minor semitone*, *major semitone*, *whole tone*, *ditone*, *fourth*, *fifth*, *octave*, *eleventh*, *twelfth*, and *double octave*.—E. S.]

§ 2. *Description of different Modern Instruments.*

The variety of musical instruments is so great, [says Meshâḳah,] that we shall select only a portion of them, taking those which are the most important. They are of *two classes*. One embraces such as belong simply to the

department of rhythm, i. e. the measurement of time: as the drum, tambourine, &c. The other includes such as belong to melody. It is of the latter only that we design to speak. They are of *two* kinds; viz., *stringed* and *wind instruments.*

1. Among the *stringed* instruments, is the *'ûd.* It has *seven* strings, each of which is double, to increase the strength of the sound; only four of the seven, however, are much used. The first string on the left of the *'ûd,* is tuned to the *base to jehârgâh;* the second is tuned to *rest;* the third to *nawa;* the fourth to *dûgâh;* the fifth to *'ösheirân;* the sixth to *bûselîk;* and the seventh to *nehuft.* Thus each string is fourteen quarters * above the string on its right, or the base of that string; and the interval between the pairs of strings is of three tones or not, according to the occurrence of the greater or smaller interval.

Moreover there is a *mark* made across the lower part of the neck of the *'ûd,* under the strings, at the distance of one third from the head to the bridge. Its use is, that if you press upon any string over this mark, and then strike the string, the sound may be the same with that of the entire string next above, or with the response to that string. For if you take *two thirds* of the string of a musical instrument and strike it, the sound will be about fourteen quarters higher than the sound from the whole; and from the *half,* the sound will be the response to the sound from the whole. E. g. if the length of a string consists of 3,456 parts, then will the half, viz. 1,728 be the length occupied by the first octave, and 1,148 the length occupied by the fifth, which is about a third of the whole, being only $\frac{1}{288}$th less than a third. The following table shows the length occupied by every interval, and every quarter, of the first octave. For the second octave, the distances will be half as great; for the third, a fourth as great, &c. The proof of the whole will be evident to one who is acquainted with the principles of geometry.†

[* My MS says *ten* quarters, which is evidently a mistake.—E. S.]
† See § 4th of this Chap.

TABLE.

	Parts	Parts	Parts
Base to nîm-hisâr,	95		
Base to hisâr,	93		
Base to tek-hisâr,	91		
'Ösheirân,	89	368	
Base to nîm-'ajem,	87		
Base to 'ajem,	85		
'Arâḳ,	83	255	
Kuwesht,	81		
Tek-kuwesht,	79		
Rest,	77	237	
Nîm-zergelâh,	75		
Zergelâh,	73		
Tek-zergelâh,	71		
Dûgâh, (the fifth from yegâh,)	69	288	1,148
Nîm-kurdy,	67		
Kurdy,	65		
Sîgâh,	63	195	
Bûselîk,	61		
Tek-bûselîk,	59		
Jehârgâh,	57	177	
'Araba,	55		
Hejâz,	53		
Tek-hejâz,	51		
Nawa, (the response to yegâh,)	49	208	580
Total of parts in the first octave,			1,728

The four strings most used are *rest*, *nawa*, *dûgâh*, and *'ösheirân*. The other notes are obtained by pressing upon these strings with the ends of the fingers of the left hand. The manner of ascending and descending the octaves, is the following. *Yegâh* is taken from the *base to jehârgâh* by pressing upon it with the fore finger. *'Ösheirân* is taken from the fifth string entire. *'Arâḳ* from the same string with the fore finger. *Rest* from the same also, with the ring finger; or sometimes from the second string entire. *Dûgâh* from the fourth string entire. *Sîgâh* from the same with the fore finger. *Jehârgâh* from the same also, with the ring finger. *Nawa* from the third string entire. *Huseiny* from the same with the fore finger; also *Auj* with the ring finger; and *mâhûr* with the little finger. For *muḥaiyar* press upon the same third string with the fore finger at the point where the mark is drawn on the neck of the instrument; then for *buzrek* press upon it with the middle finger; for *mâhûrân* with the ring finger; and for *remel-tûty*

with the little finger. In *descending* proceed in a reversed order note by note to *mukhaiyar*. Then, from the fourth string, reckoning from the mark toward the bridge, take *mâhûr* by pressing with the ring finger; *auj* with the middle finger; and *huseiny* with the fore finger, [i. e. over the mark.] After which, take *nawa* from the third string entire, and then, returning to the fourth, complete the descent by reversing the order of the ascent.

When a *quarter* is wished instead of a regular note, in the circumstances described in the third paragraph of Chap. I. § 5, it is obtained by moving the finger up or down, as the case may be, on the string from which it is to be taken.

Another stringed instrument is the *Frank kemenjeh;* which has four strings. The thickest of them, on the right, is tuned to the *base of rest;* the next is tuned to *yegâh;* the third to *dûgâh;* and the fourth, which is the finest, to *nawa.* The remaining notes and the quarters, are taken from these strings, as in the *'ûd,* by pressing them with the fingers of the left hand.

The *Arab kemenjeh* has two strings; the one on the left tuned to *nawa,* and the other to *dûgâh,* or sometimes to *rest.* The other notes and the quarters, are obtained by the fingers, as above. Though of a very pleasing sound, it is defective, and the performer is obliged, in the place of some notes, as *'arâk, 'ösheirân,* and *yegâh,* to use their responses.

The *tambûr* has generally eight strings, the four on the right being tuned to *yegâh,* and the other four to *nawa.* The other notes and the quarters, are obtained by pressing on these strings with the fingers, bands being tied round the neck of the instrument for every note and every quarter, to guide the performer. It is considered the easiest, and the most complete, of all musical instruments.

The *kânôn* is of the highest order of musical instruments. It sounds like two instruments played together; inasmuch as, during the performance, the performer has all the notes he needs, with their bases and responses, spread out before him, and both his hands at liberty to touch any note and its octave, at the same time. And with all this, there are three strings for each note, so that it is equivalent to six *kemenjehs* played together. Ordinarily it has twenty-four notes, with

three strings of equal size to each note. The highest note is generally the *response to huseiny;* though some make it the response to *nawa*, i. e. *remel-túty*. Then each note follows in order one by one, to the lowest of the twenty-four. In this way, the instrument embraces three octaves, and three notes. The lowest octave is from the *base to the base to jehârgâh*, to the *base to sîgâh;* the second from the *base to jehârgâh*, to *sîgâh;* the third from *jehârgâh*, to *buzrek;* and then there remain the three notes, *mâhûrân*, *remel-túty* and the *response to huseiny*. No provision is made in this arrangement except for the regular notes. If the performer wishes to play tunes in which quarters are substituted for notes, he accomplishes it by tightening or loosening the necessary strings before commencing.

2. The *wind instruments* are very numerous. Among them are the *nây*, *kerift*, *mizmâr*, *sŭrnây*, *urghun*, and *jenâḥ*. All, but the last, are pierced with holes, which the performer shuts with the ends of his fingers, except as he has need of them in the course of a tune. They are generally arranged so as to give forth the regular notes. If a quarter is needed, the performer obtains it by partially opening the hole intended for the note next above. There are other expedients, also, by which musicians contrive to express notes for which no provision is made; as, for example, by shutting certain holes and opening certain others simultaneously. The *jenâḥ* consists of tubes, set in a collar, which presses upon their mouths. Being of different lengths, they give out different sounds on being whistled in, corresponding to the different notes.

§ 3. *Erroneous directions for adjusting instruments, corrected.*

I have perused many books on the art of music, but have found none that attempt to demonstrate to the learner practically the nature of the tones; any farther than the general statement, contained in all, that sound, from the base to the response, is divided into twenty-four quarters, which are embraced in seven tones, some of them of four and some of three quarters; as has been explained in Chap. I. But these generalities are of little use to the learner, who would know how to form these different intervals in practice.

Moreover, in the year of the Hegira 1236, having left my native town, Deir el-kamar, by reason of a disturbance there, I came to Damascus, and here had opportunity of receiving instruction from the sheikh Muhammed el-'Aṭṭâr, a master of several sciences and much learning. Thus it happened that I was present at many an argument between him and 'Abdallah Effendy Muhardâr on this subject; until finally the former wrote a book, in which he allows that the objections of the Effendy prove in practice to be valid, but denies that their author can demonstrate them, any farther than by asserting, that if his (the sheikh's) directions are followed, the result will not be what he predicts.

The sheikh's doctrine was, that if the string of a *ṭambûr* whose sound is, e. g. *yegâh*, be divided in the middle by a *band*, the sound of the half will be *nawa*, the response of *yegâh*. Then, if the half between the band and the head, be divided into twenty-four *equal* parts, also by bands, the sound at the first band, next the head, will be the *base to nîm-ḥiṣâr*, that at the second the *base to ḥiṣâr*, at the third the *base to tek-ḥiṣâr*, at the fourth *'ösheirân*, and so on up to the band first tied at the middle of the string. Then divide again in the middle, the half between *nawa* and the bridge, and you will have *remel-túty*, the response to *nawa*. And still again divide the quarter between *remel-túty* and the bridge, and you will have the response to *remel-túty;* and so on ad infinitum. Then divide each of these portions into twenty-four equal parts, and you will have the twenty-four quarters of each octave.

But the above doctrine of the sheikh, except so far as relates to the successive divisions of a string into halves for responses, is erroneous. Dividing any of the halves into twenty-four *equal* parts, as directed, will not, in practice, give the quarters. The truth is, that the distance between the bands for any two quarters is proportioned to the length of the string. Which may be made to appear as follows. Since the first response is at the half of the string, and the second at the half of the half; it follows, that, at whatever point you press the string, its note will be the base of what you will obtain by pressing it half way between that point and the bridge. Hence, inasmuch as the distance between these

two points must contain the twenty-four quarters, the shorter the distance between the first point and the bridge, in other words, the length of the string, the shorter the quarters. Again; since the first half of the string is divided into twenty-four quarters, and the half of the remainder, i. e. the quarter, is divided into the same number; it follows that a quarter in the second portion is, in length, the half of a quarter in the first division,—which diminution, again, is owing to the shortening of the string.

The same is plainly shown also by the aid of the diagram, (Fig. 2.)

Draw A B of any length you choose, and let it be the base of a right angled triangle ; draw the perpendicular A C of the length of the first quarter on a *ṭambûr;* and then unite C and B for the hypothenuse. Divide the base in the middle at D ; divide A D into twenty-four equal parts ; and from each division draw lines parallel to the perpendicular A C, until they meet the hypothenuse C B. Then, inasmuch as A C is the length of the first quarter, will these lines determine the length of each quarter in succesion, to the end of the first octave.—Then, if you wish to determine the length of the quarters of the second octave, halve D B at E, and proceed with D E as above.—From the diagram thus drawn it appears that the quarters diminish in a certain ratio, and not, as the sheikh taught, that the quarters of the first octave are all of equal lengths, and those of the second also equal and just the half of them. For in that case would the distance from *jehârgâh* to *nawa*, be double that from *nawa* to *ḥuseiny;* which cannot be between two similar contiguous intervals, but only when a complete octave intervenes. Thus we have seen the error of our sheikh; and having entered upon the subject, I propose to close my treatise, by accurately demonstrating, arithmetically and geometrically, the exact method of forming the interval of every quarter, and every tone.

§ 4. *Correct rules for adjusting instruments, developed.*

To determine *arithmetically* the length of each quarter, on the string of a *ṭambûr*, the process is as follows. Take

24 and multiply it into itself, until you have raised it to the 24th power; and that will be the denominator to the fraction of this problem. Divide this denominator by 24, and the quotient will be the numerator for the first quarter. Subtract this from the denominator, and divide the remainder by 24, for the numerator of the second quarter. Subtract this again, and divide as before; and thus proceed, until you have obtained the numerators of all the twenty-four quarters. Then deduct the sum of all these numerators from the original denominator; and distribute what remains, to the several numerators by the rule of proportion, so that the sum of all the numerators shall be equal to the original denominator. Then, whatever the numerator of any quarter [thus increased] amounts to, will bear the same ratio to the entire denominator, that the length of that quarter does to the half of the string.

Geometrically we proceed as follows. In the parallelogram A B C D, (Fig. 3,) let A B be the length of half the string of a *ṭambûr*, and let A D be one twenty-fourth of the same. Mark the point G two thirds the distance from B to C, and the point I half the distance from D to C; and draw a line from G through I, till it meet A D extended, at H. Then will the third which is taken from B C, be added to A D, and what is taken from L B C I will be added to A L I D, and A H will be double B G. Moreover, add to A B a line equal to itself, and do the same with H G; and they will meet at K, forming a right angled triangle, whose base is equal in length to the string of the *ṭambûr*, and the section A B G H of this triangle, will represent the first octave. In this section A H represents the first quarter, and B G which has been proved to be the half of it, represents the first quarter of the second octave. Hence it appears, that into whatever equal intervals you may wish to divide the octave on a string of the *ṭambûr*, you must add a third to the length of the first, and take a third from the length of the last. E. g. if you wish the *larger tones*, such as *'ösheirân*, which are each four *carats* (Ar. *ḳirâṭ*, a twenty-fourth) i. e. four twenty-fourths of the octave, then will the length of the first tone be $5\frac{1}{3}$ carats of the half of the string, and the first tone of the second octave, $3\frac{2}{3}$ carats. If you wish the *smaller tones*, such as *'arâḳ*, which are 3 carats

of the octave, then will the first tone on the string be 4 carats of half its length, and the first tone of the second octave 2 carats. If you wish *quarters*, which are each a carat of the octave, then will the first quarter be $1\frac{1}{3}$ carat of the half of the string, and the first quarter of the second octave $\frac{2}{3}$ carat.

Having explained these principles, we are now prepared to draw a diagram, which will furnish the exact measurements for the bands of every tone and quarter on any given *ṭambûr*. Draw A B, (Fig. 4,) the base of the right angled triangle A B C, of any length you choose, and let the perpendicular A C be one ninth of the length of the string of the *ṭambûr*. Then halve A B at D, and divide A D into twenty-four equal parts, writing opposite the several parts the names of the twenty-four quarters of the first octave in their order.* Then halve D B at E and divide the half D E in like manner, writing opposite the several parts, the names of the quarters of the second octave in their order. From F on the perpendicular, at three-fourths the distance from A to C, which will be one-twelfth of the length of the *ṭambûr*, draw the line F B; and from G, at one-fourth the distance from A to C, equal to one thirty-sixth of the length of the *ṭambûr*, draw the line G B. Call C B the line of the larger tones, F B the line of the smaller tones, and G B the line of the quarters. Then, from the *middle* of each of the forty-eight parts into which A E is divided, raise a perpendicular extending to the line of the quarters G B; and these several perpendiculars will be the length, on the *ṭambûr*, of the several quarters whose names are written opposite the parts on which the perpendiculars stand. As to the tones, *yegâh* being the sound of the entire string, is not provided for in the diagram. The length of the rest may be ascertained in different ways. One way is by adding together the lengths of the several quarters which belong to each. Another is the following; take for each tone, the portion of A E which belongs to the quarters of that tone, and from the *middle*† of it raise a perpendicular, extend-

[* Instead of the names, I have used the numbers and letters, introduced into the first Table in Chap. I.—E. S.]

[† The ninth of the length of the *ṭambûr* being equal to "$5\frac{1}{3}$ carats" of half its length, it would appear from the demonstration, (Fig. 3,) that A C ought to be the length, on the *ṭambûr*, of the tone *'ösheirân*. But then it would be

ing, for the larger tones, to their line C B, and, for the smaller tones, to their line F B; and these perpendiculars will be the length, on the *ṭambûr*, of the several tones to which they belong. E. g. for *'ösheirân*, which is one of the larger tones, take the portion of A E which is between *yegâh* and *'ösheirân*, (1 and 2 on the diagram,) and from the middle of it raise a perpendicular extending to C B; and for *'arâḳ*, which is one of the smaller tones, take the portion which is between *'ösheirân* and *'arâḳ*, (2 and 3 on the diagram,) and from the middle of it raise a perpendicular extending to F B.

It has been already mentioned in the former part of this treatise, that the modern Greeks have a different division of the octave from the Arabs; but it was not made to appear whether this difference is real, so that the Greeks actually make the note *jehârgâh*, for example, lower in singing than the Arabs, or whether it is in theory only, arising from an erroneous view of the division of the intervals by the one nation or the other. Nor do I find any of the Arabs attempting to support their view, or to explain how the matter stands; which indeed could be successfully attempted only by the most thorough masters who have a competent knowledge of mathematics. For my own satisfaction, I have taken two *ṭambûrs*, one adjusted according to the preceding diagram, and the other according to the custom of the Greeks, and tried the tones of both, by playing upon them certain melodies with which I was well acquainted. The result was, that the tones of both fell into the same graduation, and the error is in the division into quarters by the Arabs, while the Greeks are right in their division.

To adjust an instrument according to the Greek division, the preceding diagram needs to be altered, by dividing A D and D E each into sixty-eight parts for seconds, which are to be distributed among the tones in the proportions mentioned

longer than the sum of the perpendiculars of the four quarters which compose the tone; for it is only the *first* of these quarters that is "1¼ carat" of half the length of the *ṭambûr*, each of the others being smaller. Nor, indeed, does that hold true even of the first quarter, for this is divisible also into parts, and the demonstration applies only to the first part, and that an infinitesimal in quantity. Our acute author has provided for this difficulty, by raising a perpendicular from the *middle* of each tone and each quarter; as such a line will always represent the sum of the perpendiculars of any number of portions, however great, into which a tone or quarter may be divided.—E. S.]

in Chap. I, § 2; and the perpendicular, being first made two-seventeenths of the length of the *ṭambûr*, and divided into twelve parts, is to have the line of the largest tones drawn from its extremity to B, the line of the middle tones from nine-twelfths of its length, the line of the smallest tones from seven-twelfths of it, and the line of seconds from one-twelfth.

CONCLUSION.

We must just glance, in concluding, at what the ancients have taught respecting the medicinal properties of melodies, which led them to use them in curing diseases. According to them, [following the ancient classification of medicines,] *jehârgâh* is hot-dry, and exciting to the blood; *auj* and *nawa* are cold-dry; *ḥuseiny* and *dûgâh*, on the contrary, are hot-moist; and *rest* and *sîgâh* are cold-moist. Thus classified, they were used by the practitioner, as he thought the constitution of the patient required.

But what I think about it is, that a man is cheered by a tune to which his taste inclines; and that inclination springs, not from constitutional peculiarity, but from habit and familiarity. What refutes the doctrine of the ancients is, the existence of national tastes in regard to tunes; all in a given nation having a partiality for such airs as they have heard from their infancy, and that, though there must be among them every variety of constitutional temperament.

And now, says its author, (dependent upon the Most High,) Mikhâil the son of Jirjis Meshâḳah, this is as far as my imperfect knowledge has reached; and I beg of its readers, to close their eyes to what there is in it of defect, and to correct its mistakes. Exalted and glorious be He who has no defects! THE END.

Plate 2.

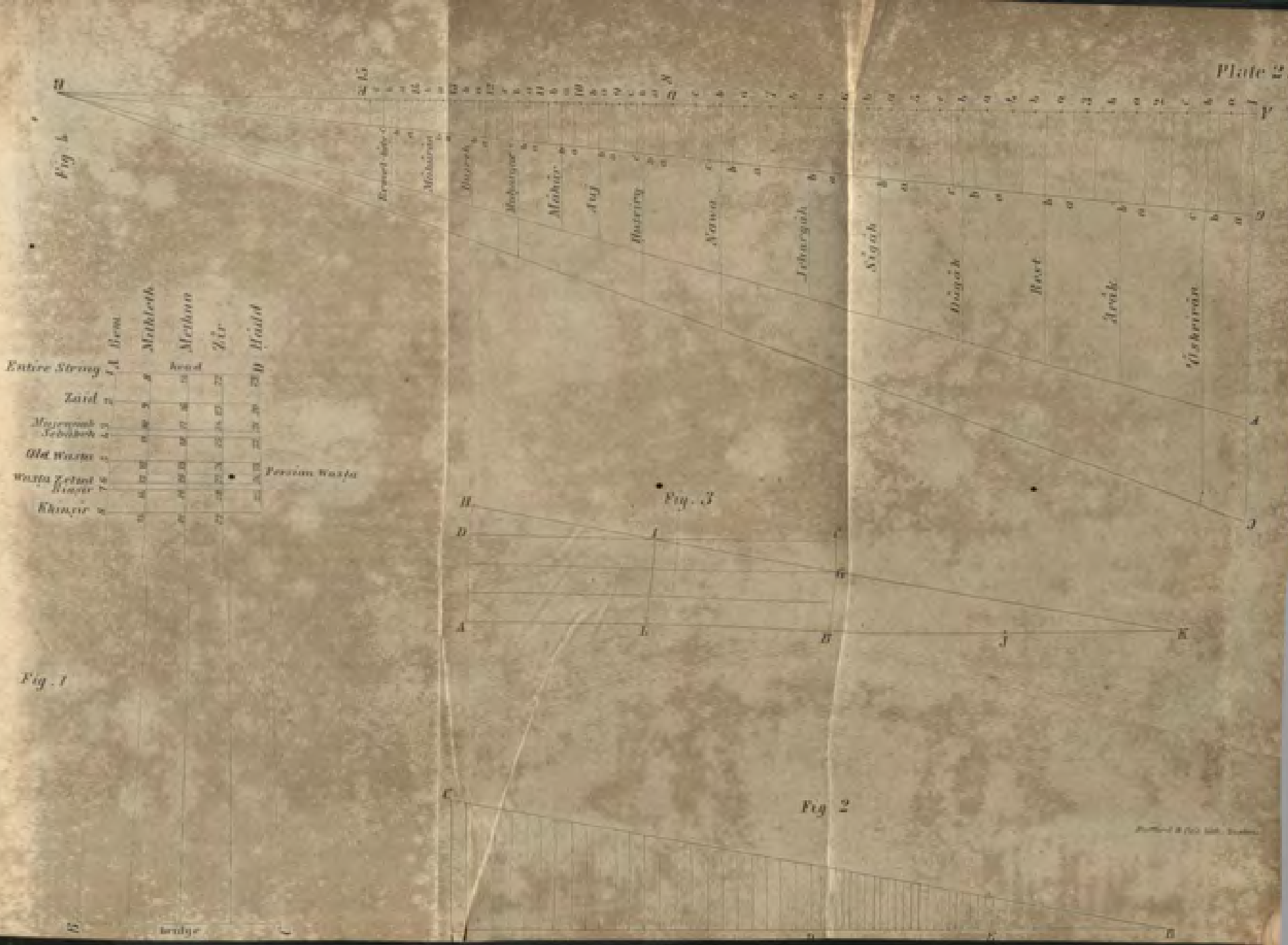


Fig. 1
Entire String
Zaid
Old Wasta
Wasta Zeitul
Khinsir
Persian Wasta
Bem
Methleth
Meshan
Zir
Hadd
head
bridge
Fig. 2
Fig. 3
Nawa
Nigah
Rast
Arak
Ashirân
Mahûr
Aug
Bustring
Mahûr
Bujrek
Mahûrân
Ermet-kêr

NOTES ON ARAKAN:

BY THE LATE REV. G. S. COMSTOCK,

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY IN THAT COUNTRY FROM 1834 TO 1844.

WITH A MAP OF THE PROVINCE,

DRAWN TO ACCOMPANY THEM:

BY REV. L. STILSON,

MISSIONARY COMPANION OF THE AUTHOR.

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WITH NOTES,

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NOTES ON ARAKAN.

§ 1. *General Description of the Country.*

THE name of Arakan is derived from *Rakaing*, the native appellation of the country, of which Mug authors give several different derivations. Of these, the most probable is one which makes it to be a euphonic change from *Rakak*, sometimes also written *Rakaik*, the name of a fabulous eater of human flesh, supposed to have been applied to the country on account of the reported cannibalism of the savage tribes, who inhabit the mountains of the interior.[1] The province extends from 15° 53′ to 21° 30′ north latitude, and from 92° 15′ to 94° 45′ east longitude, and is bounded on the north by the river Naf, and a range of mountains which divide it from Chittagong; on the east, by the *Yomadoong*, or Yoma mountains, which separate Arakan from Burma; on the south, the province comes to a point, called Pagoda Point; and the western boundary is the Bay of Bengal.[2] Its greatest

[1] Formerly, according to Captain Phayre, Senior Assistant-commissioner in Arakan, only the northern portion of the country now called by this name, was known among the natives as the *Rakaingdye*, or Rakaing-land,—a fact of importance with reference to the origin of the population. It has been suggested, with much plausibility, that Rakak is derived from *Yekkha*, for the Sanskrit *Yaksha*, signifying, in popular usage, a monster, half man, half beast, which devours human flesh; and that it was adopted as their national appellation by the Arakanese, from the superior strangers who communicated to them the religion of Buddha. The Buddhist missionaries from India, whose narratives we have, call Arakan *Yekhapura*. See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, XII. p. 24. [E. E. S.]

[2] The same principal boundaries are assigned to the country by other writers; but its extent in degrees is variously stated, probably, in part, because the measure has been taken sometimes on the line of the sea-coast, and some-

breadth, at its northern extremity, is about ninety miles, and the average breadth is usually estimated at about fifty, or sixty miles. Its area is about sixteen thousand five hundred square geographical miles. The general appearance of the country is hilly, and that of the coast decidedly bold. In many places, however, extensive flats intervene between the hills and the sea-shore, which are generally marshy, and near the sea covered with mangrove trees; similar flats, but not so low, are found on the banks of the rivers and smaller streams, which intersect the province in every direction. The islands of Ramree and Cheduba are more elevated than the main land; and those inundations, which elsewhere during the height of the rains submerge the flats near the large streams, ten or fifteen feet, are scarcely known there.

From the Yoma range of mountains enormous spurs shoot out in every direction, which render the western portion of the province a confused mass of lofty mountains and deep valleys. The highest peaks of the Yoma range, at the northern extremity of Arakan, are five thousand, or more, feet above the level of the sea. They gradually decrease in height till they reach the sea at Pagoda point, where they are only one or two hundred feet high. The principal mountain-ranges run north and south, and their sides are generally steep, and covered with immense trees. Still the Kyens, and other wild tribes, find suitable places upon them for cultivation, and for the erection of their small and rude villages.

The whole coast from Akyab to Sandoway, is studded with islands, some of which are large and inhabited, while others are small and only serve to give variety and beauty to the scenery. Beside the Mayu, the Koladon, and the Leymroo [3] rivers in the Akyab district, which are navi-

times through the interior, and partly because there are border-tribes whose relations to the Government of the province have vacillated between subjection and independence.

The mountains which separate Arakan from Chittagong are called *Weiladoong*. See Journal of R. A. S. of Bengal, X. p. 679. [E. E. S.]

[3] The Burmese pronunciation makes the name of this river *Leimyo*. The same letter, as pronounced in Burma, or in Arakan, appears sometimes to have the sound of *r*, and sometimes of *y*.

The former part of the name *Kola-don*, signifying *foreign*, accords with the fact, that this river takes its rise out of Arakan. S. Ritter: Erdkunde von Asien., IV. I. p. 309. [E. E. S.]

gable thirty or forty miles for vessels of two or three hundred tons, there are the Talak or Dalet, the Aing, and the Sandoway, which are navigable to any considerable distance by native boats alone. Smaller streams abound in the province, and furnish nearly the only means of communication between the different villages.

The soil near the sea-shore is sandy; but on the numerous alluvial flats, intersected by creeks, lying between the coast or the rivers, and the hills, it is dark clayey mould; and on the higher lands in the interior, it is red and much mixed with stones. The most productive land yields to the cultivator more than a hundred fold, while much that is cultivated is not half so productive.

I know of no one who has paid particular attention to the geology of the province. The rocks nearest to the primitive in the geological order appear to be mostly slate. The lower hills consist chiefly of sand-stone, mixed occasionally with a stiff clay, and on many parts of the coast coral and shell lime are abundant. Iron is found at the northern extremity of Ramree island, and lime at the southern; the latter is also found near Akyab and Sandoway. Coal has been discovered in several places, and it is highly probable that the mountains of Arakan contain treasures which a more intelligent and persevering people than the present inhabitants will draw forth.

The botanical productions of the province have never been thoroughly examined and classified. On the mountains, far in the interior, are found the teak, a kind of oak, and other timbers, which would be highly valued, were it not impossible to transport them to any place where they can be used. The jarrul, toon, praing, and many other useful trees, abound in Arakan; the bamboo, ratan, etc., are also abundant; the mango, guava, orange, (called by Europeans here sweet lime,) and other fruit trees, and several flowering shrubs are frequently found.

Among the wild animals of the province, are the elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, leopard, bear, deer of various kinds, and the wild hog, which are found principally on the mountains and in the forests; the wild buffalo, wild cat, a species of raccoon, the wild dog, a kind of civet, with a variety of mon-

keys, and other smaller animals, are found on the hills and in the jungles.—Of birds, a great variety of such as frequent the surrounding countries, are found in Arakan; some of them are highly prized for their splendid plumage, and others for their excellent flavor.—The boa constrictor, cobra capella, and indeed snakes and reptiles of nearly every kind, are common.—Of fish, there is an abundance of all the kinds usually found in tropical seas and rivers. Sharks and alligators abound, and turtle, sole, pomfret, mullet, skait, bumalo, crabs, lobsters of a small kind, shrimps, oysters, and various other species of fish, are not unfrequently taken. The Mugs enumerate more than two hundred kinds of fish; though the markets of the province seldom furnish many that are particularly palatable to Europeans.

§ 2. *Number of the Inhabitants, and their Races; with a Sketch of the History of the Mugs.*

The population of Arakan at the present time (1842) is estimated at about 250,000. Of these, about 167,000 are Mugs, 40,000 are Burmese, 20,000 are Mussulmans,[4] 10,000 are Kyens, 5,000 are Bengalese, 3,000 are Toungmroos, 2,000 are Kemees, 1,250 are Karens, and the remainder are of various races, in smaller numbers. The Mugs are the earliest inhabitants of the country, at least of the plains, of which we have any knowledge. The name of *Mugs*, as applied to inhabitants of this country, originated with foreigners, and I never found an Arakanese who could give any account of it.[5] The people call themselves "*Rakaingthas*," that is, "sons of Arakan." They are evidently a part of the *Myonma* family, to which belong also the present inhabitants of Burma, including the Shans, etc., and the Karens, Kyens, and other numerous hill tribes of Arakan.[6] The traditions of all the branches of this family refer to "the far

[4] In official returns, speaking of the Arakanese, "Mussulman" denotes the *Kummanchees*, or followers of Mohammed, and no others. The Mussulmans and Hindoos of the western peninsula are comprehended under the general term "natives of Bengal," or "Bengalees." [Note by Rev. R. A. Fink.]

[5] Europeans have borrowed this name from India. [E. E. S.]

[6] According to the geographer Ritter, the original form of the family name of all these was *Marama*, which became contracted to *Mranma*, and by the

north " as the original seat of their ancestors; and the structure of their languages, together with the Mongolian cast of their physiognomy, confirms these traditions, and indicates the Mongolian origin of the family.

When Arakan was first settled by its present inhabitants, we have no means of knowing. The history of the country is carried back in "the royal records" to the remotest antiquity; but the grossest fiction so abounds in these records, and withal is so intimately blended with the few facts they contain, that scarcely any reliance can be placed upon them. There is a tradition, that Gautama, the last incarnation of Boodh, visited Arakan in the sixth century before Christ; and that the famous temple of Mahâmuni, the ruins of which still exist about twenty miles north of the town of Arakan, was then built by the reigning king to his honor; and that the same king caused a brazen image of him to be cast, or rather that such an image was, in the reign of this king, miraculously formed by the *Nats*. That the temple of Mahâmuni is very ancient cannot be doubted, and that the great idol was coeval with it is highly probable; but there is little reason to believe that Boodhism has flourished in Arakan two thousand four hundred years, or that authentic records of events, which transpired in this country so long since, are now in existence.

An article prepared by Charles Paton, Esq., Sub-commissioner in Arakan, and published in vol. xvi. of the Asiatic Researches comprises, I am inclined to believe, the more important facts in the history of the country; and from it is taken most of the brief sketch of Mug history, which follows.

The first king on record, after a long and happy reign,

change of *r* into *y*, was made *Myanma*. From Marama he derives the modern name of Burma. S. Ritter: Erdk. v. Asien., IV. 1. p. 301.

The Burmese refer to Arakan as "the old country." The establishment of the two separate kingdoms of Arakan and Ava, is referred by the Arakanese annals, to about the year A. D. 1061. Idem. p. 323.

The Shans are a peculiar people, scattered over all Farther India, perhaps its aborigines. They live under chieftains of their own, in dependence upon Burma, Siam, Cochin China, or China. Their language is the Siamese. For a particular account of them, S. Ritter: Erdk. v. Asien., III. p. 1229, &c. [E. E. S.]

died A. D. 701.[7] From that time to the conquest of Arakan by the Burmese in 1784, the throne was occupied by one hundred and twenty different kings, some of whom obtained it by violence, and reigned but a few days. Between 1158 and 1168, a part of China, and the whole of Ava, Siam and Bengal, are said to have been made subject to the Arakanese, —a statement of "the royal records," probably too highly colored, in reference to Siam, and certainly so in respect to Bengal, of which only Chittagong and Tippera ever belonged to Arakan.[8] Some time near the close of the twelfth century, the possessions of the Mugs in China, Ava and Siam

[7] Under this king, whose name, according to Mr. Paton, was *Chanda-soreagôta*, Buddhism is said to have been introduced into Arakan. But there are different computations of the date of his reign. A statement of Mr. Paton on Mug authority, that the commencement of the present era of the Arakanese was established in honor of Gautama and that A. D. 1826 corresponded to the year 1188 of that era, seems to imply that Buddhism was generally adopted in Arakan within the first half of the seventh century after Christ. This would give some part of the same century to the reign of Chanda-sorea. On the other hand, if we reckon from the commencement of the history of Arakan B. C. 2658, as fixed by Ngami, a native Arakanese employed by Capt. Phayre to make for him an epitome of the chronicles of his nation, the accession of this king, whom Ngami, adopting the Burmese pronunciation, calls *Tsanda-thuriya*, is brought down to A. D. 146, and his death to A. D. 198. The correctness of this computation, however, depends upon the historical accuracy of the lists of ancient dynasties which Ngami compiled, and is therefore less to be confided in than a date given to the event, as that of Mr. Paton is, according to an era which still continues in use among the Arakanese. It may be doubted, however, whether Mr. Paton is entirely correct in saying, as he does, that Chanda-sorea died in the 65th year of the present Mug era, or A. D. 701, for if the period of fifty-two years is properly assigned to his reign in the native annals, and if Buddhism was introduced by him in A. D. 638, his death must have occurred a few years earlier than A. D. 701.

Mr. Comstock, following Mr. Paton, errs in saying that Chanda-sorea is "the first king on record;" he is only the first of whom we know any thing, after the commencement of the present Arakanese era. With his reign the modern history of Arakan begins. S. Asiatic Researches XVI. pp. 355, 356; and J. R. A. S. of B., XII. pp. 35, 36. [E. E. S.]

[8] In an "Account of Arakan," published in the J. R. A. S. of B., X. p. 687, it is stated, on the authority of "the royal records," that from the time of *Tsanda-thooveeya*, who is the same as Tsanda-thuriya, to the conquest of the country by the Burmese, one hundred and thirty-five kings reigned.

The king of whom Mr. Paton speaks as having ruled over parts of China, Ava, Siam and Bengal, between A. D. 1158 and 1168, had his reign, according to Ngami's compilation from the native annals, from A. D. 1133 to 1153. His name as given by Ngami was *Gaulaya*. Mr. Paton calls him *Kowalea*. S. J. R. A. S. of B., XII. p. 40. It is proper to state here, that Ngami's dates, after the time of Tsanda-thuriya, are in years of the present Arakanese era. [E. E. S.]

appear to have been wrested from them.[9] In the year 1430, the seat of government was fixed at the present town of Arakan, which was surrounded by a strong wall, measuring about nine miles. "The labor of this work must have been immense, as in many places mounds of earth are thrown up to fill the spaces between contiguous hills, in other places the hills are joined together by a mound faced on both sides with stone work, averaging in height from fifty to one hundred feet."[10] About the year 1730, Chittagong and Tippera seem to have become independent.[11] After this, internal feuds arose, and intrigues commenced on the part of some Mug officers to deliver the country into the hands of the king of Ava. The first king to whom these disaffected officers made overtures, rejected them; but they were accepted by his successor, who sent his three sons, at the head of three divisions of his army, to take the country, an enterprize which proved successful. In 1784, the conquest was completed by the seizure of the king of Arakan, who, with his family, jewels and treasure, together with the famous brazen image of Gautama, which had for centuries been "the idol" of Arakan, were conveyed to Ava. Thenceforward the country continued subject to Burma, although frequent attempts were made by the Mugs to expel their invaders, till it was taken by the

[9] According to Ngami, this extent of empire was lost under a grandson of Gaulaya between A. D. 1167 and 1169. S. loc. cit.

[10] Mr. Paton gives the name of *Jumuwai* to the king who first made Arakan town the capital, and dates the commencement of his reign from A. D. 1404. In the list of Ngami the same person is called *Meng-tsau-mvun*—a name compounded of the honorary prefix, *Meng*, and *Tsau-mwun*, the Burmese form corresponding to *Cho-ma-in*, or *Cho-mwa-in*, according to the pronunciation of Arakan, from which comes Jumuwai. S. J. R. A. S of B., XII. p 52. The "Account of Arakan" places the accession of this sovereign in A. D. 1385, apparently by mistake, as no other authority than the native annals is referred to, and Ngami's epitome agrees on this point with Mr. Paton's statement. [E. E S.]

[11] These countries between Bengal and Arakan were, for some centuries, possessed alternately by the Mogul emperors and the kings of Arakan. The flight to Arakan of Suja, one of the brothers of Aurungzeb who refused to own his authority, was the occasion of that emperor's seizing Chittagong and Tippera, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, after which they were only for a short time, again attached to Arakan. S As. Res. XVI. pp. 363, 364. The name *Tsettagoung*, or according to the Arakanese pronunciation, Chittagong, belongs to the language of the Myanmas,—which is a proof of their early occupation of that country. S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. p 689. Tippera is a corruption of *Tripura*, the name of an ancient Hindu kingdom on the eastern side of the delta of the Ganges. S. Ritter: Erdk. v. Asien, IV. 1. p. 313. [E. E. S.]

East India Company in 1825, with which event Mug history ends.

Most of the Burmese probably, came into the country while it was a dependency of Ava, although many have immigrated since. The Mussulmans are supposed to be the descendants of Bengalee slaves, imported when the kings of Ava held Chittagong and Tippera. They have retained for the most part the language and customs of their forefathers; but have partially adopted the dress of the country. Within a few years past, many Bengalee Mussulmans have immigrated to Arakan, to get higher wages and better living, than they could procure in Chittagong: these constitute the five thousand Bengalees mentioned in enumerating the population of the province. A part of the Mussulman population, one thousand or more, residing principally in Ramree, are the descendants of some people, who came from Delhi, in company with one of the Mogul princes, who having failed in an attempt upon the throne, fled for refuge to the court of Arakan. They were his guard, and as their weapon was a bow, were called *Kamonthas*, or bowmen, which name their descendants still retain. They have adopted the language and dress of the Mugs, and a part of them have become Boodhists.[12]

"The Kyens have a tradition that they are direct descendants of some Burmese refugees, or of the remnants of an army, that was lost in the mountains, when attempting to penetrate to the westward;" and they are found in large numbers throughout the whole Yoma range, only a small portion of them being within British jurisdiction. They are evidently of the Myonma family, and it is probable that their forefathers left their original seat, earlier than those of the Mugs.[13]

[12] These are probably the descendants of the followers of Suja, Aurungzeb's brother. [E. E S.]

[13] S. J. R A. S. of B., X. p. 684. An extended account of the Kyens may be found in Ritter's Erdk. v Asien IV: 1. 279, &c., according to which they have the tradition, that they once occupied the whole of Ava and Pegu, but were at length forced from the plains to the mountains by a race from the north, who came among them peaceably, but afterwards attempted to subdue them; and this may be what is alluded to in the tradition mentioned in the text, of their descent from the remnants of an army lost in the mountains, when attempting to penetrate to the westward. A very important particular in Ritter's

The Toungmroos, who are also mountaineers, are found only in the northern part of the province: they are very slightly affected by the civilization around them, and are said to be revengeful and barbarous. They are descendants of people brought in former times from Tippera, and call themselves *Tripura;* their language appears to be not at all allied to the Burmese.

The Kemees are hill-people, and appear much like Mugs, only in a ruder state. They give no account of their origin, but the traditions of the Mugs refer to them as already in the country, when their ancestors entered it: they undoubtedly belong to the same great family of the human race, of which the Mugs, the Burmese and other kindred people are also branches; and their ancestors probably settled in the mountains of Arakan, before its plains were inhabited.[14]

The Karens are a part of the race of that name so widely spread throughout the Burmese empire, who have been often described by missionaries and others; any further notice of them here is unnecessary.

A few hundred Hindoos and Munnipoorees[15] are also found in Arakan, and a small number of Chinese, Shans, etc. They do not, however, differ from the same people in their own countries, and it is needless to enter into particulars here respecting them.

What the population of the kingdom was in its palmy days, we have no means of knowing; but in many places, especially in the Akyab district, are traces of a far more numerous population than it now contains. "The ruins of the ancient temple of Mahâmuni, built entirely of stone, the sites of former cities, shown by the remains of tanks and ruined pagodas, the extensive stone walls at the old capital, certainly tell of a more flourishing kingdom, than what the British found it."[16] It was then said to contain only one hundred thousand inhabitants.

account of this people, is, that their language differs entirely from the Burmese, which is irreconcilable with the supposition adopted by Mr. Comstock, that they belong to the Myamma family. [E. E. S.]

[14] S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. p. 683.

[15] The seat of this race is *Munipúr*, a table-land in the northern part of the kingdom of Ava; they are apparently kindred to the Shans, but profess the Brahman religion. S. Ritter: Erdk. v. Asien. IV. 1. 359, &c. [E. E. S.]

[16] S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. p. 689, &c.

§ 3. *Agriculture, Commerce, Mechanic Arts, and Professions.*

Nearly all the Mugs, and a considerable portion of the Burmese and Mussulmans, are engaged in agricultural pursuits. Before giving an account of the agriculture of the province, however, it is desirable to say something of its climate. The year may be divided into two seasons, the wet and the dry; but it is more usual to divide it into three, the rainy, the cold, and the hot seasons. The rains usually set in about the first of May, though the showers for a month after that are seldom severe, and are only occasional. During the months of June and July, especially the latter, it often rains for many days together, and at times literally pours down. The greatest fall during twenty-four hours, that I have measured, was about eight inches, but in one month, July 1841, it was ninety-five inches. In August and September the rains moderate; during the latter month very considerably, and in October showers are few and gentle. There are occasionally very slight showers out of the months above named. The average annual fall of rain is about two hundred inches. The thermometer during the rainy season seldom varies much from 80°; while the rains are breaking up in October, and during the first half of November, it rises three or four degrees. The latter part of November and the months of December and January, and a part of February, are delightfully cool, particularly in the morning and evening. On some of the coolest mornings the thermometer sinks below 50°; but it usually ranges, at the coolest, between 50° and 60°; during the day it rises to 80°, and frequently from four to six degrees higher. Early in February the heat begins to increase, and continues to do so, until the rains fairly set in. At this season of the year, the thermometer often rises to 95°, and occasionally higher, especially during the month preceding the rains, and the average heat for that month is about 91°. At the same time, nearly all vegetation perishes, and the whole country presents a desolate and saddening appearance. The thermometrical observations here recorded were made at Ramree, where refreshing breezes from the Bay of Bengal, springing up after noon and continuing most of the night, moderate

the heat very considerably, as they do every where near the sea shore; farther in the interior the heat is doubtless more intense.

A few words as to the health of the province have their most appropriate place in this connection. Changes of temperature are frequent and sudden, and as the natives are thinly clad, much exposed both to the sun and rain, poorly housed, and indulge freely in eating crude vegetables, and other indigestible and unwholesome food, their health suffers not a little. The most prevalent diseases are fevers remittent and intermittent, especially the latter, bowel affections of severe character, enlargement of the spleen, pulmonary diseases, small-pox, and of late years cholera of a fatal sort.

I will now return to the subject of agriculture. All the land in Arakan belongs to the East India Company; but cultivators procure as much as they wish at a fixed annual rent, and retain the land which they have once leased, as long as they cultivate it, and regularly pay the stipulated rent to Government. "The cultivated rice lands are divided into three classes, which pay at the rate of twelve, ten, and eight rupees per *doon*. The first sort will produce from one thousand to twelve hundred baskets of *dhan*, the rice threshed from the stalk, but not husked, which will sell, on an average, at from ten to twelve rupees for a hundred baskets." The second and third classes of land are less productive, in about the ratio indicated by the diminished rent. "One man with a pair of buffaloes will cultivate a doon of land with ease." [17] Buffaloes are used almost exclusively in cultivating the soil; they cost from forty to sixty rupees a pair; about ninety thousand are found in the whole country. Oxen, which cost from forty to fifty rupees a pair, are used in carts, of which there are one thousand in the province,

[17] S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. p. 695. The value of a rupee is about 45½ cents, and a *doon* is equal to 6½ acres. The basket of Arakan contains about one third of a bushel. [Note of Mr. Comstock.]

To what Mr. C. says of the proprietorship of the soil, it may be added, that although the existing Government is recognized as the rightful owner of it, yet in practice, land taken to cultivate is inherited by the cultivator's heirs, as if it were his own, only that it must continue to be occupied and cultivated, and the prescribed rent to be paid to government. The tenure resembles a perpetual lease. S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. p. 693. [E. E. S.]

and sometimes for ploughing, etc. The whole number of cows and oxen in Arakan is about eighteen thousand. The agricultural implements of the Mugs are of the rudest construction, and cost but a trifle: a cart costs but ten rupees, yet few farmers prize them enough to purchase one; a plough and a drag, both entirely wood, cost but one rupee, which is also the price of a sickle; these, together with the *dah*, or knife, which every native has, are all the implements of agriculture, except a hoe about two inches wide, and a sort of spade equally narrow, which are used in gardens and tobacco-fields, worth both together about one rupee.

The staple product of the province is rice, of which only one crop is raised in a year. As soon as the rain has sufficiently softened the ground, the farmer, having divided his rice land into little plots, throws up around each a low mound of earth, to prevent the water that falls upon them from running off. Soon after this he commences scratching the ground with his sharp-pointed stick, called a plough; the land is ploughed two or three times before it is fit for the seed. The seed, which is sown broadcast, usually in the latter part of June, or in July, springs up in a few days, and rapidly arrives at maturity. The harvesting commences in October, and continues through November, and into December, the crop being ready for the sickle earlier in some parts of the province than in others. As soon as the harvest is gathered, the grain is threshed out by buffaloes or oxen, and the dahn, or paddy, either removed to the granary for home consumption, or taken to the numerous vessels, which are waiting to receive it, for exportation. What quantity of rice is annually raised in Arakan, I have had no means of accurately determining; but some idea of it may be formed from the fact, that the value of rice exported from the Akyab district alone is nearly one million one hundred and fifty thousand rupees per annum. It should be noted here, however, that not more than eight or ten vessels load with rice in any other district.

When the rice crop is gathered in, those who cultivate tobacco prepare the ground for this plant, the alluvial flats near streams being selected for the purpose. The seed is usually sown in November, and as soon as the plants are

eight or ten inches high, they are transplanted. In March, the most forward leaves are cut, and in April or May those remaining are gathered, when the whole crop is cured, and made fit for use in a short time. How much tobacco is raised in Arakan annually, I have not been able to ascertain; but as nearly every man, woman and child in the province smokes immoderately, the home consumption must be large; and several thousand pounds are exported, principally to Calcutta, where Arakan tobacco is highly prized.

Hemp is cultivated, but only for home use; which is rendered considerable by the demand for twine to make fish nets, and the quantity of cord and rope of different sizes required for boats, etc. The seed is sown in November or December, and the hemp is usually pulled in March. Small patches of ground, here and there, are devoted to sugar cane, indigo, cotton, red and black pepper, ginger, turmeric, etc., all of good quality, except the cotton, which is coarse and short. Arrow root grows wild at Cheduba, as does the black pepper in the southern part of the province. A little wheat has been raised; and, it is believed, the soil is capable of yielding in great perfection all that can be expected in a moist and tropical climate. To gardening the natives pay but little attention; nothing can be raised of any value, except in the rains, without a great deal of care and labor, of which the people of Arakan are very sparing; beside that garden land is charged with an annual rent of sixteen rupees per doon. Pumpkins, squashes of different kinds, cucumbers, brinjals, a few melons, sweet potatoes, yams and onions, are the principal vegetables cultivated; the three last are raised only to a very limited extent. A few flowers are also raised, some of which are worn by the men in their ears, some by the women in their hair, and others are offered to the gods. The principal fruits, to which the Mugs pay attention, are the mango, jack, guava, plantains of various kinds, papaia, sweet lime, cocoa-nut, pine-apple, tamarind, and a few others not very abundant; most of those named are of good quality, and in abundance in their seasons.

The natives of Arakan manifest very little skill or energy in agricultural pursuits; manure is seldom used, and indeed

scarcely any thing is done to improve and increase the productions of the soil. The capabilities of the province therefore, are as yet very imperfectly developed. In 1840, there were under rice cultivation twenty-seven thousand six hundred and two doons; occupied by fruit trees etc., one thousand and twenty-nine doons; devoted to miscellaneous products, five hundred and twenty-eight doons; and five hundred and twenty doons of hill cultivation; in all, less than thirty thousand doons; which shows, that not one fiftieth part of the area of Arakan is under cultivation. Of the wild land a considerable portion is mountainous and rocky, or otherwise unfit for tillage; yet there must be in the whole province an immense quantity of the best of land still lying waste.

Next to the agriculture of Arakan, its commerce deserves notice. This is carried on principally from the port of Akyab, where sometimes one or two hundred vessels are taking in their cargoes of rice, together. The whole number of arrivals and clearances in the course of a year has of late varied but little from seven hundred. The vessels are principally from the Madras coast, and vary in size from forty or fifty tons to two or three hundred. The following table shows the value and increase of the rice trade.

Year.	No. of vessels.	Tonnage.	Value of rice exported.
1835-6	374	46,248 tons.	343,086 rupees.
1837-8	504	48,908 "	662,060 "
1839-40	691	68,486½ "	1,124,821 "
1840-1	709		1,141,207 "

This rice is all sold for cash, the only article brought by most of the vessels, though a few import ghee, cocoa-nut oil and mustard oil, cloth and sugar, beside some other articles of no great value, all which are sold to merchants in the town of Akyab, and by them retailed there, or sold to traders from other parts of the province. A few vessels take in cargoes of rice at Cheduba and other places in the Ramree district. Akyab, however, is, and must continue to

be, the great mart for the trade of Arakan, especially in rice. This trade, it is believed, is capable of almost indefinite extension.

After rice, the most important article of commerce is salt, of which large quantities are manufactured on the islands near Kyouk Phyoo, and on Ramree. The annual consumption in the province is about eight million two hundred thousand pounds; and two or three times that quantity is exported to Chittagong on account of the East India Company, by whom this article is monopolized. The manufacturer receives but little more than half a rupee for one hundred pounds, and the whole amount paid for salt annually by the Government is less than one hundred and thirty thousand rupees. The salt is shipped from Kyouk Phyoo, usually in Chittagong vessels, of which twenty-five or thirty are freighted with it yearly; but these bring scarcely any thing for sale, and their crews buy nothing.

Vessels rarely visit Arakan, except those above mentioned as coming for rice and salt. A considerable trade is carried on with Bengal, by large native boats, and with Burma, principally over land. The boats are manned by twenty, thirty, forty or more oarsmen, according to their size, and make only one trip a year; they sail when the wind is favorable, and at other times are propelled by the oar. The overland trade with Burma is carried on through passes in the Yoma mountains, of which the principal one is at Aing, the merchandize being usually carried on the backs of bullocks; but when of little weight, by men. The details of this trade I have not been able to ascertain, nor of that by native boats. A statement of the exports from Akyab to Bengal and Burma during the years 1838-9 and 1839-40, which I have seen, shows their value for the two years to have been five hundred and forty-three thousand two hundred and thirty-one rupees. The principal products of Arakan exported to these countries, were cotton, ivory, beeswax, dried fish, hides and buffaloes' horns; their value was only seventy-four thousand six hundred and fourteen rupees. The other articles included in the statement were cash, British piece goods and birds' skins, from Bengal, gold and silver bullion and teak planks, from Burma, betel

from Penang, etc. The value of exports through the Aing pass to Burma was,

In 1837–38	. .	134,567 rupees.
" 1838–39	. .	201,776 "
" 1839–40	. .	120,671 "

The value of imports to Arakan from Burma was,

In 1837–38	. .	214,571 rupees.
" 1838–39	. .	271,976 "
" 1839–40	. .	221,617 "

The principal articles exported were British piece goods, betel, ngahpee, or small fish partially dried and pounded into pulp, birds' skins and edible birds' nests. The imports were bullion, cotton, silk, pawn boxes, palm leaf books, gold tinsel, etc. The carriers in this trade are principally Burmese and Shans. A small foreign trade is carried on from other parts of the province, of the value of which I have not been able to inform myself.

The natives of Arakan own no vessels, I believe, and none of them are engaged in trade to a large amount. A somewhat extended traffic is carried on within the province, the centres of which are Akyab, Aing, Kyouk Phyoo, and Ramree; perhaps Sandoway also should be included, but I believe its trade is very inconsiderable. The whole stock of many of the petty shopmen is not worth ten rupees, and some, I presume, begin their business with a much smaller capital than that. A few individuals invest two or three thousand rupees in trade; and perhaps the average value of stock on hand at any one time among all the traders in Arakan is about fifty rupees. In the large towns are fish and vegetable markets.

The commerce of this province is evidently far less extensive and valuable than it might be, and speedily would be, were it prosecuted with skill and enterprise.

There are no manufactures, except that of coarse cotton cloths for home consumption. These are made in nearly every house, and constitute the chief clothing of the people.

Mechanics and artizans of every sort are very scarce: a few blacksmiths, whose chief employment is to make and repair the dahs, or knives, owned in their respective neighborhoods; a few silversmiths employed chiefly in making the uncouth ornaments, universally worn by women and children on their ancles and wrists, and occasionally in making idols; and a few carpenters and carvers, who make book cases, ornamented with stick lac, colored glass and gold leaf, for the *keoungs*, and carve idols to place upon them, are the principal artizans in the province. A small number are engaged in making the shoe or sandal, usually worn by the Burmese and Mugs; and a very few in manufacturing umbrellas of paper, coated with Burmese varnish, which are in general use among the natives. A few oil-mills of the simplest construction are found in the province, and three or four saw-pits. The natives generally understand how to make boats, with the necessary rigging, and almost every thing else required by their rude state of society, except the articles above mentioned, for which they are indebted to special artizans.

Astrologers and conjurors are numerous, and there is a sufficient number of musicians, actors, dancers, etc.

The professional men are doctors, lawyers and priests. Doctors require no license, nor is any fixed term of study, or certain amount of medical knowledge, requisite to commencing practice in the healing art. A few medical books, briefly mentioning the symptoms of different diseases, and giving prescriptions for them, are found in the country; and public sentiment demands that a person have some knowledge of these, before declaring himself a doctor. The principle medicines used are the roots, bark and seeds of different vegetables, which do not appear to be active or thorough in their operation either as cathartics or emetics, nor indeed for any other valuable purpose. Neither bleeding, nor any other surgical operation is ever performed. The doctors cannot be said to be very successful in their practice: most persons who are seized with violent illness, or whose diseases are particularly obstinate, die; in many cases, probably, for want of a prompt and judicious administration of active medicines; milder cases are cured, or the

patients recover in spite of the doctor, I hardly know which. From the fact that I have often found doctors in Arakan seeking their living by other means, I judge that the medical profession is crowded; at the best it is not ordinarily a lucrative business, though a few eminent practitioners secure a good living. Midwifery is practiced only by women, whose knowledge too frequently fails, when most needed; and the consequence is, that most cases of preternatural labor terminate fatally. The regimen after delivery is not uniform; some prescribing a cold shower bath three times a day, for several days after confinement, while others immediately place the patient before a large fire, which is kept burning day and night for about a week.

It will be convenient to speak of the lawyers of the country in connection with what I have to say of its courts; and so of the priests, when its religions are considered. I might have observed, while speaking of the employments of the people, that there are some thousands of fishermen in the province, principally Mussulmans. Their exact number I have not ascertained; but it must be large as they have twenty-five hundred nets in use.

§ 4. *Religions of the Inhabitants.*

The Mugs and Burmese are Boodhists, and of course images of Guatama and pagodas erected to his honor are the objects of their worship. The moral precepts to be observed by all the worshippers of Guatama are these five: "Thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not kill, (a commandment understood to forbid the killing of all animals, as well as of men:) thou shalt not violate thy neighbor's wife, or daughter: thou shalt not lie: thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquors." Were these requirements but obeyed, how different would be the state of society in Boodhist lands! Other precepts are enjoined upon priests, and all those who wish to acquire the highest degree of merit. But, as Boodhism, in its precepts and practices, has been so fully and frequently described by missionaries and others, it is unnecessary to go into details respecting it here. The days of worship, of which there are four in every month, one at

each quarter of the moon, are observed by very few in Arakan; and the same may be said in reference to all the Boodhist rites. The Mugs are far more parsimonious in expending money in honor of Gautama, than their neighbors on the eastern side of the mountains. While great numbers of pagodas, temples and idols are fast going to decay, new ones are seldom erected. The reason often given for this is, that idolatry flourishes only when supported by Government; and it is true, that many of the pagodas, etc., in Arakan were built by the king and his officers, as is still the case in Burma. The people here, however, frequently give another reason: they say that a man under the former rule had no security for his money, as it was liable to be seized at any time by the officers of Government, so that those who had money preferred to expend it in "works of merit," hoping to reap a corresponding reward in their next state of existence; but that now, as every man is secure in the possession of all he has, the people prefer to invest their money in trade, etc., and make sure of their profit in the present state. Both of these reasons undoubtedly operate, and together, perhaps, go far to account for the decay of Boodhism in this country. I would, however, add another, which is the lack of confidence and interest in the religion of Gautama, clearly discernible more and more among the people. Sects and parties also are multiplying; and many of the more intelligent and thoughtful of the natives acknowledge that they see indications in the signs of the times, that Boodhism is soon to lose its influence here, entirely. The Mugs are more ignorant and superstitious than the Burmese: the worship of Nats is far from being done away with among them; many, who at other times are strictly orthodox, when visited by alarming illness, which bids defiance to the skill of their doctors, turn to those who profess the art of expelling these supposed authors of disease: Nat feasts are very common. A large part of the population have recourse to amulets, to ward off and heal diseases; use charms to protect them from evil spirits; and practice many other puerile and superstitious ceremonies, which are seldom known among the Burmese. On the whole, Boodhism is evidently far from flourishing in Arakan. There are, however, about six hundred *Poongees*,

or priests, in the province, for whom the inhabitants erect comfortable dwellings, called *keoungs*, and to whom they make offerings of rice, vegetables, etc., sufficient for their comfortable support. The priests attend funerals, and perform other religious rites, and teach the children of their parishioners to read and write: they profess chastity, poverty, and severe self-denial; and are greatly reverenced by the people, insomuch that parents bow down before their own sons, and treat them as vastly their superiors, the moment they assume the yellow robes of the priesthood. When a priest divests himself of his sacred garment, as he is at liberty to do, whenever he chooses, he "becomes a man," and is treated like other men.

The Mussulmans in Arakan profess the same faith as the followers of Muhammed elsewhere; but their practice is very lax and far from orthodox. They have the Koran only in Arabic, which none of them understand, though a few can read it; they are very ignorant of the tenets of their own faith, many knowing only the name of Allah; and the notions and practices of the idolaters around them are adopted by great numbers; indeed, several have entirely renounced the religion of their fathers, and embraced Boodhism. On the other hand, a few mosques are found here and there; Muhammedan festivals are usually observed; and there are, I think, one hundred or more ministers of the Mussulman faith in the province. Still the Muslem prophet has no very strong hold here, and not a few of his followers are ready to acknowledge, that the worship of the Eternal will soon become extinct in Arakan, unless preserved by Christianity. Most of the Mussulman ministers of religion pursue secular callings, and exercise their clerical functions only occasionally.

The Kyens appear to vary very little from Karens in their religious belief and practice. They have a confused idea of a great self-existent Being, subject neither to disease, old age, nor death, who is the creator of all things; but I never heard that they offer any worship to him. They make propitiatory sacrifices to the Nats, and all the friends of the offerer meet to eat the animal sacrificed, in company, as is supposed, with the Nats. It is said that the Kyens also

sacrifice dogs and eat them, imagining thus to regain some of the religious knowledge which dogs took from their forefathers, by eating their sacred books, written on dried skins! Of a future state, in which there will be a difference between the condition of the good and the bad, they have some vague ideas.[18]

I have learned nothing of the religion of the Toungmroos; but it must be of the rudest kind.

The religious notions and practices of the Kemees appear very much to resemble those of the Kyens, though their ideas of the great Being, superior to all others, are more vague. They too confine their worship to the Nats, whom they suppose to reside in the mountains, and to have an influence over their health, lives and crops. To propitiate these spirits they sacrifice buffaloes, hogs and fowls, especially at seed-time and harvest. When a Kemee is ill, a fowl is offered to the Nat supposed to cause the illness, not by killing it, but by sending it loose into the jungle. The Kemees have no definite ideas of a future state of retribution, though they believe in transmigration. Their mode of providing for the wants of the departed, after their bodies are burned, is peculiar. Near the burning ground they select for every deceased person a small spot of land, where they erect a neat miniature house, in which they deposit a portion of all the goods of the deceased, cooking utensils, spinning-wheels, fishing-nets, tobacco-pipes, etc.; adding a small portion of rice, and even a few fowls in a little cage, with paddy enough to keep them alive a few days.

The religion of the Karens in Arakan is identical with that of the same race in Burma, and the Tenasserim province, which has been so often and so fully described, that nothing need be said concerning it here.

§ 5. *Education.*

While the Burmese held Arakan, the Mugs were oppressed and degraded to such a degree that they are far less inquisi-

[18] Some additional particulars respecting the religion of the Kyens may be found in Ritter's Erdk. v. Asien. IV. 1. p. 281, &c. [E. E. S.]

tive and intelligent than the Burmese. The proportion of men here who cannot read is far greater than in Burma. Intelligent Burmese have told me that in their country nine out of every ten can read; but in Arakan, I should think that less than one half of the men can read, and am not sure that one fourth can. Few women learn to read in either country; not one in a thousand, I should say, among the Mugs. Under the milder rule of the East India Company the Mugs are rising from their degradation, and more of their children are taught. There is still, however, a distressing neglect of the education of children on the part of their parents; and this remark applies to all classes. I have no returns of the number of teachers and scholars in any other than the Akyab district, and I should hope that they are not a fair criterion of the state of education in the rest of the province; yet it cannot be vastly more favorable in the other districts. Among the one hundred and thirty-six thousand, or more, inhabitants of that district in 1841, there were only

214	Poongees	with 1,066	scholars.
45	Mug teachers	" 337	"
119	Muhammedan teachers	" 404	"
in all 378	teachers	" 1,807	"

The mountain tribes have no written language, and have not learned to read Burmese, so that they are of course immersed in the grossest ignorance. But the circumstances of those who can read only Burmese, are not much better, for they have access to no books which teach true science, or any thing scarcely that is true: absurd tales of Gautama, Nats, Beeloos, Nigban, etc., are all that there is to read. A learned man, in the Burmese sense, is one who can repeat Pali by the hour, the meaning of which not one in five thousand understands.

Some of the more intelligent natives here are beginning to perceive the errors and absurdities of their systems of astronomy and geography; but the great mass most firmly believe that the sun goes in a circuit over the four great

islands, and that night is occasioned by his passing behind Myenmo mount; that the stars are a sort of spangles stuck upon the sky; that we live upon the great southern island, which is nearly four hundred thousand miles in circumference, and other things similar, stated in their sacred books.[19] Some of the people profess to be very acute metaphysicians respecting a man's different minds, their several powers, etc.; others are subtle casuists, and apportion guilt to different acts with the utmost precision. Many of the Mugs are fond of discussion, but they are very apt to jump to conclusions, without having established their premises, and for hours together will reason in a circle, even after their fault has been clearly pointed out to them; it must be confessed, however, that some are rather able in argument, and shrewd to detect faults in the reasoning of others. Although books are tolerably abundant, and there are not a few men here who consider themselves very learned, and are so considered by others, yet ignorance the most profound reigns throughout the province.

The Government has made some provision for the education of its subjects, which promises to do a little good, and ultimately, perhaps, will prove an essential benefit. In 1838, two schools were established, one at Akyab, and the other at Ramree, the Honorable Company appropriating five hundred rupees per month to their support. The Akyab school has had a head master and a junior master, both of whom were English, with several native teachers, and from eighty to one hundred scholars, but it is now entirely broken up, principally on account of the unfitness and unfaithfulness of the English teachers. The Ramree school, of which a son of the Rev. Mr. Fink is now the head master, is flourishing; it contains one hundred scholars, the full number allowed by the committee in charge of it, of whom forty study English, thirty-five the vernacular, and twenty-five Oordu. The first English class study grammar, geography, arithmetic, and history, translate from English into Burmese, and vice versâ, are

[19] According to the Buddhist cosmography, our earth consists of four great islands, placed at the cardinal points, encircling the sacred mount of the gods, around which the sun makes its courses. [E. E. S.]

improving their reading and writing, both in English and Burmese, and pay some attention to original composition. In all schools under Government in India, Christian books are systematically withheld from the English classes, and the teachers are forbidden to communicate to their scholars the knowledge of God, or any of the truths of the Christian religion; at the same time, in some schools, all books in the vernacular languages are heathen, and consequently teach only what is fitted to becloud and degrade the mind of the learner. These restrictions exist in Arakan. A little has been done by individuals, towards educating the people; but the statement of particulars on this point belongs to the history of missionary labors in the province.

§ 6. *Domestic Relations.*

Domestic happiness is scarcely known among the Mugs. Marriage contracts are frequently made by parents for their children, while yet very young. Widowers, and young men of full age, however, usually choose for themselves whom they will marry, and seek to secure some return of affection by a regular suit, before the consent of the parents is solicited. Among the Mugs as well as the Burmese, the suitor is always expected to pay a certain price to the parents, and to make a present of clothing and jewelry to his betrothed, according to his ability. After all the preliminaries have been settled, a day is fixed for the wedding, and the relatives and friends of the parties are invited to a feast, at the house of the bride's father, when the bride and groom eat out of the same dish, and are declared to be husband and wife by that act. In many cases marriage has taken place but a few days, before those violent family quarrels commence, which are so common in Arakan. It is not very unusual for the husband, in a fit of rage, to drag his wife about the house by the hair, at the same time kicking or beating her most brutally, even to such a degree, at times, as to endanger her life; and on the other hand, the wife often uses to her husband the most loathsome and irritating language. One cannot be surprised, therefore, that divorces

are extremely common; and there is scarcely any obstacle in the way of procuring them, whether both parties or only one of them desire to break the marriage bond. If both parties desire a divorce, they have only to go before a village assembly, and make a declaration of their wishes; their property is then equally divided, and they separate, probably to reunite as soon as their displeasure at one another abates. Should the husband desire to divorce his wife, he must give up to her all their property, assume the wife's debts, and leave the house with nothing but the clothes he has on. Should the wife desire a divorce from her husband, she has only to tender him twenty-five rupees before some of the village authorities, which in ordinary cases he is bound to accept, or at most, she returns the ornaments given to her by her husband, and restores the money he paid to her parents; after which the divorce is completed by the wife's breaking a pawn leaf into two parts, eating one of them, and giving the other to her husband. In all these cases, the children are allotted according to their sexes, the boys being given to the father and the girls to the mother. As might be expected, considering the character of parents, the children grow up passionate and vicious. A parent occasionally chastises his child, but only in anger, by stamping upon him, or cruelly beating him with whatever comes first to hand, and the child is usually rescued from the enraged parent, either by the other, or by the neighbors; if he can manage to run away, and keep aloof till the passion of the parent subsides, he has nothing to fear, whatever may have been his fault.

I might have observed before, that polygamy, although perfectly lawful and respectable, is not generally practiced in Arakan. One of the *Thugees* at Cheduba has three wives living in the same house; another at Cheduba, beside one at Ramree, has two wives who live in different houses a mile or two distant from each other; and I have known one man who had three wives living at as many different places, where his business called him from time to time. Beside these, I have not met with a half dozen men who had more than one wife. I presume, however, that the actual number of polygamists in the province is not so very small, and that there would be more, were it not for the inability of

the people generally to buy and support more wives than one.

Parents and children, both married and unmarried, often live in the same house, and not unfrequently three generations constitute but one family. But too many causes of discord exist to permit such a family, or indeed any in Arakan, to be truly and permanently happy.

§ 7. *Dwellings, Dress, and Mode of Living.*

The houses of all classes in this province are built of bamboo, and covered with leaves. The posts are set in the ground, about two feet, and the floor is usually raised five or six feet above it. In each house is an eating room of considerable size, a small cooking room, one or two sleeping rooms, and frequently a small room or two, in which rice and other things are stored. The average cost of these houses may be estimated at about thirty or forty rupees; and although they are in many respects wretched habitations, yet the natives having never been accustomed to better, appear to be satisfied with them. A full and very decent dress for a man costs three or four rupees, and that usually worn, not more than half so much; the expense of a woman's dress is about the same. Children do not usually wear clothes, till they are six or eight years old. Men, women and children generally have but two suits of clothes a year, and are most of the time very filthy in their dress. The expense of food varies slightly in different places, but I think it is on an average, three or four rupees per month, for a man and wife with three or four children. Of course, many expend for house, clothing and food far more than the amounts mentioned, while not a few spend even less. All the household furniture of a respectable native is, in general, not worth more than five or six rupees.

Many of the people who live near streams, have boats which cost twelve or fifteen rupees, and several have those that are worth four times that amount; a few, about twenty I believe, have large boats that cost one hundred and fifty or two hundred rupees, in which they go to

Calcutta, Rangoon and other distant places, to trade. Most farmers own one or two pair of buffaloes, or oxen, though many do all their work with hired cattle. A few cows are kept for breeding, which are milked only where there is a foreign population to whom milk can be sold; in such places, a few goats are also kept. Around most of the houses a few fowls are found, which are raised to sell to foreigners, as Boodhists seldom kill animals, particularly domestic ones.

Beside the above mentioned articles, few of the people of Arakan possess any property of value; nearly all complain of their poverty, and the complaint is to a very considerable degree well founded. Still, most families keep a string of rupees to ornament the necks of their naked children, and also furnish them with silver ornaments for their wrists and ankles; and when the children are ten or twelve years old, an expensive feast, with music and dancing, is made, at the ceremony of boring their ears; considerable expense too, attends the marriage feasts, as well as those made when boys assume the yellow cloth, for the purpose of pursuing the more advanced studies at the keeungs. Feasts are often made on other occasions also, and those who can afford it, sometimes give theatrical entertainments, which consist of an exhibition of puppets on the stage, while the dialogue is recited by players behind the scenes. With these entertainments the natives are delighted, and they often sit the whole night to witness them. Most persons are sure to lay by a sufficient sum of money to ensure them a decent burial or burning,—the latter being the more common, at least in the case of persons of much respectability: this money is expended in gilding and ornamenting the coffin, hiring musicians to attend the funeral, purchasing offerings for the attending priests, and making a feast, a few days after the funeral. Some leave to their heirs a few hundred rupees, and a very small number some thousands; the majority have nothing to leave. On the whole, while it must be acknowledged that most of the inhabitants of Arakan are poor, they seldom suffer for any thing which their habits have rendered necessary to them, and the circumstances of many are yearly improving.

§ 8. *The British Government in Arakan.*

The civil administration of the British Government in Arakan is conducted by a Commissioner, with four Senior Assistants and one Junior Assistant. The Commissioner has a general supervision over the whole province, and his recommendations usually decide the amount of taxes, and all other questions pertaining to revenue, as well as the expenditures for improvements within the province, and almost every point touching its interests. He resides at Akyab, and holds a court there daily for the trial of appeals from the decisions of his Assistants; and in cases of murder, arson and some other crimes, he has original jurisdiction. He usually visits each station of the province, that is, the places of residence of the Senior Assistants, twice a year, to attend to such causes as may be brought before him; his salary is two thousand rupees per month. The Senior Assistants have charge of the four districts into which the province is divided, as will hereafter be mentioned; they attend to the assessment and collection of taxes, try civil and revenue causes, and minor crimes, and are considered chiefly responsible for the peace and prosperity of their districts; their salary is half as much as that of the Commissioner. The Junior Assistant, whose salary is only one fourth as much as the Commissioner's, is employed principally in the department of criminal judicature at Akyab, where a native judge also, has a place in the civil department.

A small number of sail and row boats are attached to the province, for the convenience of civil and military officers, and to transport troops and supplies from place to place. These are under the supervision of a Marine Assistant to the Commissioner, whose salary is four hundred and forty rupees per month.

The medical staff consists of a Civil Assistant-surgeon at Akyab, on a salary of four hundred and thirty rupees per month, one at Ramree whose salary is three hundred and fifty rupees per month, and one at Kyouk Phyoo, on a salary of three hundred rupees per month. At Sandoway, the medical officer is a Sub-assistant-surgeon who receives

one hundred and fifty rupees per month. At each of these stations is a native doctor, usually a Hindoo, educated at the Medical College of Calcutta, whose salary is from twenty to twenty-five rupees.

The province is divided, for the purposes of government, into four districts, the Arakan, more frequently called the Akyab, and the Ramree, Aing and Sandoway. Of these, Akyab is far the most populous and important; it contains about one hundred and thirty-six thousand inhabitants, and nine hundred and fifty villages; the Ramree district contains sixty-three thousand inhabitants, and four hundred and twenty-four villages; the Aing, twenty-four thousand inhabitants, and one hundred and fifty-six villages; the Sandoway, thirty-four thousand and fifty-three inhabitants, according to the census taken at the close of 1842, and one hundred and sixteen villages. The town of Akyab, containing five thousand inhabitants, is the capital of the district of the same name. The civil courts of that district are held there, as well as the Commissioner's Court, and there are the head quarters of the Arakan Local Batallion. The capital of the Ramree district is a town of the same name containing six thousand five hundred and eighty inhabitants. The town of Aing, near the foot of the Yoma mountains, was formerly the residence of the Assistant in charge of the Aing district, but a few years since Kyouk Phyoo, which now contains about two thousand inhabitants, was added to that district, and made its capital; this town is also the head-quarters of the regiment of Sepoys stationed in the province, and of the Departments charged with the superintendence of the Marine, and of the manufacture of salt. Sandoway, a town of one thousand six hundred and fifty-eight inhabitants, is the capital of the district of that name.

To give an idea of the governmental establishment of the Commissioner and his Assistants, I will describe that maintained at Ramree, with the details of which I have become more particularly acquainted. The arrangements for the administration of government in the other districts, are on a larger or smaller scale, as required by the circumstances of each.

At Ramree, one Writer on a salary of a hundred rupees per month, keeps the treasury and revenue accounts; another whose salary is sixty rupees per month, has charge of the judicial accounts, reports, etc. Both of these are *Eurasians*.[20] An officer called *Myothugee*, receiving eighty rupees per month, with three assistants, who severally receive fifteen, twelve and ten rupees per month, has charge of making up the yearly revenue settlements, preparing revenue suits, etc.[21] In small suits, the witnesses are examined before the Myothugee, who reports the evidence, with his opinion, to the Assistant-commissioner. All the revenue officers are Mugs. A *Sheristadar*, on a salary of sixty rupees per month, with three assistants on salaries of thirty, twenty and fifteen rupees, conducts the civil and criminal causes in court, corresponds with natives, and inspects the police reports;—the Sheristadar himself examines witnesses before the Assistant-commissioner, but gives no opinion on the causes. A native Record-keeper, on a salary of thirty rupees per month, keeps all the records in the Persian language.[22] A Mug Interpreter whose salary is twenty-five rupees per month, with his assistant who receives fifteen rupees, writes Mug subpœnas and writs, and conducts all the correspondence in the Mug language. A Treasurer who receives thirty-five rupees per month, with his assistant, who receives fifteen rupees, has charge of the receipt, custody and disbursement of all the money which passes through the Assistant's hands. A *Nadhir*, whose salary is twenty-five rupees per month, superintends the serving of

[20] Persons of Indo-British descent. [E. E. S.]

[21] The Myothugee and his assistants have under them, in the management of revenue affairs, a class of officers styled *Kywonaops*, of whom there are one hundred and sixty, according to the number of the circles, into which, as Mr. Comstock afterwards tells us, the whole province is divided; and whose business it is to receive the revenue from the hands of the *Rawagoungs* or village-heads, who are the direct collectors, and to aid the police officers of the several circles in the discharge of their duties. They are the same officers, afterwards mentioned by Mr. Comstock, as Thugees presiding over circles.

The immediate superior of the Myothugee, to whom he is amenable, is the Senior Assistant-commissioner in each district. S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. pp. 690, 91. [E. E. S.]

[22] This is to be understood only of the records of civil and criminal affairs; the revenue records are kept in the Burmese language. S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. p. 691. [E. E. S.]

subpœnas and writs, the levying of executions, the infliction of punishments, the receipt of all monies paid into court, for deposit in the treasury, etc. He is assisted by twenty deputies, who receive fees for serving processes, and for all the other duties they perform, paying over one fourth to the Nadhir. Attached to the establishment at Ramree, are four *Vakeels* whose duties are similar to those of Counsellors at Law in America: they manage causes in court, but have nothing to do with preparing the papers; their fee is five per cent. of the amount in suit. There are no licensed attorneys here: any one who knows enough may draw the plaint, and other writings in a suit, and on such terms as he and his employer may agree upon. To complete the list of officers of Government at Ramree, I may mention a *Duftree* whose salary is eight rupees per month, and whose duty it is to take care of the stationery, bind books, make pens, etc.; also six *Chuprassees*, personal attendants upon the Assistant-commissioner, who receive each five rupees per month.

A memorandum of the civil business of the courts, for the three months ending September 30, 1840, shows that a hundred and forty-seven causes, in the first instance, were disposed of by the Assistant-commissioners and native judge, and that a hundred and thirty-nine were pending. Of causes carried up, fifty-one were disposed of by the Commissioner, and a hundred and thirty-eight were pending. In civil causes, the plaintiff's costs are two rupees for stamp paper for plaint, half a rupee for stamp paper for the Vakeel's power of attorney, five per cent. of the amount in suit to Government, five per cent. to the Vakeel, fees for serving processes, and daily subsistence to witnesses. The defendant's costs are similar to the plaintiff's, except that he has not to pay the five per cent. to Government. In most cases, the defeated party in the end, pays all the costs.

Over every one or two thousand inhabitants, more or less, called circles, are appointed Thugees, who assess and collect the revenue, and exercise a general supervision. Under them are *Rooagoungs*, or village-heads, varying in number according to the population of the circles, also *Rooasayas*, or

village-clerks.[23] The Thugee receives fifteen per cent. of the amount of the taxes he collects, the Rooagoung four per cent., and the Rooasaya two per cent.

To prevent and to aid in punishing crime, police officers, twenty-five in number, are established at convenient and important points, throughout the province. The whole police force, including that in charge of the jails at Akyab, Kyouk Phyoo, Ramree and Sandoway, and forty-five men attached to the guard-boats, numbers more than eight hundred mĕn, who are disciplined and well armed. The highest police officer, the *Darogah*, receives thirty rupees per month, and the common police men, five rupees. The greatest check to the efficiency of the police force, is the disposition, almost universal with the natives, to take bribes: many criminals are in consequence not apprehended, or if arrested, escape unpunished. Still, the police establishment is a restraint upon crime, for criminals in most cases are known, and must either suffer punishment, or pay well for exemption. During the three months ending September 30, 1840, two hundred and thirty-seven cases of crime were disposed of by the Assistant-commissioner in Arakan, and thirty-one cases were at that time pending.

When the East India Company took possession of the province, taxes were imposed upon nearly every body and every thing in it. Conjurors and astrologers, of whom there are from four to six hundred, and prostitutes, unhappily numbering as many as eighty or one hundred,—almost, if not quite all of whom are Bengalees, and drummers and dancers were taxed, as well as the various classes of persons pursuing laudable occupations. Boats and nets, forests, shops, and other means of income were also taxed. But a few years since, all these taxes, except that on fisheries, were discontinued, and a capitation tax was established, one rupee less than that which had been levied. This measure relieved the people at once of a taxation of nearly one hundred

[23] The Burmese pronunciation gives to these village-clerks the title of *Rawatsares*, which is another instance of an *r*-sound in the Burmese, for the sound of *y* in the pronunciation of Arakan. S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. p. 690. [E. E. S.]

thousand rupees, and has been highly conducive to the interests of the province. The only tax imposed by the Burmese and now retained, beside that on fisheries, is one of four rupees per annum on all married people, and of two rupees on widowers; the old and infirm being exempt, and the hill tribes being taxed at only half that rate. The following abstract of the assessment of the province for the year 1839–40, shows the amount of the taxes then paid by the people, as well as the revenue derived from other sources:

	Rupees.
Mug house tax,	245,540
Hill " "	11,086
Rice land assessment,	295,731
Hill " "	8,325
Miscellaneous cultivation,	8,659
Orchards,	16,508
Fisheries,	6,620
	592,469
Deduct 21 per cent. for collecting,	124,418
	468,051
Edible birds' nests,	2,706
Tawree licenses,[24]	2,935
Bengal shrub[25] "	1,355
Opium "	3,076
Gunjah[26] "	327
Profit on the sale of opium,	2,121
Fines and forfeitures,	3,174
Escheats,	1,241
Premium on drafts,	720
Stamp paper,	5,637
Port dues,	9,836
Fees on civil suits,	1,212
Ferry funds,	2,490
Miscellaneous,	3,364
Hill Circles, not systematically assessed,	1,456
Total net revenue,	509,761

The revenue of the province is increasing from year to year, and is already sufficient to meet its ordinary expenses,

[24] i. e. Licences to sell palm-wine? [E. E. S.]
[25] i. e. Licences to sell an intoxicating liquor made from the sugar-cane? [E. E. S.]
[26] i. e. Licences to sell hemp for smoking? [E. E. S.]

while at the same time the mode of assessing it is such that it bears equally and not severely, upon all; and setting aside the opium licenses and grog shops, and the sale of opium, the sources of revenue seem liable to little objection. The same cannot be said of the road tax, if tax it can be called, being irregular and unequal. When a road or bridge is to be made or repaired, the people in its immediate vicinity are ordered to do the work, so that one village is subject to a heavy road tax, while another has scarcely any burthen of this sort; and a similar inequality often exists in the same village. The people of Arakan are also occasionally forced to furnish laborers and supplies, as needed by Government, in a manner which in many countries would be considered extremely arbitrary; but such a course may be unavoidable here.

The people generally are well pleased with British rule, and often contrast the security of property and life which they now enjoy, with the extortions and violence so common in former days. As far as the intentions and efforts of the English functionaries are concerned, little complaint is made by the people, but they still suspect the native officers, from the highest to the lowest, of bribery and injustice, and I fear in very many cases, with good reason. Still, that a very decided change for the better has been manifest since the province fell into the hands of the East India Company, no one can deny. At that time, agriculture was limited by the wants of the inhabitants, and commerce was unknown. Now, there is rice grown for exportation, which gives employment annually to six or seven hundred thousand tons of shipping; a considerable trade in salt is carried on; and commerce in several other articles is begun. The effect which these changes must have to increase the wealth and happiness of the people of Arakan is apparent; and the rice exported to the Madras coast furnishes most desirable relief to the inhabitants of that part of India, sometimes actually saving them from starvation; the trade in salt, too, confers substantial benefit upon the people of Chittagong, Dacca, etc. Gang robberies and other acts of violence and bloodshed, so frequent in former days, are now

almost unknown; taxes are for the most part moderate and uniform; trade is unfettered. The Yoma mountains are so distinct and indisputable a line of demarcation between the Company's territories and Burma, that border difficulties are scarcely possible. These and other causes combine to give the people confidence in the stability and protection of the Government, and the consequence is a marked improvement in the condition of the inhabitants, and a rapid increase of the population.

"Numbers of the descendants of those who fled in troublous times from their country, and settled in the southern part of Chittagong, the islands of the coast, and even the sunderbuns of Bengal, are gradually returning. During the northeast monsoon, boats filled with men, women and children, with all their worldly goods, may be seen steering south along the eastern coast of the bay of Bengal, to the land their fathers abandoned thirty or forty years before."[27] Individuals and families are also constantly coming in from Burma, and numerous Bengalee immigrants from Chittagong are every year settling in the Akyab district. The ratio of increase by births I have had no means of ascertaining. In the Ramree circle, containing seven thousand six hundred inhabitants, the births for the year ending December 16, 1837, were,—of males, one hundred and twenty-eight,—of females one hundred and fifty-nine, that is, two hundred and eighty-seven in all. The deaths during that year were a hundred and thirty-three, of which thirty-nine were of persons five years old, or under, twenty-five of those between five and ten years of age, and sixteen of those between ten and twenty. It is to be remembered that the census is taken by native officers, who, though very correct in their returns of taxable inhabitants, are very lax and careless in giving the number of the old and infirm, and of bachelors, women and children. These are always rated, as I think, far too low. Probably the present population of the province is not far from three hundred thousand. Very liberal measures have recently been sanctioned by Government, which are

[27] S. J. R. A. S. of B., X. p. 697.

adapted greatly to extend the cultivation of wild lands; and a better quality of rice and cotton has been introduced. These improvements will conspire with other causes already mentioned to increase the population, wealth, and happiness of the province.

NOTE ON THE ACCOMPANYING MAP.

The coast from Chittagong to Sandoway, including numerous creeks, is a very carefully reduced copy, from the best charts yet published. For that part below Sandoway, as no regular and accurate survey has yet been made, a tolerably correct map by Pemberton and others has been mainly followed. For sundry additions and corrections in that part I am indebted to notes by Captain A. P. Phayre and Rev. Mr. Abbott. To the former gentleman, I am also indebted for the best sketch of the Koladon, above the mouth of the Mee river, and for the source of the Mee river. In filling out the interior, a score of maps have been consulted, some of which were drawn by Europeans, and others by natives. Consultation with natives who are familiar with the numerous creeks and islands, has served to correct some mistakes as to names, and in some cases as to the positions of small rivers; yet I seldom trust to their judgment for distances. It will of course be understood, that no accurate survey of the interior beyond the deep waters of the creeks has ever been made.

With a view to fixing points in the map as to latitude, I have always improved every opportunity, when visiting different parts of the province, to take a meridian altitude of some heavenly body, and thereby to determine the latitude of the place. But my travels have been too limited to enable me to add much to the map, from personal observation. With care, I have obtained among others, (not important to be mentioned,) the following latitudes:

Chitsa's Village, . .	21°	6′	30″	N. Lat.
San Kwan's " . .	20°	32′	00″	"
Taroke, . . .	20°	34′	00″	"
Arakan, . . .	20°	35′	00″	"
Tonko, ...	20°	15′	30″	"
Cruda, ...	20°	18′	00″	"
Sandoway, . . .	18°	28′	19″	"

The following latitudes and longitudes are given in the chart of D. Ross, corrected and published in 1839:

Akyab,	.	20°	8′	12″	N. Lat.	.	92°	56′	00″ Long.
Kyouk Phyoo,		19°	26′	23″	"	.	93°	35′	00″ "
Ramree,	.	19°	5′	35″	"	.	93°	54′	00″ "
Sandoway,	.	18°	28′	40″	"	.	94°	56′	30″ "
Arakan,	.	20°	35′	00″	"	.	93°	3′	30″ "
Aing, .	.	19°	49′	35″	"	.	94°	4′	30″ "

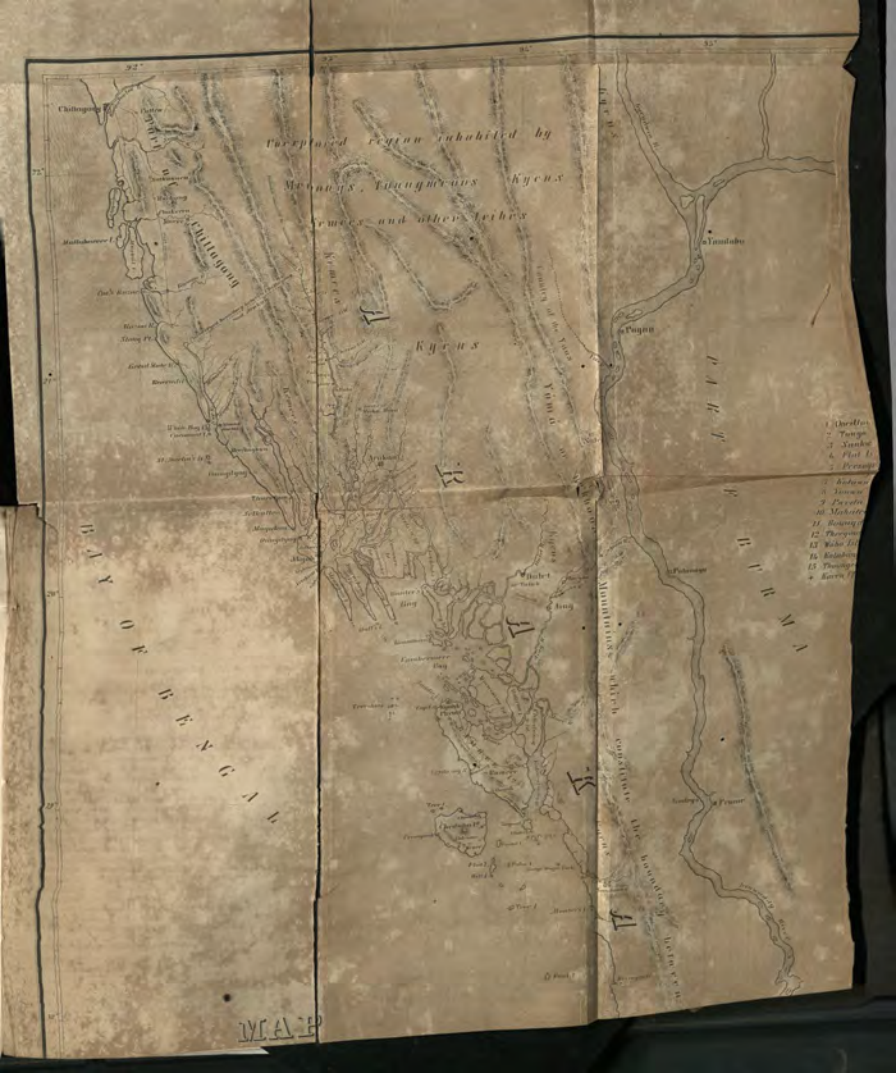
On the whole, much care has been taken to render every part of the map as correct as possible; but that it contains no error, it were folly to pretend, since only a minor portion of the province has yet been surveyed, or even visited, by Europeans. It is believed that the coast and all the principal inner waters are very correctly laid down, and that the whole gives a more accurate representation of Arakan than any map yet published. It was drawn in compliance with the special and urgent request of our departed friend, Rev. Mr. Comstock, and was designed to accompany his Notes on Arakan.

Explanations of the Orthography of the Map.

á . . . . . *a* in *America*, and sometimes *a* in *father*.
ā . . . . . *a* in *name*.
ó . . . . . *o* in *note*.
ei . . . . . *ei* in *vein*, in all cases.
ey . . . . . *ey* in *they*.
ai . . . . . *i* in *find*, in all cases.

L. S.

Akyab, May 26, 1845.


Chittagong R.
Chittagong
Mattabarree R.
Sandoway R.
Kyaukpyoo
Ramree I.
Cheduba I.
Kintaul Mouth R.
Bluff Head
Negrais C.
Table Mt.
Diamond I.
Arakan
Arakan R.
Kyaukpyoo
Sandoway
Ramree
Cheduba
Kintaul
Negrais
Table
Diamond
Arakan
Mayoo R.
Mayoo

THREE CHAPTERS OF GENESIS

TRANSLATED INTO THE

SOOAHELEE LANGUAGE.

BY THE REV. DR. KRAPF.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY W. W. GREENOUGH.

THREE CHAPTERS OF GENESIS

TRANSLATED INTO THE

SOOAHELEE LANGUAGE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE general characteristics of the tribes inhabiting the East Coast of Africa, from 5° north, to 25° south latitude, from Mugdasho (Magadoxo, Megadocia) to Delagoa Bay, were first illustrated by Portuguese explorers, the earliest European settlers in that region. Though subsequent travellers have ascertained more precisely the geographical limits, the physical structure, and the languages of the distinct races, yet the climate of the country and the barbarous habits of the inland tribes have greatly restricted inquiry. Aside from accounts of the strip of land bordering on the sea, the information published to the world is for the most part vague and uncertain. The country and people are well worthy of observation, and full statements of their mode of life, of their religious culture, and of their physical history, together with faithful vocabularies of their dialects, are very desirable with reference to the problem of the origin and descent of the various African tribes.

Among the natives of the East Coast who have been brought in contact with the whites of late years, frequent mention is made of a people called, variously, the Sooahelee, Sowauli, or Sowhylese,[1] who are found upon the coast and

[1] Also written Suahili, Soahili, Sowaiel, Sowhelians.

islands from the river Juba to Zanzibar. By some writers they are said to extend from Mugdasho to Mombasa, and there is reason to believe that they are spread as far south as Delagoa Bay. They are subjects of the Sultan of Muscat.

Of their physical appearance different accounts are given. Salt[2] describes them as of the true negro race, black, stout and ill-favored. Mr. Bird[3] states that they have jet black complexions and woolly hair, without the thick lips and protruding mouth of the negro. Captain Owen[4] calls them "a race of Mohametan Moors," differing from the Arabs and native Africans. Mr. Browne[5] gives them a still comelier appearance. He says, in complexion they closely resemble the red Indians of North America. Their features are good, though not handsome, being a medium between the Arab and the African; less regular and comely than the first, and partaking more of the characteristics of the Circassian than the last. Though these authorities differ as to color, they do not therefore discredit one another. An analogous variety of complexion appears in the natives of the West Coast of the same parallel of latitude. The color of the people of Congo is stated to be black, but differing in degree; "some are of a dark brown, some of an olive, and others of a blackish red, especially the younger sort." The immense triangle of country extending from Congo on the west to the river Juba on the east, and to the Cape of Good Hope on the south, although inhabited by tribes of two great races varying in color from the light olive of the mountainous regions to the black of the equatorial plains, does not present in its darkest hues the polished-ebony blackness of the native of Guinea. An intelligent writer[6] characterizes the color as a diluted and sallow black, not darker than brown, but without the sanguine and lively radiance of the latter color. It may be added that they differ in other physical traits from the true negro, having generally neither the flattened noses nor high cheek bones, as developed in the Jalofs and Mandingoes.

[2] Salt's Travels in Abyssinia. Appendix.
[3] Prichard's Researches into the Physical History of Mankind. Vol. II. p. 299.
[4] Journal of Royal Geographical Society. Vol III. p. 209.
[5] Brown's Etchings of a Whaling Cruise. p. 335.
[6] Edinburgh Review. No. 124.

Of the two great races, spoken of above, the most important, most widely extended and most intellectual, is what may be termed, for want of a better name, the Kaffir family. Sufficient proof exists of similarity of physical structure and of affinity of language to authorize the conclusion that nearly all the tribes of Africa, of which we have account, south of the equator, with the exception of the Hottentots, possess a common origin, and are to be included in the Kaffir race. It was long since observed that the language of the natives of the west coast, at 20° south latitude, was cognate to the dialects of the same parallel at the east. Captain Owen[7] says that the languages of Sabia and Sofala are akin to those of Delagoa Bay, which are undoubtedly Kaffir. Lichtenstein gives it as his opinion that all the native tribes south of Quiloa, (9° south latitude,) are of the Kaffir stock. It is now evident that the languages of Zanzibar and Melinda belong to the same class.

Though the words which are common to the various idioms of South Africa, as yet written, are comparatively few in number, still they may be considered sufficiently numerous to indicate the same kind of affinity as that allowed to the Indo-Germanic nations. There is not space here to give as full proof of this fact as is desirable. We have annexed a table of numerals, from one to ten, taken from the languages spoken in various parts of the great *terra incognita*, in which sufficient similarity exists to substantiate in an important degree our assertion. One marked peculiarity may also be specified. The syllables M', MU, N', and AN, coming before the names of tribes from Majomba to Angola, are equally prevalent on the East Coast. It may in general be observed of the Kaffir dialects, that they are sonorous in character, possessing few gutturals and nasals, generally accenting the penult, and that the vowels are simple and open.

The Sooahelee has been called a lingua franca, on account of its containing more words of a foreign origin than other languages of the same family; for which reason, also, it is said to be used as the language of trade. The principal port

[7] Owen's Voyage. Vol. I. p. 276.—Prichard's Researches. Vol. II. p. 295.

of the coast is Zanzibar, and at that place the Arab, Banian and Hindustanee merchants are brought into connection with the native races. The government also is Arab, and Zanzibar is the residence of the Sultan. From this mixture of races many words have undoubtedly been added to the vocabulary of the Sooahelee;[8] but from the version before us, and the vocabulary given by J. Ross Browne, it is evident that the language belongs, in its idioms and construction, to what we have called the Kaffir stock.

In the annexed table of numerals, no specimens are given from the dialects of the Somauli, Gallas, &c., who live to the north and north-west of the Sooahelee, as they belong to another race. It will be noticed that the table[9] follows, as nearly as practicable, the geographical order. The Hindustanee and Arabic are added for the sake of contrast.

The accompanying version is from the hand of the Rev. Dr. Krapf, a gentleman for several years in the employ of the English Church Missionary Society in Abyssinia, and the author, with Mr. Isenberg, of a journal of travels in that country. His residence among the African tribes of that region gave him peculiar advantages in the acquisition of dialects, and he was appointed interpreter to the English Embassy to Shoa, under the direction of Captain Harris. This translation into the Sooahelee is *the first connected specimen of the language yet published*, and was made after a six months' residence among that people, in the year 1844. It was presented by the author to the United States Consul at Zanzibar, Richard P. Waters, Esq., now of Salem, Massachusetts, who sent it to the late Hon. John Pickering. It is greatly to be regretted that in the present case the learned world has been deprived of the benefit of that power of illustration which has lent such great value to all the linguistic labors of the late President of this Society.

[8] Many Arabic words will be noticed in the version which follows.

[9] In the table, the capitals S. B. K. indicate the authorities Salt, Browne and Krapf.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF NUMERALS.

	Sooahelee.	*Mozambique.*	*Delagoa Bay.*	*Bechuana.*	*Kusah.*	*Mandongo*	*Angola.*	*Kongo. (Embomma.)*	*Camba.*	*Sonho.*	*Loango. (Malemba)*	*Banda*	*Hindustance.*	*Arabic.*
ONE.	Chemoje, S. Moya, B. Modja, K.	moosa	chingea	mongahela	inye	omma	mochi rimochi	mosey moschi	moschi	móchi	base bosey boose	móchi	ahek	ahad
TWO.	Mabbero, S. Tatoo, B. Pilee, K.	pili	severoy	babéori	mabini babini	meere	maiori quiara	mooly meere	soli	solle	colé soli	yari	do	ithnân
THREE.	Mudatoo, S. N'nee, B. Tatoo, K.	badatoo thara	trirarou	t'harro bararro	mat'hatu atatu zintatu	metatu	quitata	sitatu tatoo	tattu	sátu	tattu tatau tato	sátu	tîn	thalâtheh
FOUR.	Muchecche, S. Tanoo, B. N'nee, K.	mesana ssessé	moonzu	inn'ni	mavi sanu zino	mina	nana quiguana	m'na siya		maia	gaecaquea ona	uâna	tchâr	arba'eh
FIVE.	Manoo, S. Boelo, B. Tâno, K.	thana	thanou	thanou	masthlanu zinhlanu		itano quitunu	sittan toanoo		sánu	tanu taneo	sánu	pantch	khamseh
SIX.	Funjate, S. Sitta, B. Setta, K.	thana moosa		t'haro	sikana zintandatoo		samannu	sambanoo		sámánu	sambanou	samannu	tchha	sitteh
SEVEN.	Mukendeh, S. Sabla, B. Sabaa, K.	thana pili		liasjupa	sinhandatte zixenxe	entshevine	sambuari	sambody sanboari		samboári	sambouady	sambuari	sât	seb'eh
EIGHT.	Munnané, S. Nanee, B.	thana ssesse		arinn'ni	zimboxo sibozo		naqui	sinan n'ana		náne	enana	naqui	âth	thamâniyeh
NINE.	Kome, S. Kenda, B.	looko			t'huome i-toba		irrua	nana		eôua	évana	ivoua	nau	tis'eh
TEN.	Moje, S. Kooma, B.	mino komili ssesse	koomau	ajume	sami i-shumi ajume			kumi coomy		cúmi	ocaumi	cunhi		'ashreh

TRANSLATION.

SECTION OF THE FIRST.
KEETOO-O DJA QUANZA.

In the beginning created God the heaven and
1. Mooanzo alioomba Mooigniazimoongo oowingo na
the earth.
n'tee.

And was earth without form void darkness
2. Yalikooa n'tee aina oozooree na toopoo; yalikooa keeza
upon depth and the spirit of God was
katīka shimo na roorkhoo ya Mooigniazimoongo yali
moving water.
īkipepēa katīka madjee.

Said let there be light and there was
3. Alinēna Mooigniazimoongo, īwa nooroo, ikāwa
light.
nooroo.

Saw that good
4. Akaōna Mooigniazimoongo, nooroo kooa endjēma,
divided between darkness.
akapambanooa baina ya nooroo na keeza.

Called day
5. Akaita Mooigniazimoongo nooroo m'tana, na keeza
night. evening morning day
oosīkoo. Yalikooa magribee na soobookhee sīkoo
one.
modja.

firmament water
6. Alinēna Mooigniazimoongo, īwa derădja katīka madjee,
illikoo pambanooa baina ya madjee na madjee.

And made
7. Akafania Mooigniazimoongo deradja, akapambanooa
which was under from
madjee yalio tīnī ya deradja mīongonimŭa madjee
above and it was like this.
killĭdjo djoo ya deradja: yalikooa kama hayo.

And called heaven.
8. Akaita Mooigniazimoongo deradja oowingo. Yalikooa
second.
magribee na soobookhee sīkoo ya pilee.

And said let be gathered the water
9. Alinēna Maoigniazimoongo nikookootāna madjee
which in place
ambāokooamba (yalīo) tini ya oowingo kooa mahālee
one, and let appear dry.
pamodja, pakadhehiree ookāfoo: yalikooa kama hayo.

earth the gathering
10. Akaita Mooigniazimoongo ookāfoo n'tee; na m'kootāno
of sea, and saw
wa madjee akaita bahăree: akaona Mooigniazimoongo
that good.
kama hayo, kooa mēma.

let bring forth grass
11. Alinēna Mooigniazimoongo, ikamēa n'ti djānee, na
its seed tree of fruit which yields
m'mēawāque na m'tee ya matoonda killidjo letta
in its kind and its seed in (or from)
matoonda kooa ghensiāque m'mēawāque miongoni
itself upon so.
muāque katika n'tee; yalikooa kama wifīo.

And brought forth grass and gave seed in (or after)
12. Illitoka n'tee djānee illipāwa m'ēa kooa
yielding whose seed
ghensiāque, na m'tee wegnie matoonda m'mēawāque
was within it
oolikooa n'danee kua ghensiāque: akaōna Mooigniazi-
good.
moongo kama hayo kooa mēma.

third.
13. Yalikooa magribee na soobookhee sīkoo ya tātoo.

much
14. Alinēna Mooigniazimoongo, īwa nooro nenghee katīka
oowingo ikapambanooka baina ya m'tāna na oosīkoo,
let them be signs season years.
īllikooa mēadjīsa na samani, na sīkoo na miāka.
And they shall shine of to give light
15. Ikitanaooree katika deradja za (ya) m'bingo, ikasāgaa
djoó ya n'tee yalikooa kama wifio.

two great
16. Akafania Mooigniazimoongo nooroo m'bilee kooba,
of the lights ruler
ookoooo wa nooroo īllikooa sooltanee ya m'tana, na
little stars.
nooroo tōto, īllikooa sooltanee ya oosikoo na niōta.

of that they give
17. Akazifaniāzo katika deradja za m'bingo kooa koo letta
nooroo djoo ya n'tee.
That they shall rule to divide
18. Koo amooa m'tāna na oosikoo, koopambanooa baina
ya nooroo na keeza: akaona Mooigniazimoongo kama
good.
hayo kooa mēma.

fourth.
19. Yalikooa magribee na soobookhee sīkoo ya n'nē.

creature
20. Alinēna Mooigniazimoongo, koo tōka madjee oombo
much which breathes which has life fowl
nenghi mooigni poomzi, silīzo heyee, na nioonee
flying
warookāo katika n'tee tini ya m'bingo.

whale great every
21. Alioomba Mooigniazimoongo tēwa m'kooba na koolla
brought forth
oombo killidjo heyee ambāo kooamba madjee yametōka

much after its kind
kua wenghi nikama ghensiāque, na koolla nioonee
kooa ghensiāque : akaona Mooigniazimoongo kooa
mēma.

And blessed them increase ye
22. Akawabarika Mooigniazimoongo, akanēna, oongheanee,
become ye many fill
iwānee wanghee, djāānee katika madjee ya bahāree,
they shall be
na nioonee wakāwa wanghee katika n'tee.

fifth
23. Yalikooa magribee, yalikoo soobookhee sikoo ya tāno.

creature soul
24. Akanēna Mooigniazimoongo, kootōa n'ti oombo nafsi
wherein cattle
illio heyee kua ghensiāque, na niama wa m'foogo
creeping
nadāba na niama ya n'tee kua ghensiaque ; yalikooa
so.
kama wifio.

And created after
25. Akaoomba Mooigniazimoongo niāma ya n'tee nikama
species
ghensiāque, na niama rooa m'fanowāque, na koolla
dāba wa n'tee nikāma m'fanowāque. Akaona
Mooigniazimoongo kama hayo kooa mēma.

let us make man in
26. Alinena Mooigniazimoongo toofānee m'too kooa
our image likeness and they shall rule
soorazēnoo na m'fanoo wēnoo : kooâmooa katika
fish
n'zooee wa bahari na katika nioonee ya m'bingo, na
all
niama na iothe n'tee, na oombo iothe ambāo koo
which creeps
kooamba wadāpa katika n'tee.

his image
27. Akaoomba Mooigniazimoongo m'too kooa soorazāque
image he created him
kooa soora ya Mooigniazimoongo alimoombai ;
male female he created them both
manamoome na mamamke aliwaoombāo wawīli.

And gave them blessing
28. Akawatil a baraka akanena Mooigniazimoongo,
oonghēānee, iwānee wanghee, djaanee katīka n'tee,
and govern it
akawamooa, katika n'zooee wa baharee, na nioonee
air thing
wa djoo angani na kcolla kītoo kīllidjo heyee na
moves
killidjo kimetookoota djoo ya n'tee.

Behold I have given you
29. Aliena Mooigniazimoongo, angalīa, nimewapānooee
bearing seed
koollā djani kimeādjo katika n'tee iothe, na koolla
tree yielding seed your meat.
m'tee wegnie mēa īwa djakooladjetoo.

30. Na niama othe walīo katika n'tee na koolla nioonee wa
m'bingoonee, na koolla niāma ambāo kooamba wadāpa
katika n'tee, iwa djakooladjētoo : yalikooa kama hayo.

that he had made
31. Akaōna Mooigniazimoongo koolla alidjofania kooa
djemma m'no ; yalikooa magribee na sooboochee sīkoo
ya setta.

SECOND.

KETOO-O DJA PILEE.

1. Hiki kimetimīa m'bingo na n'tee na koolla oonghi
wāo.
2. Mooigniazimoongo aliquisha kooa sikoo ya sabaa kasiā-

que ambão kooamba alioifania, akasterikhee sikoo ya sabaa iothe kasiaque alioifania.

akatakasa

3. Akabariki Mooigniazimoongo sikee ya saboo, (akaikoozai) kooa sebaboo endīo sikoo aliopoomoosīka īothe kasiaque ambão kooamba alioioomba.
4. Na hāva wiombe ya m'bingo na n'tee pende alipo oombao katika sikoo ambão kooamba Mooigniazimoongo alipofania n'ti na m'bingo.
5. Na koolla m'tee oollīo katika m'pāka wa n'tee, isidjamēa katika n'tee na othe madjanee ya mawanda isidjamēa hakika. Mooigniazimoongo hakooiniēsha m'fooa katika n'tee, hapakooāna mana Adam katika n'tee.
6. Yalikooa koonghe likitōka mongonimooa n'tee likaniēsha n'tee iothe.
7. Akafania Mooigniazimoongo m'too oodongo katika n'tee akafoofia katika oosowāque poomzī za ooheyee, akawa m'too napoomzee za oozīma.
8. Akafanīa Mooigniazimoongo kioonga kooa mâo ya djooa wa Eden; akamwēka mahalee hāpo Adam ambão kooamba alimfanīa.
9. Akamtōa katika n'tee na koolla m'tee mema wa koo
(to see)
tesamika na wema wa wiakoola; na m'tee ya m'zīma tēna katikati ya kioonga, na m'tee ya m'djoofee wa wēma na wiōfoo.
(moomboo)
10. Palikooa na m'to oolliokitōka miongonimua Eden, illikoo neshetesa hidjo kioonga; na mahali hāpo paligawanīka witōa (n'dīa nu) wi nē.
11. Djina la quanza Pison, naie amekoosania n'tee iothe Havilah ni mahalee pa tōkapo dahaboo.
12. Na dahaboo ya n'tee hiyoo ni wema: na mahalee hapo hoopatikāna looloo na djīwē ya bilauree.
13. Na djina la m'to wa pīlee n'dio Gihon, naie amekoosania iothe n'tee ya Ethiopia.
14. Na djina la m'to wa tatoo Hiddekel, nāo kooendēa oopande wa nāo ya djooa wa Assyria. M'to wa n'nī Euphrates.
15. Alitōa Mooigniazimoongo m'too, akamnēka katika kioonga dja Eden koolīma akitoonsai.

16. Akamooamooroo Mooigniazimoongo akaneña na m'ti illīo katika kioonga (lāni nignooee) lā wēwe.
17. Lakeni miongonimua m'ti ya wema na wōfoo oozikē: hakikaio sikoo oottakaio koola miongonimua, oottakooffa.
18. Alinēna Mooigniazimoongo, see wēma, aka m'too pēkē, mimi tanofaniai yēē mooignikoomsāidīa.
19. Aka oomba Mooigniazimoongo katika n'tee wothe niama wa barra (nēnē) na koolla nīoonee kooa m'bingooṇee, akawāletta wothe kooa Adam, illikoo angalīa akawāpa madjina: na koolla aliopāwa djina ni Adam katika kitoo killidjo kizima, endilo djinalaque.
20. Akaita Adam wothe niama kua madjinayāo, na othe nioonee wa m'bingoonee, na othe niama, walio katika n'tee, laneni yee Adam hakooa Moognī koopata yee Mooignikoomsaidiā.
21. Akamkootanīsha Mooigniazimoongo na'leppī la oosinghīsee aka lāla: akatoa m'bāfoo miongonimua m'bafoosaque, akadjāsa nīama.
22. M'bafoo, yalitoa Mooigniazimoongo miongonimua m'too, akadjenga manamke, akamletta kooa Adam.
23. Akanēna Adam, hakika ya haya nimifoopa miongonimua mifoopayango nīniama miongonimua niamayango, hooyoo yoo wētōa m'toomke, hakikai alitoāwa miongonimua m'too.
24. Kooa hayo akaāta m'too babai na mamai akamkambata m'toomke wāque wakīwa watoo wawīlee mooīlee oomodja.
25. Walikooa wōthe toopoo, Adam na m'toomkewāque, hawa kooa (wegnee koodja) wakitsha.

KITOO-O DJA TATOO.

1. Nīōka alikooa na hīla miongonimua wothe niama wa n'tee ambāo kooamba walioomba Mooigniazimoongo. Akamambia m'toomke kua sebaboo gāni Mooigniazimoongo kooa amooroo nignooee kootoakoola iothe mīti yalīo katika kioonga?

2. Akadjīboo m'toomke niōka tootakoola miongonimua matoonda ya m'tee ambāo kooamba oolīo katika kioonga:
3. Lakenee miongonimua matoonda ya m'tee ambāo kooamba oolio katikati ya kioonga, Mooigniazimoongo alitōa amooroossui kootōakōola, kootōa (bofīa) toosudjekooffa.
4. Akanena niōka, akamambia m'toomke, hatootakooffa.
5. Hakikai Mooigniazimoongo nimdjoofee, katika sikoo tootakaiokoola miongonimua, yatafanooka mato ētoo, m'takooa m'fano wa moongo, m'tadjooa mēma na maōfoo.
6. Pende alipoōna m'toomke, m'tee mema wa wiakoola, nimema katika mato, na m'tee ooka tetta oodjoofee, akatōā miongonimua matoondayaque, akāla, akampa moome wāque tena, na hooyoo akāla.
7. Yakafanooka matoyāo, walidjooa, koo wakooa toopoo, wakashōna madjani ya m'tee wa tēnee, wakafania oongooo ki oonōnee.

sauffi

8. Wakasikīa m'tarakāsho ya Moongo adjanenda katika kioonga, wakāti oolipofooma oopēpo bada ya dohoree, akadjifita Adam na m'kēwe: kootoawonekāna ni moongo katika kātee ya miti wa kioonga.
9. Akamīta Moongo Adam, akamambiai, wewe oowāpee?
10. Akanena Adam, mimi nimesikīa sauttiyako katika kioonga, nimekootsha, hakika nalikooa toopoo, nalidjifīta.
11. Akamambia Adam, m'nāni aliakoodjoofīa wewe kooa toopoo? hakikaio oolikoola m'tee ambāo kooamba nilio koo amooroo kootoākoola miongonimua m'tee hooo.
12. Akanena Adam, m'toomke ambāo kooamba wewe oolinīpa nami n'die alionīpa m'tee hooo, nikāla.
13. Akanena Mooigniazimoongo akimambia m'toomke, oometendani wēwe haya? Akamtikisa m'toomke, niniōka n'die alionipotēsa nikāla.
14. Akanena Mooigniazimoongoo akamambia niōka (kooānee) wewe oolie tenda haia, nimekoolānee wewe kooa othe niama wa m'foogo, na othe niama walio katika

n'tee ; matoombonimooāko m'dadabatāpa m'takoola tāka sikoo sothe wa azimawāko.

15. Tawēka ooadooi baina yako na m'toomke, baina watotowāko na watotowāque ; naie attakāta ketodjāko, nawe ootakāta kisikinodjataque.
16. Akamambia m'toomke, taonghēsa sana madjonziwako na mimbayako ; kooa mashaka ootawia watoto wako ; na madakuāko ikawa pamodja manamoomewāko, naie attamooa djooiyāko.
17. Na Adam akanēna, hakika oomesikīa sautti ya m'toomewāko oomekoola miongonimua, mtee ambāo kooamba nilio koo amooroo kootoa akoola miongonimua m'tee hoo-o nimenlānee n'tee kua sebabooyāko ; kua mashāka oottakoola miongonimuayaque koolla sikoo za oozimawāko.
18. Mība na m'biliwili attatōa ; ootakoola na madjani ya n'tee.
19. Na kua harri za oossoyado oottakoola mookātee, hatta ooroodee wendee katika n'tee, ambao kooamba alitiva miongonimua : hakika wewe oodongo nawe katika m'tanga ootereghēa.
20. Akaita Adam djina la m'toomkewaque Chawa, hakikai ni mama ya wothi waiio wazima.
21. Akamfania Moongo Adam na m'kēwē oongoo-o miongonimua n'gōfee wakāwa othe wawīlee.
22. Akanena Mooigniazimoongo hooyoo endīē Adam amekooa kana modja miongonimuaētoo adjooa mema na maōfoo : na sasa kooenda hanooniōshi mookonowaque, akatōā tēna miongonimua n'tee akāla wa oozima milēle.
23. Akamtoāi Moongo miongonimua kioonga dja Eden koofania kasi ya koolima katika n'tee ambāo kooamba alēmtoai yēē.
24. Hīwi akamtōa Adam, akaweka katika māo ya djooa wa kioonga dja Eden Cheroobini, na oopanga wegni mooanga, illikootoonsa n'dīa ya m'tee wa oozīma.

M. BURNOUF

ON THE

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA.

It may be remembered, that in the last number of this Journal reference was made to a memoir on the origin of Buddhism, read before the French Institute by Professor Burnouf of Paris, the publication of which might be expected to throw new light upon this system of religion. Since that time, the first volume of an extensive work on the history of Buddhism in India, has been published by M. Burnouf, under the title: *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*,[1] which, both on account of the original authority of its materials and the careful criticism employed upon them, lays a surer foundation for the study of the history of Buddhism, generally, than we have before had. It is a *resumé* of what is found in the books of the Nepalese Buddhists, written in Sanskrit, which were brought to light by the diligent and sagacious research of B. H. Hodgson, Esq., late British Resident at the court of Nepal, and by him transmitted to the Asiatic Societies of London and Paris. What gives a special value and interest to these books is, that they appear to be the originals from which the books

[1] Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien, par M. E. Burnouf, de l'Institut de France, &c. Tome premier. Paris: 1844. pp. 647. 4to.

of the Buddhists of Thibet, Mongolia and China have been translated into their respective languages. On this point M. Burnouf says :[2]

"Although our information at present is limited, yet it suffices to place the collection of the Sanskrit books of Nepal in that point of view in which Mr. Hodgson desired they might be regarded by the learned of Europe. It is a fact conclusively demonstrated, that the greater part of the books held sacred by the Buddhists of Thibet, Tartary and China, are but translations of the Sanskrit texts recently discovered in Nepal, and this fact alone decisively marks the place of these texts, relatively to that collection of documents which the nations of Asia just mentioned furnish for the general history of Buddhism. It presents them to us as the originals, of which these documents are only copies, and restores to India and to its language the study of a religion and philosophy of which India was the birth-place."

Indeed, a comparison of these translations of the Sanskrit texts with their originals, has shown the necessity of being very cautious as to relying at all upon the former, as independent authorities, for they are found to be both too literal and too paraphrastic. It is therefore of the first importance to know what may be gathered from the collection of original documents, thus happily rendered accessible, respecting either the literary history, the social institutions, or the speculative doctrines of Buddhism, in order to our obtaining correct views of the development of this religious system.

Each of the three divisions of the Scriptural Canon of the Buddhists, including the Sutra, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma,[3] is represented in this collection. The first of these is regarded by Buddhist tradition, as comprising more especially the words of Buddha himself; and our author's investigations have proved it to be chiefly made up of familiar discourses attributed to him, which probably do not differ much, either in style or substance, from what his lips actually spoke. The title of Sutra is not appropriate to the form of these compositions; it was given to them, we suppose, merely on account of their containing such fundamental

[2] S. *Introduction*, p. 9.

[3] These three titles may be rendered, *Fundamental texts, Discipline, and Metaphysics.*

maxims and axioms of the Master, as in the ancient Brahman literature, were wont to be expressed in the sententious manner denoted by that term. The Sutra is divided into sections, each of which begins with some words like these: "This is what was heard by me, one day when Bhagavat was in such a place, when such were his auditors," and ends with a sentence to this effect: "When he had finished his discourse, all present were greatly delighted and approved his doctrine;" and tradition refers this form to Buddha's own direction to his disciples, as to the manner in which they should reply to those who sought instruction from them. But among the writings included in this portion of the Canon, and having the form just described, the critic discovers some which evidently have been elaborated more than the rest, and are of later date. Most of them, indeed, bear the stamp of primitive times, inasmuch as they bring upon the scene none other than human beings; as their style is simple; as the state of society which they depict, is that of the period of Buddha's appearance in India, according to the most probable chronology; and as they give but an imperfect development of the doctrines and usages introduced by the new Teacher. The parts of the Sutra bearing these marks of high antiquity, give us, there is reason to believe, nearly the actual words of Buddha. On the other hand, there are some parts which bring before us many fabulous personages; and are composed in an artificial style, mingling prose and verse in regular alternation, with repetition of the sentiment; which also teach a systematic form of doctrine, and show a corrupt dialect in some of their words and phrases, while the rest of the Sutra is in classic Sanskrit. These, it is evident, must be considered as belonging to a subsequent age. It should be observed, however, that in some of the parts of the Sutra, which seem, in general, the most ancient, there are references in the form of prediction, to certain historical persons, who are known to have lived a long time after Buddha's death, showing that the entire composition even of these is not to be referred to the same early period.

The second division of the Scriptures of the Buddhists,

as found in the Nepalese collection, is distinguishable from the Sutra, by the absence of that set form of beginning and ending, which marks off the several portions of the latter. Its contents, also, differ somewhat, for it consists of legends relative to Buddha and his followers, illustrating moral and ceremonial duties by examples of conduct, and does not, like the Sutra, give prominence to Buddha himself, in the act of teaching. But its simple and popular style favors the opinion, that we have here, for the most part, a true picture of the life of the Master and his early disciples, as well as trustworthy reminiscences of his instructions; and, according to tradition, as has formerly been mentioned in this Journal, the legends of the Vinaya began to be collected even at the time of the first Buddhist council, immediately after Buddha's death. Yet there are in the Vinaya, pretended predictions, like those of the Sutra, which we must regard as allusions to the contemporaneous, or past history of an age much later than that of Buddha; so that different portions of this class of books are to be distinguished in respect to their antiquity.

The third division of the Buddhist Scriptures is represented in the collection of Nepal, by works in the dialogue form, devoted to the discussion of purely metaphysical subjects. These are intimately related in doctrine to those parts of the Sutra which give evidence of a later systematic unfolding of the ideas of Buddha, by his disciples; and it accords with this, that the Abhidharma is held not to have emanated directly from him, but to be a sort of digest of the metaphysical views involved in what he taught.

From this general description of each of the divisions of the Tripitaka,[4] as they appear in the collection of the Sanskrit books of the Nepalese, it would seem that whatever is contained either in the Sutra, the Vinaya, or the Abhidharma, claims to have the authority, more or less direct, of Buddha himself, and therefore ranks as inspired teaching. There are also, however, among the books lately brought to

[4] i. e. *The three Collections*,—a title applied by the Buddhists to their Scriptures as a whole, but properly denoting the three parts which make up their Canon, established by council.

light in Nepal, works purporting to have been composed by various authors, which constitute a body of uninspired Buddhist literature. Of these M. Burnouf says: [5]

"Although to all appearance belonging to the latter ages of Buddhism, these works take up and remould ancient traditions and opinions. Legends, philosophy, religious practices,—they treat of all, and so determine for us, definitely, what are the constituent parts of the sacred literature. For, though their authors may have added to the primitive foundation developments foreign to it, they can not have innovated so far as to invent entire classes and categories of works."

The Nepalese collection contains besides, books called Tantras, which are chiefly made up of formulas of rites to be performed in honor of gods and goddesses of popular superstition. But we return to the works reputed to be inspired.

The Sanskrit books of Nepal, at the same time that they discover to us the three several divisions of the Scriptural Canon of the Buddhists, also contain express notices of that threefold distinction of the contents of the Canon, marked by general tradition as of primitive origin, with reference to which it has the title of Tripitaka. But there are other more or less comprehensive classifications of their sacred books, recognized by the Nepalese, as well as by other nations professing Buddhism, which it is of some importance to understand aright, as otherwise they might seem to indicate a variance in tradition, respecting the parts which properly make up the Buddhist Canon. In one of the Sanskrit books of Nepal reputed to be inspired, reference is made to "the four Agamas," as in this passage: "After he had been introduced to the life of a Devotee, by the respectable Sariputra, he received the investiture and the knowledge of the four Agamas;" and in this: "Let him establish here the four Agamas;" [6] and among the Singalese and Chinese Buddhists four parts of their Scriptures are known under a name of the same signification with Agama. But M. Burnouf has found reason to conjecture, that the Agamas are merely subdivisions of the Sutra. Again, it

[5] S. *Introduction*, p. 555.

[6] S. *Introduction*, pp. 48, 49. *The four Agamas* is the same as *The four Unequalled.*

appears from Mr. Hodgson's statements,[7] that the Buddhists of Nepal describe their Scriptures as consisting of twelve parts, giving to each its name. But only three of the titles, so reported, are affixed to books in the Nepalese collection, and these are severally applied to discourses of Buddha, legends of him and his disciples, and metaphysical works,—that is, to books of the three great divisions which compose the Canon of the Buddhists, according to the general tradition. The other nine titles seem to be merely designations of particular contents of one or other of these divisions, singled out and made prominent, for some special reasons.

We will now give specimens of each of the canonical parts of the Scriptures of the Nepalese, selected from M. Burnouf's volume,[8] of which about one half is made up of extracts. The following passages, taken from a tradition of the last words of Buddha, exemplify what we may call, with our author, the simple Sutra:[9]

"This is what I have heard. One day Bhagavat[10] was at Vâisâli,[11] by the side of the pond called Markatahrada, in the hall called Kûtâgara.[12] So then Bhagavat having dressed before noon, taking his mantle and pitcher, entered Vâisâli to receive alms; and having gone through the city for this purpose, he took his repast. When he had eaten, he ceased gathering alms, and having put up his pitcher and arranged his mantle, repaired to the place where stood the Tchâpâla-tchâitya,[13] and there sought the trunk of a tree, and sat down by it to pass the day."

Presently he addresses a disciple named Ananda, obscurely intimating that he would shortly leave this world, but his

[7] Mr. Hodgson has published essays of his own on the subject of Buddhism, in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II.; the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI.; the Journal of the R. As. Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II.; and in the Journal of the R. A. S. of Bengal, Vols. III.—VI.

[8] None of the Sanskrit text has been published; we must therefore translate from the French.

[9] S. *Introduction*, pp. 74—89.

[10] i. e. *The Worshipful*,—a title of Buddha.

[11] Now ascertained to have been a city of Central India, north of Pâtaliputtra, the modern Patna, on what is at present called the Gandaki river.

[12] i. e. *The edifice on the summit of the mountain.*

[13] A *tchâitya* is properly a place of religious worship, and this use of the word here would be in accordance with the representation of the Scriptures of Nepal, every where, that the followers of Buddha did not at first abandon the worship of divinities, although the doctrine they were taught, was atheistic in its tendency. But a looser acceptation of the word, as signifying a place consecrated to the rites of Buddhism, is admissible.

words are taken in another sense. Three times the same words are repeated, without being understood; after this Buddha says:

"'Go, O Ananda, seek the trunk of another tree to sit by, we are too close here.' 'Be it so, O venerable,' replied the respectable Ananda to Bhagavat, and having sought the trunk of another tree, he sat down there to pass the day."

Not long after, the earth is felt to tremble, meteors fall, the horizon sends forth flames, and noises are heard in the air, and towards evening, Ananda returning to Buddha and inquiring the cause of all this, is instructed that these prodigies presage his Master's speedy translation to the state of "complete extinction."

"Then the respectable Ananda spake thus to Bhagavat: 'If I comprehend, O venerable, the sense of the language of Bhagavat, Bhagavat, at this present time, having made himself master of the elements of his life, has renounced existence.' 'That is it, Ananda,' said Bhagavat, 'that is it, exactly. Even now, O Ananda, Bhagavat having made himself master of the elements of his life, has renounced existence.' (Then said Ananda:) 'I heard from the lips of Bhagavat, I received from his lips, being in his presence, these words: Any being who has investigated, comprehended, propagated the four principles of supernatural power,[14] may, if it is asked of him, live either to the end of the kalpa, or a whole kalpa. The four principles of supernatural power, O venerable, have been investigated, comprehended, propagated by Bhagavat. The Tathâgata[15] may, if it is asked of him, live either to the end of the kalpa, or a whole kalpa. Therefore, let Bhagavat consent to remain during this kalpa: let the Sugata[16] remain to the end of this kalpa.'"

To this Buddha replies by accusing Ananda of following

[14] More exactly, as M. Burnouf says, "the four grounds of supernatural power." They are, to use the language of our author, 1. "the faculty of conceiving the abandonment of every idea of desire;" 2. "the faculty of conceiving the abandonment of every idea of thought;" 3. "the faculty of conceiving the abandonment of every idea of energy;" 4. "the faculty of conceiving the abandonment of every idea of investigation;" from all which "it results that the Buddhists attribute supernatural faculties to him who has reached the point of imagining, that he has renounced all idea of desire, of thought, of effort, and of investigation, or meditation; that is, to him who has, as it were, disengaged himself from all mental activity." S. *Introduction*, p. 625.

[15] M. Burnouf approves of the signification of this title of Buddha, which Csoma derived from the Tibetan Buddhist books: *He who has run his religious career in the same manner as those who have gone before him.* The unanimous testimony of Nepalese tradition is, that Buddha gave this name to himself; but whether this was so, or not, it represents him as one claiming authority on the ground of his imitating the conduct of the ancient sages.

[16] i. e. *He who has happily come*,—another of Buddha's titles.

the suggestions of Mâra, or sensual attachment,[17] and bids him summon all the Devotees at the tchâitya called Tchâpâla, to the assembly-hall.

"Then Bhagavat repaired to the place where stood the assembly-hall, and having entered, sat down in front of the Devotees, on the seat reserved for him, and being seated, thus addressed the Devotees: 'All compounds, O Devotees, are perishable; they are not enduring, they cannot be relied upon with confidence; their condition of being is change,—so absolutely, that it is not proper, either to think of or to please oneself with anything, as a compound. Therefore, O Devotees, here or elsewhere, when I shall be no more, must the laws which exist for the benefit of the passing world, and the happiness of the passing world, as well as for its benefit and happiness hereafter, be compiled and comprehended by the Devotees, and through their instrumentality be preserved, preached and comprehended by others, in order that the Religious Law may continue long, be received by many people and be everywhere propagated, until it shall have been completely made manifest to dêvas and to men. Now, O Devotees, there are laws which exist for the benefit of the passing world, and the happiness of the passing world, as well as for its benefit and happiness hereafter, which must be compiled and comprehended by the Devotees, and through their instrumentality be preserved, preached and comprehended by others, in order that the Religious Law may continue long, be received by many people, and be everywhere propagated, until it shall have been completely made manifest to dêvas and to men. These laws are the four applications of thought,[18] the four complete renunciations,[19] the four principles of supernatural power, the five senses, the five powers,[20] the seven constituent elements of the state of Bôdhi,[21] the sublime way consisting of eight parts.[22] Such are the laws, O Devotees,

[17] S. Klaproth in Foĕ-Kouĕ-Ki, p. 247.

[18] Literally, *the four resting-points of thought.* M. Burnouf's first translation of the original expression was *les quatre soutiens de la mémoire*, which he alters in a note to *les quatre applications de la pensée.* These are, 1. the body; 2. sensation; 3. thought; 4. the Law. S. *Introduction*, pp 626, 627.

[19] These have been named already in note 14. As there enumerated, they seem to be the opposites of *the four attachments*, spoken of in the Pali Buddhist books, viz., attachment to pleasure—attachment to false doctrines—attachment contrary to the negative in morality—attachment to disputation. S. *Introduction*, p. 496.

[20] *The five powers*, in distinction from the five senses, may be sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch, viewed abstractly, as the sensibilities of that ideal being which the Buddhist theory of cause and effect supposes to precede conception in the womb. This theory appears to be the most ancient part of the speculative philosophy of the Buddhists. S. *Introduction*, pp. 484, 499, 500.

[21] This expression probably designates the seven grades of perfection, supposed to lead to the attainment of the Bôdhi-state, or the intelligence of Buddha himself, which is Nirvâna, or the supreme end, only wanting the consummation of death. The enumeration of them, here, would occupy too much space. S. *Introduction*, pp 290–297.

[22] i. e. The sublime course of life, consisting of right, or just and regular sight, will, effort, action, life, language, thought, meditation. S. *Introduction*, p. 85.

which exist for the benefit of the passing world, and the happiness of the passing world, as well as for its benefit and happiness hereafter, and which the Devotees having compiled and comprehended, must cause to be preserved, preached and comprehended by others, in order that the Religious Law may continue long, be received by many people, and be every where propagated, until it shall have been completely made manifest to dèvas and to men. Let us go, Ananda, towards Kusigrâmaka.'[23] 'Be it so, O venerable,' replied the respectable Ananda to Bhagavat."

As he takes his last leave of Vâisâli, Buddha is surrounded by a multitude of its inhabitants, supernaturally warned of his departure, to whom,

"knowing the power and bent of their minds, their character and temperament, he gave such an exposition of the Law, that these many hundreds of thousands of living beings adopted the formulas of refuge and the axioms of instruction."[24]

At this Ananda expresses his astonishment. Then Bhagavat says:

"Why should it surprise thee, O Ananda, that I have to-day fulfilled my duty of instruction, I who am now omniscient, who possess knowledge in every form, who have acquired the entire disposal of whatever is to be known by supreme knowledge, who am without desires, who am in search of nothing, who am exempt from every feeling of egoism, of personality, of pride, of attachment, of enmity. Once, I was malignant, passionate, given up to error, in no respect free, a slave to the conditions of birth, old age, sickness, death, disappointment, trouble, suffering, disquietude, misfortune. Then, being a prey to deadly anguish, I made this prayer: Would that many thousands of creatures, having abandoned the state of householders, and adopted the life of the Devotee under the direction of the Rishis, and having meditated by themselves upon the four

[23] In the Journal of R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. V. p. 126, Professor H. H. Wilson has made it probable, that a town now called Kusia, in the eastern part of Gorakhpur, in Central India, is the ancient Kusigrâmaka, or *town of Kusi*.

[24] *The formulas of refuge* are the expressions by which a desire for admission to membership in the assembly of the Devotees was wont to be signified; such as: "Might we, sire, be permitted to adopt the life of Devotees, under the discipline of the much renowned Law, and become Devotees! might we perform, in the presence of Bhagavat, the duties belonging to the life of a Devotee!" and another: "I take refuge with Bhagavat, with the Law, with the Assembly; receive me, then, among thy faithful ones, me who from this day forth so long as I live, so long as I have the breath of life, will make thee my refuge, and who feel towards thee sentiments of complacence." S. these examples in *Introduction*, pp. 266 and 272, and another on p. 419.

By *the axioms of instruction* are probably intended *the four sublime truths*: 1. that sorrow exists; 2. that it belongs to whatever comes into the world; 3. that it is desirable to be delivered from it; 4. that deliverance can be obtained by knowledge alone.

blissful abodes of the Brahmas, and renounced passion which beguiles man to pleasure, might be born again to participation in the worlds of Brahma, and add many to their inhabitants!" [25]

The following are extracts from a legend of the Vinaya.[26] A certain commercial adventurer, named Pûrna, embarks for the seventh time upon the great ocean, in company with others of the city of Srâvasti,[27] who are Buddhists.

"In the night, and at dawn of day, these merchants repeated aloud the hymns and prayers which lead to the other shore,[28] the texts which disclose the truth, the stanzas of the Sthaviras,[29] and those relative to the various sciences, as well as those for the solitary, and sections of the Sutra relative to temporal interests. Pûrna overhearing them, said: 'Sirs, what beautiful poetry are you reciting?' They replied: 'This is not poetry, O chief of merchants, these are the very words of Buddha.' Pûrna, who had never before heard the name of Buddha pronounced, felt the hairs over his whole body stand on end, and reverentially inquired: 'Sirs, who is he whom you call Buddha?' The merchants replied: 'The Sramana-Gâutama,[30] of the race of the Sâkyas, who having shaved his head and his beard, and put on yellow garments, left his house with a perfect faith, to enter upon the life of a Devotee, and has attained to the supreme state of perfected Buddha; he it is, O chief of merchants, who is called Buddha.'—'Where, sirs, is he now?'—'At Srâvastî, chief of merchants, in the grove Djêtavana, in the garden of Anâtha-pindika.'

Having impressed these words upon his heart, Pûrna navigated the great ocean with these men of Srâvastî, and returned, bringing back his vessel safe and sound."

Resolving now to give himself up to the life of a Devotee,

"he took a servant and departed for Srâvastî. Having arrived there, he stopped in the garden, and sent his messenger to Anâtha-pindika, the householder."

[25] It would seem as if tradition gave us in this passage, a glimpse of the state of Buddha's mind, before he arrived at his own peculiar doctrine respecting deliverance from transmigration. The language here, is only such as might be expected from the lips of a devout worshipper of Brahma, pained by the observation and experience of the sorrows of mortal life.

[26] S. *Introduction*, pp. 248—265.

[27] A city of the modern Oude. S. Foë-Kouë-Ki, pp. 176, 177.

[28] The first degree of perfection in the assembly of the Devotees was called Srôtâpatti, or *entrance into the current*,—that is, the course of life leading to deliverance from transmigration. Consequently, *the other shore*, signifies this deliverance.

[29] i. e. *The Ancients*,—a title of those members of the Assembly who stood next to Buddha himself, in rank.

[30] i. e. *The ascetic Gâutamide*. M. Burnouf conjectures, "that Gâutama was the sacerdotal family name of the military race of the Sâkyas, who as Kshattriyas had no tutelary ancestor, or saint, after the manner of the Brahmans, but were authorized by the Hindu law, to assume the name of the ancient sage to whose race their spiritual guide belonged." S. *Introduction*, p. 155.

Pûrna was immediately received with every ceremony of hospitality.

"In the midst of an agreeable conversation, Anâtha-pindika asked Pûrna this question: 'Chief of merchants, for what dost thou make thy journey?' He replied: 'I have suddenly felt a desire, O householder, to adopt the life of a Devotee, under the discipline of the much renowned Law: I desire the investiture and the station of a Devotee.' Then Anâtha-pindika the householder, starting up in his seat, and extending his right arm, uttered these words with the accent of joy: 'Ah, Buddha! ah, the Law! ah, the Assembly! how wide is your renown, that to-day a man of this importance, leaving his many friends and servants, and his rich store-houses, desires to adopt the life of a Devotee, under the discipline of the much renowned Law, and asks for the investiture and the station of a Devotee!' Then Anâtha-pindika the householder, taking Pûrna with him, repaired to the place where Bhagavat was.

Now at this moment, Bhagavat, seated before an assembly of several hundred Devotees, was giving instruction in the Law. Perceiving Anâtha-pindika the householder, as he came with the offering (destined for him), Buddha thus addressed the Devotees: 'Here is Anâtha-pindika the householder, O Devotees, coming with an offering. To the Tathâgata, there is no offering so pleasing as that made when a man is brought to him, for a convert. Upon this, Anâtha-pindika the householder, having made his obeisance to the feet of Bhagavat by touching them with his head, placed himself aside with Pûrna the chief of merchants; then from where he was, he addressed Bhagavat thus: 'Here is Pûrna, the chief of merchants, who desires to adopt the life of a Devotee, under the discipline of the much renowned Law, and asks for the investiture and the station of a Devotee. Have the goodness, O Bhagavat, out of compassion for him, to admit and accept him as a Devotee.' Bhagavat, by his silence, showed himself favorable to the words of Anâtha-pindika the householder. Then he thus addressed Pûrna the chief of merchants: 'Approach, O Devotee, and adopt the life of a Devotee.' No sooner had Bhagavat pronounced these words, than Pûrna found himself shaved, and habited in the Devotee's mantle; and being supplied with the bowl for alms, and the pitcher with its bird-beak mouth, and having a beard and hair on his head of seven days, appeared in the decent exterior becoming the Devotee of a hundred years.—' Approach,' said the Tathâgata to him again; and Pûrna, shaved, wearing the Devotee's mantle, and feeling tranquillity diffused by the truth through all his senses, stood up; and then, with Buddha's permission, sat down.

After some time, the respectable Pûrna repaired to the place where Bhagavat was; and arriving there, having made his obeisance to the feet of the blessed one, by touching them with his head, he took his station aside, and addressed him in these words: 'Let Bhagavat consent to teach me the Law, briefly, that having thus heard it from the lips of Bhagavat, I may live alone, retired from the world, in some desert place, exposed to no distraction, with mind attentive, intent, and collected. After I have lived retired from the world, in solitude, exposed to no distraction, with mind attentive, intent and collected, might I, having known

by my own immediate cognizance, having seen face to face, the supreme end of the life of a Devotee, that is, the life led by the sons of a family, when, after shaving the hair of the head and the beard, and putting on yellow garments, they leave home with a perfect faith, and become mendicants,—might I, I say, having myself received the investiture, cause others to adopt the life of a Devotee! I am no more subject to the condition of birth; I have fulfilled the duties of the life of a Devotee; I have accomplished what I had to do; I know no other state than that in which I am." [31]

Buddha then opens to him the doctrine of Nirvâna.

"When there is no pleasure, there is neither satisfaction nor complacence. When there is neither satisfaction nor complacence, there is no passion. When there is no passion, there is no enjoyment. When there is no enjoyment,—the Devotee, O Pûrna, who is affected neither with pleasure, passion, nor enjoyment, is said to be very near to Nirvâna. There are, O Pûrna, sounds adapted to the ear, odors to the smell, tastes to the sense of taste, feelings to the touch, laws to the mind,—all which are qualities desired, sought after, loved, transporting, giving rise to passion, and exciting the desires. If a Devotee, perceiving these qualities, has no satisfaction in them, seeks not after them, feels no inclination towards them, has no complacence in them, it results that he has no pleasure: he is said to be very near to Nirvâna."

Having received this exposition, Pûrna chooses for the place of his solitary meditation, a frontier country, inhabited by savages. His Master represents to him the hardships he will have to encounter, but his patience and meekness being imperturbable, he receives the parting words:

"Well, well, Pûrna,—with thy perfection of patience thou canst, yes, thou canst live and abide in the country of the Srônâparântakas. Go, Pûrna; thyself made free, free others; having reached the other shore, lead others there; being consoled, impart consolation; having thyself attained to complete Nirvâna, be the means of others attaining to it."

The after-part of this legend brings Buddha and his attendants, to the city of Sûrpâraka,[32] whither they are invited by the Râja. On the way, he is met by a company of women, who, having received his instructions, and become converts, chant three times these expressions of thanks:

"'No, sire, neither from mother, nor father, nor king, nor from all relatives together, nor from beloved ones, nor from divinities, nor from

[31] The present tense seems here to be used for the future, by vivid anticipation.

[32] Identified by M. Burnouf with the Σιππάρα of Ptolemy, which is supposed to be the modern Sipeler, situated on one of the outlets of the river Krishna into the Bay of Bengal. S. *Introduction*, p. 235.

departed ancestors, nor from Sramanas, nor from Brahmans;—from none of these have we received any thing equal to what Bhagavat has done for us.

The oceans of blood and of tears are dried up; the mountain-heaps of bones are passed over; the gates of the bad ways are shut; we are established among dêvas and men; we have reached the height; we are exalted.

We seek an asylum with Bhagavat, with the Law, with the Assembly of the Devotees, with the faithful; let Bhagavat have the goodness to accept us as disciples.'

Then rising from their seats, and directing their hands clasped in token of respect, towards where Bhagavat was, they addressed him thus: 'Ah! let Bhagavat deign to give us something, that we may render to it the homage due to him! Then Bhagavat, by his supernatural power, clipped off his hair and his nails, and gave them to the women, who at once raised a Stûpa[33] for the hair and the nails of Bhagavat.'"

As specimens of the Abhidharma, we select the following passages:[34]

"Again, O Bhagavat. The Bôdhisattva,[35] to whom it belongs to live in Perfection of wisdom, to meditate on that, must not stop at form, nor at sensation, nor at idea, nor at conceptions, nor at consciousness.[36] Why so? Because if he stops at form, he lives in the notion that form exists; he lives not in Perfection of wisdom. And so, if he stops at sensation, at idea, at conceptions, at consciousness, he lives in the notion that all these have an existence; he lives not in Perfection of wisdom. Why so? Because he who lives in that notion, grasps not at Perfection of wisdom, brings not his faculties up to it, does not attain to it. Not attaining to Perfection of wisdom, he will not reach omniscience, because he grasps at that which is intangible. Why so? Because, to one in the state of

[33] S. p. 97 of this Journal.

[34] S. *Introduction*, pp. 469, 470, 474, 475.

[35] i. e. *He who possesses the essence of Bôdhi*, or of the intelligence of Buddha, a title originally applied to those disciples of Buddha who stood next to himself, in the order of perfection. But the theistic speculation of later times among the Buddhists, devised a system of Buddhas and Bôdhisattvas, wholly immaterial and superhuman,—the latter bearing the same relation to the former, that the creator of the world, according to the belief of the Brahmans, bears to the absolute and incommunicable Brahma. This system, however, is sometimes interpreted consistently with atheism; for the immaterial Buddhas are also regarded, it seems, as "personifications of the five elements, the five sensible qualities, and the five senses, that is, of the natural phenomena of the sensible world." S. *Introduction*, pp. 116–120.

[36] These five: form, sensation, idea, conceptions, consciousness, are the intellectual attributes which, on the Buddhist theory of causes, unite in the thinking and sensitive principle, the moment that birth occurs. "They constitute in man," says M. Burnouf, "the domain of intelligence, since they embrace the several phases of the fact of knowledge, from the starting point which is as it were the occasion of it, that is, form," (something to be known) "to the conclusion, which is consciousness." S. *Introduction*, p. 513.

Perfection of wisdom, form is intangible, and the same is true of sensation, idea, conceptions, consciousness,—all which are things intangible to one in the state of Perfection of wisdom."

"Then said Sâriputtra to Subhûti: 'Why then, O Subhûti, should not the Bôdhisattva be considered as void of Perfection of wisdom, since form is void of inherent nature, and since the same is true of sensation, idea, conceptions, consciousness, all which are void of inherent nature; while even omniscience itself is void of inherent nature?'

To this Subhûti replied: 'That is it, O Sâriputtra, that is it exactly. Yes, form is void of any inherent nature; and the same is true of sensation, idea, conceptions, consciousness, all which are void of inherent nature. So, O Sâriputtra, Perfection of wisdom itself is void of inherent nature, and it is the same with omniscience. Perfection of wisdom is void of attributes of Perfection of wisdom. Attribute itself is void of inherent nature. Subject itself is void of inherent nature. Inherent nature itself is void of attributes of inherent nature.'"

"Then said Subhûti to Bhagavat: 'If any one, O Bhagavat, asks the question: Shall a man, the production of a magic illusion, grasp at omniscience, approach omniscience, attain to omniscience?—how, O Bhagavat, must this question be answered?' To this Bhagavat replied: 'As to that, I have something to ask thee, Subhûti; explain the matter for thyself.'—'It is well, O Bhagavat,' said Subhûti, who prepared to listen, and Bhagavat began: 'How seems it to thee, O Subhûti? Is illusion one thing and form another? Is illusion one thing and sensation another; idea, another; conceptions, another; consciousness, another?' Subhûti replied: 'No, Bhagavat; no, illusion is not one thing, and form another. Form itself is illusion, and illusion itself is form. No, Bhagavat, illusion is not one thing, and sensation, another; idea, another. Sensation, idea, conceptions, O Bhagavat, are themselves illusion. No, Bhagavat, illusion is not one thing and consciousness another. Consciousness itself is illusion; illusion itself, O Bhagavat, is consciousness."

The question now arises, when were these books of Nepal brought to their present state? Upon this point M. Burnouf has thrown much light, by a critical comparison of the books with one another, guided by traditions relative to the three great councils of the Buddhists, which are said to have been held in the first, the hundredth, and the four hundredth year after the Master's death, or, according to the best ascertained chronology, between B. C. 543 and B. C. 143. A generally received tradition is, that each of these councils made a compilation of the Law of Buddha: the first, in obedience to an injunction of his, respecting the perpetuation of his doctrine, and the others, with a view to determine what should be regarded as the true Law, in

opposition to misconceptions which threatened to destroy the identity of the faith. Now, with this tradition corresponds the actual state of the Nepalese texts, for the different phases of Buddhism which they exhibit, sometimes even in one and the same book, imply a repeated remodelling of ancient documents. Though the Buddhists themselves believe the doctrine of their Scriptures to have been preserved unaltered, by means of the consultations of their successive councils, yet it is easy to see that, if these councils performed the work attributed to them by tradition, different doctrinal views would be very likely to creep into their scriptural texts.

It follows, of course, that the Sanskrit books of Nepal were not completed as we have them, by the first Buddhist council. Nor can even the latest of the councils have made the collection such as we find it, in all respects, since it includes some works to which are affixed the names of individual disciples of Buddha, as their authors, which therefore must have become a part of the body of sacred literature, subsequently to the time when the Canon of inspired Scripture, or that resting upon the authority of Buddha alone, was finally settled. Besides, the doctrine implied in the Tantras departs too widely, from what we have reason to regard as primitive Buddhism, to admit the supposition of their having been authorized by any one of the Buddhist councils.

Those parts of this collection to which our author gives the name of the simple Sutra, are unquestionably the nearest to being a genuine specimen of the compilation first made; for it were reasonable to presume, that the discourses of Buddha, having been once authenticated, would be the least altered in the process of later compilation; and accordingly it is now ascertained, that the simple Sutra shows comparatively few marks of having been retouched. Yet some interpolations are discoverable here, as for instance, those references to persons who lived long after Buddha, and allusions to certain sects, the origin of which is referred by tradition to the age of the third council. In those parts, even, of the simple Sutra which present none of these anachronisms, there are "such striking and numerous points

of resemblance," in the language of M. Burnouf, "to the legends in which Asóka figures, the king who is made contemporaneous with the second council, that one cannot separate them from one another." [37] All three of the councils, then, must have contributed to give its reading in the Nepalese collection, even to the simple Sutra.

So, too, in the Vinaya, and even in those portions of it which appear to give the most primitive traditions, there is an air of resemblance to the Asóka-legends, which indicates that this also, was recast as recently as when the second council was held.

The higher speculation and systematic form of doctrine distinguishing certain parts of the Sutra-division of the Buddhist Canon, required for its development, in the opinion of M. Burnouf, at least as long a time as the interval between the first and third councils; according to which these parts are to be regarded as not of higher antiquity than the last council.

"In truth," says M. Burnouf, "the high esteem in which they (the parts of the Sutra presenting a matured form of doctrine) are still held, at the present time, in the north, where they pass, as I have elsewhere said, for the very word of Buddha, is to a certain extent, an argument in favor of this opinion; to which may be added, that in them are found those pieces of poetry of some length, of which the language is not pure Sanskrit,—a circumstance coinciding quite remarkably, with the tradition which places in Cashmere and under a king of a foreign race, the meeting and the labor of the third council."[38]

The doctrine of the Abhidharma being so much the same with that of the elaborated parts of the Sutra, the antiquity of the third division of the Canon of the Buddhists, must also be limited by the time of the meeting of the third council.

Thus we find among the Buddhist books of Nepal, productions of two distinct periods, of which the first embraces the three councils, and the second begins upon the final settlement of the Canon, when the names of individuals could give authority to works explanatory of the Buddhist faith. As to the limits of this latter period, our author divides it into two ages: first, "the middle age of Buddhist literature,"

[37] S. *Introduction*, p. 583.

[38] S. *Introduction*, p. 584.

terminating with the entire disappearance of the Buddhists from the country in which their religion was first promulgated,—to which he assigns those works of the Nepalese collection, bearing the names of authors, which are colored by the circumstances of life in India; and then, "the modern age of the literature of the Buddhists, extending down to times sensibly near to our own,"—to which he refers all works of this collection, the doctrine of which seems to have been affected by the use of a foreign language in instruction, as is the case in his opinion, with some, or which in any other manner show that they were written out of India.

The Tantras are assigned by M. Burnouf to the period of the councils, on the ground of their not bearing the names of authors, but their contents seem to us to require them to be referred rather to the middle age of Buddhist literature, as he defines it; yet they may not be the compositions of authors, but mere compilations of popular usages, which without the support of any authority, became connected with the profession of Buddhism.

Our next inquiry is, what view of primitive Buddhism is given in those portions of the books we have been describing, which, on a critical examination, appear to be the most ancient?—an inquiry of the highest interest, in itself, and indispensable to the understanding of the later developments of the Buddhist system,—for, so long as it is undetermined whether, or not, the most ancient of these Sanskrit documents have a higher antiquity than any of the Pali Buddhist books of Ceylon and Farther India, the former are the most original of all sources which can be consulted, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the system from its beginnings. It enters, however, into the plan of our author's researches on the history of Buddhism, to examine critically these Pali books also; from them, therefore, may be derived, before long, confirmations, or modifications of the views which we now take. Certain traditions generally current among the Buddhists, and some incidental references to the Pali books in the volume before us, have

prepared us to find striking coincidences, as well as very instructive points of difference, between that body of Buddhist literature and the Nepalese collection.

But our limits will allow us to notice only some of the most prominent characteristics of primitive Buddhism, as at present understood. The ultimate object which Buddha proposed for attainment, was deliverance from subjection to the law of transmigration. According to the prevalent religious opinion of his age in India, the rewards as well as punishments allotted to the soul at death, endure only in proportion to the amount of the balance of good, or evil, in the actions of this life; so that each departed soul must, sooner or later, enter again upon a state of probation, to be succeeded by another retribution, and this by another probation, and so on, through a wearisome succession of changes of being, until at last that perfection has been attained, of which the appropriate recompense is the enjoyment of the final rest, or absorption in the Deity. Buddha, on the contrary, appears to have held out the prospect of avoiding this lengthened trial of successive transmigrations, by entering immediately at death upon a state of absolute tranquillity, never to be interrupted. The name he gave to this state is *Nirvâna*,—a term employed, indeed, by Brahman philosophers, to denote the supreme end of man, but which must have been used by Buddha in a special sense, as the whole tendency of his teaching was atheistic. The term itself is equivocal; its etymological signification is *extinction*, and a passage in one of the Sanskrit books of Nepal illustrates it, by a comparison of the supreme state to the going out of a lamp, or of a fire, for want of fuel; but every thing depends upon what the term refers to, as being extinguished, whether the very essence of the soul, or the attributes and manifestations of its existence, in other words, its individuality, or whether simply all impressions on the soul from what is external to it. There is reason to suppose, that Buddhist usage has at different times, connected each of these views with the expression Nirvâna; which one of them in particular was entertained by Buddha himself, we have not been able to form a decided opinion. Our author believes, that he intended by Nirvâna a complete "annihi-

lation of the thinking subject." [38] The primitive Buddhist theory of cause and effect, however, seems to imply, that he attributed a necessary existence to the thinking subject, for, while he reduces every thing objective, including both sensible objects and ideas, to illusion, as their final cause, it appears to follow, that he supposed a subject of illusion existing *per se*. Indeed, this is observed by M. Burnouf himself.[39]

The means which Buddha directed to be used for attaining the supreme good, were chiefly moral. It was the sum of his teachings, that desire must be loosened from all objects of sense, "as a drop of water falls off from the lotus-leaf;" he, however, enforced this detachment from sensible objects, on principles which involved the denial of reality in any thing objective, and he required his disciples to possess themselves of these principles by deep meditation, as a condition of their reaching Nirvàna. Voluntary poverty, chastity, knowledge, energy, patience, charity, or self-sacrifice for the good of others, which, in the course of time, received the name of "the six transcendent perfections," were the special duties inculcated by the new Teacher; and it is worthy of notice, that a pure spirit pervades the ancient Buddhist legends, which, as contrasted with the moral laxity of those of the Brahmans, evinces at least a temporary reformation of morals in India, effected by Buddha. It cannot be doubted, indeed, that the more elevated idea of the social position of woman, belonging, as we have reason to suppose, to primitive Buddhism,[40] must itself have exerted no little influence, in favor of a superior tone of morality.

There was probably, even in the lifetime of Buddha, the beginning of an organization of his followers into a community of their own. During the rainy season, from July to November, they either passed their time in solitude, or availed themselves of offers of hospitality, to seek to gain proselytes to the new religion. But as soon as clear skies returned, they regularly assembled for conference with each other and with their Master. The *Vihâra*, which was in after times a monastery, or convent, seems to

[38] S. *Introduction*, p. 521. [39] S. *Introduction*, p. 507.
[40] S. p. 108 of this Journal.

have been, at first, a mere shelter, hastily raised for these periodical assemblies. That structures of this sort were eventually succeeded by permanent edifices, designed for fixed abode, is probably to be ascribed to the increase of the number of the Buddhists, as well as to an incipient feeling of alienation between them and the rest of society, making it disagreeable, or impracticable for them, to throw themselves upon private hospitality, and leading them to desire a more intimate and longer continued intercourse with one another, than their occasional conventions allowed. On this supposition, the view which the legends give of the original destination of the Vihâra, as a place of meeting after the rains, is perfectly reconcilable with the fact which might seem to contradict it, that at the present time, the Buddhist monasteries, every where, have their largest number of inmates, during the rainy season. But whether or not the disciples of Buddha adopted monastic habits of life under his immediate direction, their periodical assemblies afforded ground for the exercise of discipline, and for the recognition of degrees of rank and authority among them. Accordingly, M. Burnouf's researches have shown, that all candidates for the Assembly were required not only to make an explicit profession of their faith, but also to conform to other regulations adapted to organize them into a community by themselves: such as, that no one should be admitted to membership while bound by any other social ties, and that age and attainments should distinguish one member from another. In this connection, we may add a few words respecting the rite of confession, which made an important part of primitive Buddhist discipline.

The reports which have come through European missionaries and others, from time to time since the thirteenth century, that the Buddhists practice confession, have led some to suppose that the rite referred to is identical with auricular confession, and must have been borrowed from a Christian source. But our Sanskrit texts prove a rite of confession to have been observed by the Buddhists, even in the earliest times, under the form of personal acknowledgment of injury done to a fellow being, or of a "public declaration of one's fault before the Assembly of the mendicants, the depositaries

and guardians of the Law," to use the language of M. Burnouf,—which latter form was, as our author intimates, an easy transition from the other, since the Assembly might properly feel itself aggrieved by any misdemeanor of one of its pledged and responsible members. Moreover, M. Burnouf connects this phenomenon of confession among the early Buddhists, with an essential point of doctrine, as held by them.

"The most ancient legends," he says, "represent it as firmly established; and it may be easily seen to connect itself with the very foundations of the Buddhist faith. The fatal law of transmigration, which, we know, attaches recompenses to good actions and penalties to bad, allows also of making amends for the one by the other, as it offers to the guilty person the chance of recovering himself by the practice of virtue. Hence comes that expiation which occupies so large a place in the Brahman law. This theory passed into Buddhism, which received it entire, together with so many other elements of the Hindu social state, but it there took a peculiar form, by which its practical application was sensibly modified. The Buddhists continued to believe with the Brahmans in the making amends for bad actions by good, for they admitted with these, that the latter are fatally rewarded, as well as that the former are fatally punished. But since, on the other hand, they did not believe in the moral efficacy of the tortures and inflictions by which, according to the Brahmans, the guilty person might efface his crime, expiation was naturally reduced to its principle, that is, to the sentiment of repentance, and the only form which it took in practice, was that of acknowledgment, or confession." [41]

There is, therefore, every reason to believe, that the supposition of an identity, or affinity of the rite of confession, as practiced by the Buddhists in more modern times, either in respect to its form, or its import, with auricular confession, is altogether erroneous, although the representations of travellers may, perhaps, have afforded some ground for it.

But to be a follower of Buddha did not necessarily involve the assumption of the vows, and submission to the regimen of the Assembly. It appears that, from the very first, some of those who attached themselves to his party, were received as believers in what he taught, without being required to comply with the strict rules prescribed to members of the Assembly. These unconsecrated followers of Buddha were called *Upâsakas*, or attendants. They are clearly distinguished

[41] S. *Introduction*, p. 299.

from those under vows, in the following passage, taken from one of the legends of the collection of Nepal : [42]

"'What does the mendicant state require?'—'It requires the observance during one's whole life of the rules of chastity.'—'That is impossible; is there no other way?'—'There is another, my friend; it is to become an Upâsaka.'—'What does this state require?'—'It requires the keeping of oneself, during life, from every inclination to murder, to theft, to pleasure, to falsehood and to the use of intoxicating liquors.'"

Another rite, now ascertained to have been associated with the profession of Buddhism, even in primitive times, but which, as seen to be practiced by modern Buddhists, has been supposed by some to have been borrowed from Christians, is the veneration of relics. The Sanskrit texts represent this rite as very early established among the followers of Buddha, for they refer its institution to his own command; and the explanation of it which readily suggests itself on a little reflection, is such as to carry back the rite to a very ancient date, without implying strict truth in the tradition respecting its having been instituted by Buddha himself.

"The objections just made," says M. Burnouf,[43] "to the account of the authors of the legends, are at once removed, if instead of attributing to Sâkya the idea of causing his remains to be honored, we suppose this to have originated immediately after his death, with his earliest disciples, who were doubtless inspired with it by sentiments of respect and regret, entirely accordant with human nature. To be led to render to Sâkya honors worthy of a sovereign, his disciples had only to remember that he belonged to the royal race of the Sâkyas; to be led piously to preserve his remains, they had only to recall to mind that their Master had been a man, of whom there was now left nothing but these poor remains. Sâkya, to them, had entered into the state of complete annihilation; at all events, however this annihilation was understood, there was an end of his mortal person, inasmuch as it was to return no more to this world. It was therefore a proof of their being profoundly penetrated with thoughts of Sâkya, that they piously gathered up all that was left of him, and the worship paid to his remains could not but result naturally, from the conviction entertained, that death destroys the entire man."

This view of our author we adopt, yet with a slight modification, for we regard the veneration of relics as a rite to which the Buddhists were very early and instinctively prompted, not simply by a natural reverence for the person of Buddha, but also by that feeling of the need of some object

[42] S. *Introduction*, p 281.

[43] S. *Introduction*, p. 353.

of worship, innate in the soul, which at length, as we know, brought out new forms of theism, even from the atheism of primitive Buddhism. This leads us to notice the relations of Buddha's teachings to the Hindu mythology.

There is no evidence that he used any direct influence to put a stop to the worship of the Brahman deities; if the most ancient legends may be relied upon, the evidence is to the contrary. But his theory of cause and effect, making every thing objective to be an illusion, and his view of the chief end of man as consisting in a state of vacant subjectivity, if not of absolute annihilation, undermined all belief in a Supreme Deity, or in the existence of creating and disposing powers, superior only to humanity. It would seem, that while he spread principles of atheism which tended to the abolishment of all religious worship, he yet prudently provided for the toleration and ultimate triumph of his doctrine, by not making a direct attack upon the established worship of the deities of his country. The tendency of his doctrine to subordinate religious worship to social virtue, is illustrated in an interesting and instructive manner, by the following extract from a legend: [44]

"One day when Bhagavat was at Srâvasti, in the Djêtavana, in the garden of Anâtha-pindika, he thus addressed the Devotees: 'Brahma, O Devotees, is with those families in which father and mother are fully honored, fully venerated, served with perfect complacence. Why so?—Because to the son of a family, father and mother are, according to the Law, Brahma himself. The Preceptor, (the Brahman teacher,) O Devotees, is with those families in which father and mother are fully honored, fully venerated, served with perfect complacence. Why so?—Because to the son of a family, father and mother are, according to the Law, the Preceptor himself. The sacrificial fire, O Devotees, is with those families in which father and mother are fully honored, fully venerated, served with perfect complacence. Why so?—Because to the son of a family, father and mother are, according to the Law, the sacrificial fire itself. The (domestic) fire, O Devotees, is with those families in which father and mother are fully honored, fully venerated, served with perfect complacence. Why so?—Because to the son of a family, father and mother are, according to the Law, the domestic fire itself. The Dêva, (Indra,) O Devotees, is with those families in which father and mother are fully honored, fully venerated, served with perfect complacence. Why so?—Because to the son of a family, father and mother are, according to the Law, the Dêva himself."

[44] S. *Introduction*, p. 133.

The books of Nepal, however, give evidence that, in the course of time, perhaps at no very late period, while some Buddhists denied reality to all objective existence, and were atheists, in consistency with their Master's personal instructions, others so far departed from the principles of their religion, as to make a deity of Buddha himself, and even to apotheosize their metaphysical speculations.

We might notice other important results of M. Burnouf's examination of these Sanskrit documents; but hoping that what we have written may lead the reader to draw upon the rich stores of our author's own work directly, for additional information, we here take leave of it.

E. E. Salisbury.

PROFESSOR LASSEN'S

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIA.

If we leave out of view the researches of the Jesuit missionaries, which led to no results of much importance to the cause of learning, the languages, literature and institutions of India may be said to have been first investigated by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded in 1784, through the influence of Sir William Jones, who became its first President, and brought into its service his enthusiasm, perseverance and elegant scholarship; and in later times, the very valuable works of Colebrooke, Wilson, and others, have made us still farther indebted to British scholars, for our knowledge of India. But the scholars of Continental Europe soon took up the interesting inquiries, which were suggested by the opening of India to the learned world; nor can it be questioned, that they have done the most, to reduce to a consistent whole the new materials of knowledge, obtained by the establishment of the British empire on the Ganges. The ingenuity, acuteness and patient labor of Bopp, applied to the language of the Brahmans, have made the University of Berlin to be the head-quarters in Europe for the study of the Sanskrit; while the refined aesthetical discern-

ment of August Wilhelm v. Schlegel, and Lassen's power of critical and genial research, exercised over the whole widening field of Hindu literature, have caused the science of Hindu antiquity to strike its deepest roots at Bonn, the seat of another German University. The French nation, also, may justly claim to have taken no inconsiderable part, by its Burnouf, in bringing our knowledge of the languages and literature of India, to its present degree of maturity.

We are led to make these remarks by the publication of the first part of Professor Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*,[1]—a work designed to be a critical digest of all the researches of the last sixty years, relative to the antiquities of India. Something similar was attempted in 1800, by Thomas Maurice, in his *Indian Antiquities;* but the original sources of information could then be used only to a limited extent. Another similar work was published at Königsberg, in 1830, by Professor P. v. Bohlen; which rests upon a broader foundation, yet is not quite trustworthy, having been written on a theory with respect to the influence of Hindu civilization upon the Egyptian, as its title intimates: *Das alte Indien, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Aegypten;* and besides, some of the most important original sources have been rendered accessible only since v. Bohlen wrote. The work of Professor Lassen, to judge of it by the specimen before us, is in all respects, more to be relied upon. We propose to give an outline of this first part, in the following pages.

The work begins with a rapid, though very instructive sketch of the geography of India, after the example of that father of scientific geography, Professor Carl Ritter,—with constant reference to the connection between geography and history. The mountain-ranges, mountain-passes and river-courses of the peninsula, the gradual descent from its snow-capped heights to tropical plains, its extent in latitude, and its connections with adjacent countries, are considered with a view to the question of the origin of the Hindus, and the

[1] Indische Alterthumskunde, von Christian Lassen. Ersten Bandes erste Hälfte. Bonn: 1843.

course of their migrations, the climate and vegetation of India, the direction of its commerce in ancient times, its political subdivisions and the religious conceptions peculiar to its native inhabitants. After this, our author takes up the history of India, commencing with an extensive ethnological analysis of the present population, which he proves to be made up of at least two distinct races, the one an indigenous and the other a foreign. The history of the country, in the stricter sense, is divided into two principal periods, of which the earlier, or that of the independence of the Hindus, extends down to the Muhammedan conquest, while the latter embraces the whole time since the invasion of Mahmûd of Ghizneh, or A. D. 1000, during which the destinies of the Hindus have become more and more linked with those of western nations. The former of these periods is subdivided by the epoch of the death of Buddha, or B. C. 543, for the promulgation of Buddhism was an event which caused, to use our author's words, "a more lasting and a wider schism in the entire development of Hindu nationality," than had before occurred. "To this is to be added," as he also observes,[2] "that the history of India is better ascertained, and has a firmer chronological foundation, from the time of the promulgation of Buddhism. The Buddhist literature, moreover, forms the line of separation between the ancient and the more modern monuments of the spirit of Brahmanism, and therefore marks for us, the commencement of the more recent age of India under Brahman institutions." The Buddhist schism was also, contemporaneous with the establishment of the dynasty of the Achaemenidæ in Persia, which led to the extension of the Persian power to the Indus, and thus became the means of the acquisition of the earliest knowledge of India in the west, obtained through Hecateus and Herodotus. The subdivision of the period before Buddha into the age of the Vêdas and the epic age, though distinctly marked in the history of the Hindu religion, is left out of view by our author in this part of his work, as our limited acquaintance with the Vêda-literature admits of only partial inferences from it, respecting the political state of

[2] S. *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 356.

the Hindus in that remote antiquity to which it carries us back.[3]

Having in this manner defined the periods of Hindu history, Professor Lassen inquires into the historical value of the epic and purânic traditions, which are the principal original sources to be consulted, with respect to the most ancient times. He then discusses the deeply interesting question, whence came that race which he has shown on ethnological grounds, not to be indigenous to India; and adds a few pages on the earliest traditions it has preserved of its abode in India.

We must notice some of the geographical points laid down by our author, but we shall dwell more particularly on his historical conclusions.

The application of the name of India, to the whole country now so called, has no native authority. We derive it from Herodotus, who seems to have extended over the whole interior eastward of the river Indus, the name *Hidhu*, or *Hendu*, which, as we know from a cuneiform inscription of Darius Hystaspes, and from the Zendavesta, was given by the ancient Persians to a part of India watered by this river. The Arabs, also, even before Muhammed's day, applied the name *Hind*, to the whole of India; and in later times, gave to the country of the Indus the distinctive appellation *Sind*, which, as well as the old Persian *Hindu*, comes from the original Sanskrit name of the river Indus, *Sindhu*. *Hindustan*, or the land of the Hindus, is a modern Persian name, of Muhammedan origin, denoting either the whole of India on this side of the Ganges, or more specifically that part of it which lies north of the Vindya mountains. The name of the land of the Hindus, which appears in their own traditions, is *Aryâvarta*, or land of the Aryas, and includes only so much of Hither India, as is between the Himâlaya and the Vindya, or what is more commonly known as Central India. This traditional name is of much importance, on account of its affinity to certain names of countries and people

[3] From the last number of the Oriental Journal published at Bonn, we learn that Dr. Roth of Tübingen has recently contributed to enlarge our knowledge of India in the age of the Vêdas, by a work entitled: Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda. Stuttgart: 1846.

of Iran, which occur in the Zendavesta, as well as in the writings of Greek historians and geographers, and in the Sassanidan inscriptions. It affords an argument respecting the origin of the Hindus.

The Himâlaya, in its whole extent, bounds India not only on the north, but also on the east and west; and nature seems not to have provided for national intercourse to any extent, across this stupendous barrier, except on the west, where an easy pass through Kabul, opens a way of communication between Central India and the countries westward of the Indus, which is of much historical note. But with its long line of projecting coast, India could scarcely fail of intercourse with other countries, by sea. Accordingly, there are traditions of an age prior to the Christian era by at least two centuries, relative to the planting of Buddhism in Ceylon, which imply that the Hindus were then accustomed to coasting navigation; and probably, the foreign commerce of the ports on the western coast of India, of which the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan sea gives an account, had long before his time brought India into communication with the commercial depôts of the Persian Gulf, and with Babylonia, Southern Arabia and Egypt. The astronomical science of the Hindus seems to have been borrowed in part from Babylonia, and possibly, their richly wrought rock-cut temples were designed in imitation of the sculptured caverns of Egypt. Early in the Christian era, as we have reason to believe, the doctrines of Buddhism were conveyed from India to Java.

The peninsula of India is divided by the Vindya into two parts, which differ widely from each other in their geographical features. To the north of this line of mountains, we have what is denominated *Hindustan* in the restricted sense, which is mostly a lowland, watered by the Ganges and the Indus, with their tributaries. To the south, on the other hand, stretches the Dekhan, so called from the Sanskrit word *dakshina*, signifying *southern*, which may be characterized as a table-land. There is a difference also, between the country of the Indus and that of the Ganges. The former has a comparatively limited cultivation, for the munsûns only skirt along its eastern borders, and lying so far to the west, it belongs geographically, rather to Iran than to

India; it is also separated from the country of the Ganges by an extensive sandy waste. But the latter is a broad, sunny region, fertilized by abundant rains, and sheltered on all sides by mountains; while in the midst of it rolls a majestic river, opening to the sea. This lowland was marked by nature, for a seat of agriculture, a centre of commerce, an abode of civilization and empire; and it became historically, the scene of those conflicts which prepared the way for the founding of Hindu states; of the ripening of the religious and civil institutions of the Hindus; of the elevation to magnificence and the sinking into decay of successive dynasties of so-called "universal sovereigns." But the table-land of the Dekhan, supported along its outer limits by mountain-ranges, appropriately called *Ghats*, or steps to the water's edge, is cut up, in the interior, by lines of mountains which traverse from one Ghat to the other. Owing moreover, to its general inclination eastward, most of its rivers flow into the Bay of Bengal; and only one of these, the Mahânada, is navigable into the interior. The history of the Dekhan, therefore, no less than that of the country of the Ganges, was to a great extent determined by its physical character, for this south-country has always been the seat of numerous independent principalities, with no high degree of civilization; and supposing the aboriginal inhabitants of Central India to have been at some period, displaced by the immigration of a powerful foreign race, we might expect to find remains of them, if any where, in the fastnesses of the Dekhan.

But nature has not made the Dekhan inaccessible, or approachable only with difficulty, from the region of plenty, civilization and paramount power on the other side of the Vindya. On the contrary, this separating barrier recedes from the western sea-coast, and breaks off into a gradual slope upon Bengal and Orissa on the east,—thus leaving two passages open, for intercommunication between the north and the south; and besides these, there are practicable passes directly across the Vindya. Here again, history is found to have conformed to the geography of the country; for the Hindus have ancient traditions referring to the peaceful settlement of individuals of their race, as well as

to an enterprize of conquest by their ancestors, in Southern India.

The important productions of the soil and the animals of India are made the subject of several distinct sections of Professor Lassen's work, in which special attention is given to a comparison of their names with those of the same plants, or animals in other countries, and the nomenclature of natural history, in the classics, and in the languages of modern Europe, receives many interesting illustrations. At the same time, a pleasing surprise is awakened to find, that India is probably the native country of so many of the necessaries of life, as well as luxuries, of the nations of the west.

We come now to our author's analysis of the population of India. Much labor appears to have been bestowed upon this part of his work, and it materially enriches the science of ethnology. A comparison of the population of Hindustan with that of the Dekhan, generally considered, discovers to us at once, two distinct races. We find indeed, the same physical traits in the people of the south as in those of the north, except that the southern complexion is, in general, the darkest; but, what is of the highest moment with respect to national affinity, two distinct classes of languages are found to prevail on the opposite sides of the line of the Vindya. The languages of the Dekhan, as classified by Professor Lassen, are the Tuluva, the Malabar, the Tamul, the Telinga, the Karnata, and the Singhalese, the relations of which to the Sanskrit he sums up as follows:[4]

"A more critical investigation of the languages of the Dekhan has shown, that they have been enriched from the Sanskrit, but are quite independent of it, as to their origin. Their phonetic system is distinct, and so the fundamental part of their vocabularies, embracing the words in most common use; and farther, what is decisive, their grammatical structure is peculiar. With this philological fact accord the traditions of the Dekhan, indicating, as they do, that the Dekhanese were originally in a rude state, and that settlers from the north brought to them their civilization. The traditions of the continent agree here, with those of the island of Ceylon, and the phenomena of the religious and political state of the Dekhan, at the present time, establish the fact of its having received its civilization from that source. Its alphabets, also, came from the north. Yet certain peculiarities are likewise found, which not

[4] S. *Ind. Alterthumsk.* p. 363.

being referable to Arya teachers, must be considered as remains of usages properly belonging to the south-country. Nor has the civilization brought from the north, penetrated every where; many tribes are met with in the Dekhan, which have adopted only a part, sometimes more, and sometimes less, of the imported culture; one indeed, that of the Tuda in the Nilagiri, had, until within a short time, received no such civilizing influence."

The Dekhanese are regarded by our author as aborigines of India. The important fact however, here established, is that the natives of the south, and the Aryas, or Sanskrit-speaking people of Hindustan, are not kindred to each other, and that the former received their civilization from the latter. But in the Vindya mountains is found a population not only distinct both in physical traits and language, from the Aryas, but in the one respect, and perhaps also in the other, differing from the population of the Dekhan. We refer to the Bhillas, Gondas, Pahârias, and other tribes of mountaineers.

"The people of the Dekhan and the tribes of the Vindya," says Professor Lassen,[5] "do not sustain the same relation to the Aryas. Among the former, with some not numerous exceptions, we find the religious and civil institutions of the Aryas, in company with languages which, though much modified by Arya accessions, are original and peculiar as to their forms and primitive words. Among the latter, wherever an original language has been retained, as among the Gondas, the Kandas, and the Pahârias, there is nothing of the civilization of the Aryas, or merely a sprinkling of it; but, wherever, on the other hand, Arya civilization has penetrated, and prevailed, as among the Kolas of Guzerat and others, the language of the Aryas has also come into use; and the same is true even where but little of that civilization has been communicated, as among the Bhillas. The influence of the Aryas appears, therefore, to have varied in its kind; which, as it seems to us, can be explained only by supposing, that they came to the Dekhan in feeble numbers, as proselyting and civilizing settlers, who could disseminate their culture, not their language; but that they came upon the Vindya, and into the north-western part of the Dekhan, not only as individual representatives of a more cultivated people, but as rulers of the land, as a conquering multitude, and displaced or subjugated the earlier inhabitants. The forefathers of the Mahrattas, for example, must have ascended as conquerors, at a remote period, from the valley of the Tapti to the highlands above it. Even where they have not taken exclusive possession of the open country, their numbers must have been sufficiently large, and their power sufficiently great, to give a predominance to their language. Some of the aborigines, as the Gondas and kindred tribes, were not reached by the dominion of the Aryas, and accordingly have preserved their own language."

[5] S. *Ind. Alterthumsk.* p. 383.

This view of the relation of the inhabitants of the Vindya to the Aryas, together with the fact that certain tribes exist in the Himâlaya, as far west as Baluchistan, which seem to be allied to those of the Vindya, naturally lead us to suppose that these mountaineers represent an aboriginal population rent asunder, and driven in opposite directions, by the forcible advance of the Aryas into the land of the Ganges.

How the Vindya-people are related to the Dekhanese is not yet fully determined. That they differ from the people of the Dekhan in physical traits, has already been mentioned; yet as this may have resulted from their different circumstances of life, and from their not having intermarried with the Aryas, to the same extent with the inhabitants of Southern India, the decision of the question in respect to their affinity to these, is thrown upon a comparison of languages. But the languages spoken in the Vindya are not yet sufficiently known to justify any conclusion on philological grounds. Should they be found to be fundamentally the same with those of the Dekhan, the legitimate inference will be, that the wild inhabitants of the Vindya exhibit the physical type originally borne by the Dekhanese, in common with themselves; and in addition to this, should the rude tribes of the Himâlaya just now alluded to, be found akin to those of the Vindya, we shall then be brought to the conclusion, that the entire population of India, so far as known, excepting the people whose primitive language was the Sanskrit, is of one family. On the other hand, should the languages of the Vindya and of the Dekhan prove to be not of the same stock, the inhabitants of this mountain-range and any other people elsewhere, of the same lineage, will then be placed together in a common contrast, both with the Aryas and the Dekhanese, as kindred to neither.

This analysis of the population of India presents to us the people whose languages are based upon the Sanskrit, as of a foreign race, which having immigrated into Central India, drove away its aborigines to the mountain-fastnesses; and then pressing southward, subdued some of the tribes of the Vindya; after which, the limits of its civilization were still farther extended in the same direction, by peaceful colonies, or by individual emigrants who gained command over the

rude natives, through their superior knowledge and cultivation.

Let us now consider whence this race came into India. In the first place, the physical traits of the Aryas show them to belong to the Caucasian family of nations. The only apparent exception is the black skin of the Bengalese, which, however, may be attributed either to a mixture of blood with some other race, or races, or to the climate, or to habits of life, or to all these and perhaps other special causes. Moreover, to use in part our author's words, the geographical position of the older inhabitants of India relatively to the Aryas, makes it certain that the direction in which the latter spread themselves, was from west to east. The mass of the Arya population is broadest in the west, reaching at the northwestern end of the Himâlaya, far northward, while at the south-eastern end, the whole table-land is occupied by a Tibetan population. It is also evident that the Aryas passed the Vindya mountains first, at their western termination; for at the eastern extremity of this range, the wild tribe of the Pahârias have even to this day maintained themselves; and the Odras, inhabitants of Orissa, are represented as barbarians even in the Code of Manu, that is, some time after the Hindu institutions had been matured, and have received their culture from Bengal, on the east.

"It is true," as Professor Lassen says,[6] "one might be disposed to regard the greater sanctity ascribed to the north, in the conceptions of the Hindus, as an unconscious reference to a closer connection which they formerly had with the countries of the north. To the north, into the Himâlaya and beyond, are carried the abodes of most of the gods; the wondrous, sacred mount Meru is believed to be in the highest, remotest region of the north. Yet a more careful consideration will lead to the conviction, that these conceptions developed themselves first in India, and are to be accounted for by the peculiar natural features of the northern mountain-range. The daily looking upon the snow-peaks of the Himâlaya, flashing their brightness down upon the plains, and strictly inaccessible, reports received of the wholly different character of the high table-land beyond, with its wide-spread, silent domains, of its clear, cloudless atmosphere, and of the natural productions peculiar to it, could not fail to make this north the seat of the gods and the scene of prodigies."

[6] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 511.

If we consult the tradition of the Hindus themselves on the subject of our present inquiry, we find indeed that it makes them indigenous to India; yet the position it assigns to the primitive seat of their religious and civil institutions in that country, is an important indication for us, of their true origin. This abode of primitive times is placed by tradition, on the confines of the waste which separates the country of the Indus from the valley of the Ganges. But the language of the Aryas enables us to trace them still farther westward, even to Iran; for the Sanskrit has a closer connection with the Zend, than with any other language of the Indo-European family. Here it deserves particular attention, that the near affinity of all the languages of Europe to the Sanskrit is, of itself, conclusive against supposing the Aryas to be indigenous to India, since it would require us on such a supposition to believe, that the original family-seat of all the European nations was India,—which is forbidden by the entire absence of any discoverable peculiarity derived from that country, in either the languages, customs, or manner of thinking of those nations. The Aryas may also be traced to Iran, by the identity of their name with that which Herodotus gives to the Medes, Ἄριοι, and which the Zendavesta attributes to the primogenitors of the Iranese, in the name of its sacred land: *Airyanem Vaedjô*, or land of the Aryas. Another important consideration is, that from the alpine country of Ghor, the traditionary seat of the Afghans, along the southern slope of the Hindukush mountains, and through the valley of the Kabul river, that is, from the borders of Iran to India, are found at intervals, clusters of inhabitants who in their character, religious belief and languages, so far as investigated, have resemblance both to the people of Iran and to the Hindus,—thus forming a chain by which the ethnologist is led to connect the latter with the former. To all these grounds for inferring that the Hindus came originally from Iran, may be added yet another, which is, that their doctrines and traditions have in some points a remarkable coincidence with those of the Iranese, not admitting of explanation as the result of neighborly communication, inasmuch as some significant "traditions and appellations known to both," to

use our author's words,[7] have "partly a different and partly an opposite acceptation with the one people, from that which they have with the other, showing that originally there must have been an agreement, which in the progress of time, after the separation of the two people, either became lost without leaving any trace, or was impaired by changes, or was turned to contrariety, by a schism of opinion."

This question of the origin of the Hindus was first distinctly treated, we believe, in an essay by A. W. v. Schlegel, published in 1834, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom;* but we are not aware of its having been thoroughly discussed by any writer previous to Professor Lassen; and no one who duly weighs the several arguments bearing upon it, which we have drawn from the pages of the work before us, can hesitate to approve of the decision of our author, that "the Arya inhabitants of India once lived united with the nations of Iran, and longer with them than with any other."[8] But Professor Lassen, extending his researches still farther, has even made a suggestion as to the particular locality of this primeval life in common, which we will give in his own language:[9]

"If we decide that the Aryas of India and the people of Iran originally had an abode in common, and that not in India, we shall at the same time be prepared to find a tradition of its locality, among the Iranese, rather than among the Hindus. We have already observed, that the Hindus have no such tradition, although they imagine to themselves a sacred land and seats of divinities, in the north of India. The people of Iran, on the contrary, plainly designate as a primitive abode, their *Airyanem Vaedjô*, or land of the Aryas, which they place in the extreme east of the whole table-land of Iran, in the region of the sources of the Oxus and Yaxartes: by the death-bearer Ahriman it had been smitten with winter, and had only two summer months, with ten months of winter. . . . . We can think of no other region than the cold highlands on the western declivity of the Bêlurtag and Mustag, or of the sacred mount Berezat, (Borj,) which is invoked in the Zendavesta as a fountain-head of waters, and of which the Hindus perhaps have preserved a reminiscence, inasmuch as in their mythical cosmography, they make the great rivers to flow from this region.

That the primeval seat of the Iranese is to be looked for here, is an opinion very much strengthened by the fact, that we find offsets from their stock on both sides of this high eminence; for the old settled inhab-

[7] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 526. [8] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 516.
[9] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 526.

itants of Khasgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, Turfân and Khamil, are Tâdshik, (of Bactrian descent,) and speak Persian; it is here alone that the Aryas spread themselves into the interior of Upper Asia,—their strongest and most vigorous germ seems to have been planted on this high mountain."

With this view, according to our author, coincides the Hebrew tradition respecting the primitive abode of mankind.

"It may be added," says Professor Lassen,[10] "that the land of Iran, in the widest sense, is represented in the well-known and venerable tradition of the Hebrews, which stands by itself on the side of the Shemites, as the country of the primogenitors of this second great branch of the Caucasian family of nations: the Shemites dwell south-west of that highland, their tradition points to the highland in the north-east, as their home. Whatever signification may be given to the tradition respecting Eden, its geography can not be satisfactorily explained, except by such a conception of it as may be supposed to have been formed in the imagination of an ancient people,—having a foundation of facts, while at the same time the great essential features are made prominent, and the unessential are set aside, so that the whole is embraced in a picture of simple, grand outline. Such a picture is made of Eden, if it is conceived of as compassed by the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates on the west, and of the Oxus and Indus on the east. It is then the highlands of Iran, in the widest sense, which are ascended from the lowlands of Mesopotamia, of Turan, and of the Pentapotamy, and are inclosed by the Zagros mountain-fanges and the Armenian mountains on the west, and by the Belurtag, Hindukush and the Suleiman mountains on the east,—a conception and manner of bounding which even scientific geography need not reject. At the same time, the extreme borders of this table-land, or the country about Ararat, and the neighborhood of the Belurtag, have a significant prominence in the most ancient traditions of the Shemites and the Aryas, respectively, as their original seats. The reminiscences of these races reach back only to the time when they had already taken possession of the western and eastern extremities of this highland. To this common father-land, to this pre-historical contact with each other of the Shemites and Indo-Europeans, to which the radical connection of their languages also bears witness, are to be referred those primitive traditions of the two races, which can not have come into the possession of both by later intercourse between them, and are indeed too widely spread, and too peculiarly modified, to have been borrowed by one from the other, within the limits of history,—such as the tradition of the four ages, of the ten primogenitors, and of the deluge."

An interesting part of the work before us relates to the peculiarities of the Hindu mind, as exhibited in its literary productions and religious history, which our author refers

[10] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 528.

both to the climate of India, and the luxuriance of its soil in vegetation unknown under the western sky of the home of the Aryas, and to an original difference in mental endowment, between the Indo-Europeans and the Shemites. But we pass this by, to follow Professor Lassen in his criticism of the sources of the ancient history of India, which shows much acute discrimination, and affords a clearer view of the degree of authority to which the Hindu Epics and the Purânas are entitled, as records of events, than has ever before been given by any writer known to us.

Of the two great Sanskrit Epics, the Ramâyana and the Mahâbhârata, the former is the oldest,

"not only," in the language of our author,[11] "because it sets forth an occurrence of higher antiquity, and true to its plan, makes no mention of later events; but also because the view of the world which predominates in it belongs to earlier times: its geography includes only the country north of the Vindya,—in the south is a mere wilderness of forests, of which the inhabitants are apes; and in its cosmography, the great islands constituting the world, have no place. The Mahâbhârata takes the whole of India within its sphere; in the great conflict which it celebrates we have mention made even of the fall of the Pândya king of southern Mathurâ, a circumstance which cannot possibly have belonged to the original Kâurava legend."

The Epics differ from one another also, as is here intimated, in the plan of their composition. The Ramâyana has a single theme, the adventures of Rama, a prince of northern India who, having been exiled from his paternal kingdom, sought to retrieve his fortune, by subjúgating the barbarians of the south. The Mahâbhârata, on the contrary, is manifestly a collection of separate traditions, the nucleus of which is the story of the ancient civil strife between the Kâuravas and Pândavas, or the partisans of two rival claimants of regal authority over the Hindus.

Both of these great compositions, however, give internal evidence of the transmission of their sagas from age to age by oral communication and public recitation; which leads one to suppose that both have been more or less altered,

[11] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 487.

in the progress of time; and especially the Mahâbhârata, since this, as it includes many different subjects, must have been longer in an unfinished state than the other Epic.

"If we consider," says Professor Lassen,[12] "the modifications which ancient Hindu tradition has undergone, in consequence of its having been transmitted at first, by the lips of the rhapsodists, so that it necessarily took to itself every impression of the changing times, as well as in consequence of the concern of the priesthood in its final rounding off and settlement, we shall find it to have been remodeled in a manner to generalize away the physiognomy of earlier ages, and that its whole material was managed by the priesthood, for religious ends. The view of the world which originated at a later period, intruded itself into the more ancient saga; the doctrine of the three great deities, that of the four castes and their relative positions, and whatever else was not in the conception of the Hindus originally, incorporated itself even into the traditions of the earliest times. The priestly element and theogonies also, encroached upon the martial character of the heroic saga, and narrowed its sphere. The effect of the conflicts in the Ramâyana is to excite astonishment, by that which is wondrous and supernatural in personages and weapons, rather than admiration, by the display of great human power, consistent with nature. Single books of the Mahâbhârata, in which the picture of heroic conflict is still preserved unimpaired, represent to us that martial inspiration and delight in combat, which once filled the ancient heroes and bards.

But there are parts of the Epics which Professor Lassen thinks must have been handed down to us without any essential alteration, from as early a period as the sixth century before Christ. The grounds of this opinion are, that these parts contain no allusion to the Buddhist schism, which, on the other hand, is referred to elsewhere, in the Epic poetry; that they give no intimation of the separation of the Sivaites and Vishnuites into two sects, which however, seems to have taken place before the time of Megasthenes; and that the late deciphering of inscriptions in the common language of India, of the third century before Christ, has proved the Epic-language to have belonged to an age even much earlier. Although, therefore, Professor Lassen speaks of the time when the Sanskrit Epics were brought to their present form, as "one of the darkest and most bewildering fields of research, relative to India,"[13] yet he maintains, "that in the Epic poems, after a critical separation of their later parts, we have

[12] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 487.

[13] S. *Ind. Alterth.* pp. 490, 494.

a rich treasure of ancient and genuine tradition." What this consists of, he more distinctly defines in the following language : [14]

"What the Epic poems contain of historical tradition, in the more confined sense, which alone concerns us at present, may be divided under two heads: first there are genealogies, *gotravansas*, or lists of ancient dynasties, and then traditions relating to individuals, not to kings only, but in very many cases, to the holy men of past ages. Very few and isolated are the statements which can be at once appropriated as historical; for the most part, we have here legendary narratives, which can be made out to have an historical importance, only by a right interpretation; and this is often attended with difficulty, since the world of sagas is to us, as yet so new and so little explored."

The Purânas borrow their most ancient traditions from the great Epics; but have, also, an authority of their own with reference to times comparatively modern, as they embody traditions transmitted through persons attached to the princely houses of India, in the double capacity of charioteers and bards, who shared in the dangers and exploits of the reigning prince which their minstrelsy celebrated, preserved the pedigree of his family, and kept fresh the remembrance of the achievements of his ancestors. Even the latest of the Epics is entirely silent respecting events subsequent to the termination of the strife between the Kâuravas and Pândavas; and the chain of tradition is prolonged only by the data of the Purânas, which follow down to quite late times the royal race of Magadha, a kingdom centered in the modern Behar.

But trustworthy chronological calculations can not be made upon the basis of either the epic, or the purânic royal lists. The former are inconsistent with each other; and as for the chronology of the latter, it rests upon the assumption, that the termination of the civil strife commemorated in the Mahâbhârata, was coeval with the close of the third age of the world, according to the Brahman theory of four ages, of which the present is the last: that is, that the great civil conflict ceased B. C. 3102; but on this supposition the commencement of the reign of a certain Chandragupta is brought down only to B. C. 1503,

[14] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 494.

while yet we know from the historian Justin, who speaks of this sovereign under the name of Sandracottus, that his reign began as late as in the first part of the fourth century before Christ.

"Since then," to use again the language of our author,[15] "the native sources present a chronology of the more ancient times which is manifestly inadmissible, the attempt has been made, simply from the elements given, to determine the commencement of the historical times of the ancient Hindus, the period of the great war, and the beginning of the Kaliyuga, (the fourth age of the world.) We may call this the commencement of the historical times, inasmuch as the ancient Hindus appear to have had no lists of dynasties, with statements of the years of single reigns, until after the great war. To come at the point, two different ways lay open: either to reckon back from the time of Chandragupta, the sum total of the years given to reigns preceding his, that is, 1598 years, or else 1015 years, agreeably to a tradition, independent of that computation of the lengths of reigns preceding Chandragupta, that between Parîkshit, (the first sovereign spoken of after the war,) and Nanda, (the name of a dynasty which gave place to Chandragupta,) this latter number of years elapsed. By the one mode of calculating, a period was reached, beyond the nineteenth century before our era; by the other, a period in the fourteenth century before Christ."

Our author argues from the lists themselves, as well as on other grounds, in favor of adopting the alternative of counting back about one thousand years from the known age of Chandragupta; which brings us to the line "between the remoter heroic age, with its sagas, and the later age of more definite recollections," at about thirteen centuries before Christ.

The continuation of this work of Professor Lassen will carry the history of India through its mythic age, and having treated of the expedition of Alexander, an event with which India first looms up distinctly to the historical inquirer, will take up what may be called the Hindu middle ages, the period of the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian kingdoms, to the history of which, it is well known, valuable accessions have been derived from recently discovered coins, deciphered partly by our author. The ages of the predominance of the Muhammedans and Europeans, with which we are more familiarly acquainted, will be passed over rapidly. After

[15] S. *Ind. Alterth.* p. 503.

the general history of India has in this manner been drawn out, Professor Lassen will give us, it is expected, an historical view of the religious and literary developments of the Hindu mind.

We have recently heard, with deep regret, that this distinguished savant is at present suffering with weak eyes, in consequence of his labors upon the Persepolitan inscriptions. May he soon be restored, and long pursue his important researches, in behalf of Oriental learning!

E. E. S.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES

RELATIVE TO THE

RECENT PROGRESS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCHES.

On the occasion of the annual meeting of the philologians and school-teachers of Germany, in October, 1845, at Darmstadt, a "German Oriental Society" was formed, which is to have its seat at Halle and Leipzig, under the immediate superintendence of Professors Roediger and Pott, of the University of Halle, and of Professors Fleischer and Brockhaus, of that of Leipzig, with whom are associated also, as Directors: Etatsrath Professor Olshausen of Kiel, Professor Neumann of Münich, Professor v. Ewald of Tübingen, Professor Lassen of Bonn, Geheimrath Schleiermacher of Darmstadt, Professor Bertheau of Göttingen, and Professors Ritter and Bopp of Berlin.

The printed statutes of the Society indicate its object as follows:

"The object of the Society is: to promote a comprehensive knowledge of Asia and of countries intimately connected with it, and to extend the interest in such knowledge. Accordingly, the Society will occupy itself not merely with oriental literature, but also with the history of those countries, and the investigation of their state in ancient, as well as in more modern times."

In the same document, the plan of the Society's operations is thus marked out:

"The Society designs to attain its object:

1. By collecting oriental manuscripts and printed books, and productions of nature and art.

2. By publishing, translating and digesting oriental literary works.
3. By publishing a periodical.
4. By promoting and sustaining undertakings for the furtherance of knowledge of the East.
5. By keeping up communications with similar societies and with individual men of learning, at home and abroad."

This plan is detailed by Professor Roediger, in the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, for November, 1845, from which we will extract what he says under the second and third heads, believing it may be of service in directing the endeavors of our own Society.

"The most important work, however, which the Society undertakes, is without doubt (2.) the publishing, translating and digesting of oriental literary productions. It may regard this as its most important work, inasmuch as it will, without doubt, direct its attention chiefly to the editing of sources of history hitherto unused, to works which are of value with reference to historical geography, natural science, and the history of religion and civilization in the East;—in a word, to matters of fact; though certainly it will also take up, from time to time, some one of the larger native philological works, since these afford the means of constant progress in the understanding of literature, and give the necessary correctness to the study. If linguists would unite with historians, geographers and naturalists in laboring in these fields of literature, provided pecuniary means were furnished through an interest on the part of the educated public, keeping pace with research, the veil which now like the noon-vapor of the desert, still hides from our sight such wide tracts of the East, or allows us to see them only in an uncertain light, would be soon rolled away, and all the charms of living nature there, and the great outlines of oriental history would be revealed. The Society will (3.) establish a periodical, in which it proposes to lay out for the inspection and use of others, the fruits which it may mature in the course of the year. Here, beside smaller scientific treatises and suggestions, communications from the East will find their place, informing us respecting researches and discoveries, the state of things and movements, monuments and ruins in those parts of the world. We hope also to have brief sketches of journeys, pictures drawn from city and desert, descriptions of domestic scenes and street-groups,—all suited to produce a lively conception of oriental life. In addition, one number each year will give not only an account of what the Society has been doing, but also a general statement of the progress of oriental studies in Europe, an excellent arrangement, by which the Society will continually acquire a new consciousness of its endeavors and its aims."

The Oriental Societies of Europe have, indeed, greatly the advantage of us, as they occupy ground of research already consecrated by the labors of so many illustrious orientalists of past generations, and are directed by men whose names are beacon-lights in the field of oriental studies at the present day. Already, too, in Europe, there are vast treasures of oriental manuscripts laid up, at hand for exam-

ination and digestion. But for bringing to light manuscripts not yet carried to Europe, or additional copies of such as are rare, and making use of those which are preserved in the libraries of the East, and for collecting products of oriental nature and art, and popular traditions and songs, and describing monuments, ruins, coins and natural scenery, and delineating actual life and character, and religious usages, and the political state of things, at present, in the East,—all which are appropriate objects of inquiry for those who seek to promote oriental knowledge,—our own Society has in its members who are missionaries, and official representatives of the United States in Eastern countries, a band of highly intelligent agents, and in many cases such as are well qualified by learning for the work, through whom it ought to contribute not a little to the increase of the general stock of knowledge respecting the East. Our great merchants, too, who hold intercourse with many of the most prominent, as well as the less known Eastern nations, have it in their power, in connection with such of our countrymen, resident in the East, as have become familiar with its languages and customs, greatly to aid in procuring for oriental scholars at home, those collections of manuscripts, etc., which, as Professor Roediger says, are often so important a substitute for observation on the spot, and indispensable helps to the critical investigation of oriental texts.

Another society kindred to our own, which has been founded since the publication of the last number of this Journal, is the "Syro-Egyptian Society," of London. It was established in 1844, on a plan which the influence of Great Britain in the East may render productive of very important results. It proposes:

"1. To establish a friendly intercourse with those travellers who are now visiting, or have visited Syria, Egypt, and other countries immediately adjacent.

2. As far as may be consistent, expedient and necessary, to exert the combined influence of the Society, to facilitate the progress, promote the objects and insure the safety of travellers in any of these countries.

3. To direct the attention of travellers to those subjects connected with antiquarian, literary, or scientific research, which may have been suggested to the Society as particularly worthy of investigation.

4. To cultivate the study of the hieroglyphics, inscriptions and monuments which those countries contain.

5. To watch over and, as far as possible, to protect the relics of antiquity.

6. To form a library of books, maps, plans and manuscripts; and to publish, from time to time, authentic inscriptions, papers and reports, of interest.

7. Should the circumstances of the Society permit, to send duly qualified and experienced travellers to the countries herein specified, for the purpose of excavating and otherwise exploring, the ruins of antiquity; or at least to assist by certain grants of money which the Council may determine,—subject always to the approval of the members at a general meeting,—those travellers of well-known talent, experience and respectability, who may already be engaged in such undertakings.

8. To promote the diffusion of useful knowledge and aid in the progress of civilization in any way which circumstances permit, and opportunity may suggest.

9. In like manner, to co-operate with and uphold the welfare of kindred institutions.

10. In fine, while the members are enjoying intellectual and social intercourse with persons of congenial tastes, and who have traversed the same interesting regions, (many of whom might not otherwise have an opportunity of meeting,) to encourage and advance as a Public Body, literature, science and the arts in Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor; and as far as possible to collect and impart to others, whatever is interesting and authentic concerning these lands."

"The qualifications necessary for a Resident Member are, the having travelled in one or other of the countries specified, published concerning them, or otherwise evinced an interest in the objects before enumerated."

"A regular correspondence will be kept up with those who are residing in various parts of the East, and all communications of interest will be read at the general meetings of the Society."

The present Secretary of this Society is Dr. Holt Yates of London.

It has published one volume, under the title: *Original papers read before the Syro-Egyptian Society of London, Vol. I. Part* 1, London, 1845; and has announced the publication hereafter, under its auspices, of a work "On Cuneatic Writing, by Signor Mussabini."

A Society for the publication of oriental texts, established at London in 1842, promises to furnish important helps to a more extensive knowledge of oriental literature.

"The object which this Society proposes to itself, is, to enable learned orientalists to print standard works, in the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanskrit, Chinese and other languages of the East, by defraying, either wholly, or in part, the cost of such printing and publication.

In order to raise a fund for this purpose, the members will pay a sub-

scription of two guineas per annum; for which they will be entitled to a copy of each book published by the aid of this fund."

The officers of the Society, among whom are The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Professor Wilson of Oxford, and Rev. William Cureton, are men whose reputation is a sufficient guarantee for the successful execution of their undertaking.

Under its auspices have already been published the following works:

The Theophania of Eusebius, (in Syriac,) edited from an ancient MS. recently discovered. By Professor S. Lee, D. D.

Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects, by Muhammed Alsharastâni, (in Arabic,) edited by Rev. W. Cureton. Part I.

Biographical Dictionary of Illustrious Men, chiefly at the beginning of Islamism, by Yahya Alnawawi, (in Arabic,) edited by Dr. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. 7 Parts.

The Sama-Veda, (in Sanskrit,) edited by Rev. J. Stevenson; printed under the superintendence of Professor H. H. Wilson.

The Treasury of Secrets, by Nizâmi, edited from an ancient MS. by N. Bland, Esq.

Pillar of the Creed of the Sunnites, being a brief exposition of their principal tenets, by Alnasafi, to which is subjoined a shorter treatise of a similar nature, (in Arabic,) edited by Rev. William Cureton.

From the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, for January, 1844, we extract the following announcement:

"The Dutch government has lately established at Delft a special Academy for the preparation of officers for the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, and appointed the well known orientalist, T. Roorda, to be professor of the languages, geography and ethnography of Netherland-India,—who has also of late been superintending the third edition of the Javanese grammar of De Groot and Gericke."

We also learn from the last Report of the Asiatic Society of Paris, that the Society of Arts and Sciences of Batavia has resolved to publish whatever is important in the Kavi, Javanese and Malay literature, hitherto unknown,—a service to oriental learning which it enjoys peculiar facilities for rendering.

The subject of the Himyaritic inscriptions of Southern Arabia having been opened to scholars in this country by an able article

in the first volume of the *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, published in 1845, by Mr. W. W. Turner, whom we now number among our own associates, some information respecting the present state of discovery in this field, may not be without interest.

In the summer of 1844, a Frenchman named Th. Jos. Arnaud, penetrated from Djiddeh, on the Red Sea, into the interior of Southern Arabia, as far as Mareb, which is not known to have been ever before visited by a European, and made most interesting and valuable discoveries of ruins, and inscriptions in the Himyaritic character. He found in the environs of Mareb, remains, in all probability, of the celebrated dyke, which Arab tradition tells us was built there by an ancient Sabean king, and the rupture of which is said to have caused emigrations northward, reaching to the Hedjaz, which gave its shape to the whole subsequent history of northern Arabia. M. Arnaud also saw ruins with which local tradition connects the name of the Queen of Saba, Belkis, known among the Arabs as the visitor of Solomon. The narrative of his journey to Mareb and back is inserted in the *Journal Asiatique*, for Feb.—March, and for April—May, 1845.

But this journey was one of peculiar interest, as it was the occasion of M. Arnaud's copying from scattered blocks and walls of masonry, among the ruins which he was the first to discover, fifty-three Himyaritic inscriptions, or more than all previously collected put together, which, when deciphered, can scarcely fail to throw some light upon the appropriation of those ruined structures themselves, as well as upon the history of the ancient Himyaritic, or Sabean kings, whose names transmitted to us by Arab tradition, so many learned men have vainly endeavored to connect, in such way as to establish a probable chronology of primeval Arab history. M. Arnaud's inscriptions are all printed in the *Journal Asiatique*, for Sept.—Oct. 1845, from types cast expressly for the purpose by the Director of the Royal Printing House at Paris; and the well-known orientalist, M. Fresnel, who unites learned labors with the duties of French Consul at Djiddeh, whose enthusiasm, indeed, in learned research led to M. Arnaud's so successful journey, has given with the inscriptions his own alphabet of the Himyaritic language, and a transcript of all the tablets into Arabic characters, together with some essays in deciphering. M. Fresnel's alphabet coincides in the main, with that agreed upon among the Germans, but falls in with the views of Professor Roediger rather than with those of Gesenius, where these differ from one another. The annexed Plate exhibits the results arrived at by each of the several paleographists who have attempted to determine the value of the Himyaritic letters, excepting Rev. Mr. Forster, whose labors here, as seems to be

THE HIMYARITIC ALPHABET

Himyaritic acc.to Fresnel.	Hebrew and Arabic.	Him. acc. to Gesenius.	Him. acc. to Roediger.	Anc. Ethiopic.	Mod. Ethiopic.
	Aleph				
	Beth				
	Gimel				
	Daleth				
	Dsal				
	He				
	Vav				
	Sain				
	Chet				
	Kha				
	Tet				
	Tha				
	Yod				
	Kaph				
	Lamed				
	Mem				
	Nun				
	Samech				
	Ain				
	Ghain				
	Pe				
	Zade				
	Dhad				
	Koph				
	Resh				
	Sin				
	Shin				
	Tau				
	Tsa				

Fig 1. Arnaud's copy of a Himyaritic inscription found at Sanâ.

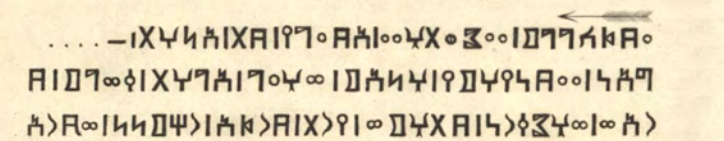


Fig 2. Fresnel's reading of the above inscription.

(Broken off, two letters wanting.) ? عبد كلم وشعتهو ابعلى بت انهت

ان وبنيهمى هنام وهعل الهت قولم بـ

راو وهشقرن بتهمو يرت بردا رحمن وبرا

و بورخ ذخرن ذلثلثت وخمس ماتم حيو

generally allowed, have proved an entire failure. Those points in which Professor Roediger and M. Fresnel are agreed, may be considered as settled.

Not so much progress has been made in interpreting the inscriptions. So far, indeed, as there is an agreement in respect to the alphabet, there must be the same reading of the words. But little points of difference as to the value of the letters, and the great difficulty of seizing the grammatical peculiarities of a newly discovered language, make it necessary to open a wide field of comparison and inference, by attempting the interpretation of many different inscriptions, before any one can be rendered with confidence. The only inscription of which M. Fresnel has published an interpretation, is one found at Sa'na, originally copied by Mr. Cruttenden, but recopied by M. Arnaud. As Professor Roediger's interpretation of this, together with the inscription itself, according to Cruttenden's copy, is contained in the article referred to, in the *Transactions of the American Etknological Society*, it may be well to give, here, that of Fresnel, with Arnaud's copy, which was made, as it appears, with special care, and differs in several points from Cruttenden's. The inscription will be found on the annexed Plate (II). The following is M. Fresnel's translation of it:

"1. Abd-Kulâlem and his much honored (spouse) have transferred the property (or the enjoyment) of their house
2. to ——— and their children have made a solemn declaration and have presented to the gods the words (clauses)
3. of the contract. As for those who may violate the sworn pledge, let their house be reduced
4. to misery by the aid of the (gods)-compassionate. (The said) contract (entered into) at the date of the year 573. Live!"

Beside the inscriptions copied by M. Arnaud, we have in the *Journal Asiatique* for Sept.—Oct. 1845, a text of the Hisn Ghurâb inscription, in Arabic characters, differing materially from Lieut. Wellsted's copy, upon which all attempts hitherto made to decipher it, have been founded. What authority this new text has, does not appear; but as it is not given in Himyaritic letters, we suppose it to be merely a conjectural emendation by M. Fresnel, of the old copy. It is much to be desired that this inscription might be newly copied, by one who has a knowledge of the Himyaritic alphabet as at present agreed upon, and of the attempts which have been made to interpret these monuments; for it is one of the longest of the inscriptions yet discovered, and is the only one, beside that of Sa'na, just now noticed, which seems to contain a date.

M. Fresnel conjectures, that the epoch referred to in the dates

of these two, is the introduction of Judaism into Southern Arabia, though on what ground he does not explain, and assuming, that chronological inferences may be drawn from our lists of Himyaritic kings who are said to have reigned from the time of that event to the days of Muhammed, supposes the inscription of Sa'na to bear the date of 127 years before Muhammed, and that of Hisn Ghurâb, in which we read the date of 640, or 604, to be of the 60th or 96th year before Muhammed. But those royal lists are too uncertain to be made a ground for chronological calculations. It has been already intimated, that the Himyaritic inscriptions themselves will probably contribute to their completion and settlement; to which may be added, that Baron v. Wrede, on a recent tour in Hadramaut, in Southern Arabia, found a manuscript giving the names of a series of twenty Himyaritic kings, who have never before been heard of. This series is to be published by M. Fresnel, in the *Journal Asiatique*, with the permission of the discoverer, in anticipation of his own narrative of his researches.

Another visit to Saba is contemplated by M. Arnaud, if the French government will aid him in the undertaking. This is the more to be desired, as it is reported that, after M. Arnaud's first visit, an ancient sculptured coffer, filled with gold pieces, was found among the ruins of Saba by the Arabs, who destroyed it, at the same time melting up the gold,—and also, that another coffer, of metal, bearing sculptures, has still more recently been discovered by them, which the Kâdhy of Saba has preserved.

We learn from the French correspondence of the "National Intelligencer," under date of July 2, 1846, that the French Chambers "have agreed to the appropriation of three hundred thousand francs for the publication, under Ministerial auspices, of the work of Botta and Flandin, upon the remains discovered on the site of the ancient Nineveh." It is generally known, that M. Botta, French Consul at Mosul, has been instrumental in bringing to light sculptured marbles, in great number, principally bas-reliefs, and the outline of an edifice, and many cuneiform inscriptions, by excavations made under his direction at Khorsabad, on the supposed site of Nineveh. M. Botta having undertaken and for some time prosecuted the work on his own private account, afterwards received aid from the French Government, which sent an artist, M. Flandin, to make drawings of the objects discovered; for it was found, that the slabs bearing sculptures and inscriptions, on being

exposed to the air, were liable very soon to crumble to pieces. The French Government undertook also, the transportation to Paris of as many of the bas-reliefs and other remains exhumed, as it should be possible to remove, which probably already form an Assyrian Museum in that city. It now appears that, by the continuance of the liberality and enlightened spirit of the French Government, we are to have a complete account of every thing discovered by M. Botta, in a work prepared by himself and M. Flandin, which, it may be expected, will enable the learned to estimate the value of these discoveries, and will perhaps in their hands, be the means of throwing light upon what has ever, hitherto, been one of the darkest portions of history. Meanwhile, very interesting letters from M. Botta to Professor Mohl of Paris, detailing the progress of his researches, and accompanied with copies of inscriptions and drawings of sculptures, may be found in the *Journal Asiatique*, from July, 1843, to Oct. 1844.

But the number of Assyrian monuments brought to light, has been increased by explorers who have succeeded M. Botta in the field. A Frenchman, named Layard, is at present occupied in uncovering at Nimrod, a monument which like that of Khorsabad, is overlaid with inscriptions; and the *Journal Asiatique* for March, 1846, informs us, also, that an officer of the French Consulate at Mosul has discovered at the distance of thirteen leagues from that city, in the direction of north-west, in a sort of natural recess, on the side of a steep mountain, sculptures identical in character with those of Khorsabad.

It may be expected, that we shall here report the progress which has been made in deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions. But this must be, for the present, deferred. We will, however, simply state the means by which knowledge on the subject has been advanced, with a view to directing the inquiries of any one who may desire to inform himself farther.

In 1802, Professor Grotefend of Göttingen laid the foundation of a cuneiform alphabet by conjecturally reading the names of Darius and Xerxes in inscriptions of Persepolis, copied by Niebuhr, (See Tabb. xxiv. and xxxi. in Vol. II. of his *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhagen, 1778.) The fullest account of the system which Grotefend based upon that conjecture may be found in an appendix to the fourth edition of Heeren's *Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr, und den Handel der vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt*, published at Göttingen in 1824. In 1823, M. St. Martin of Paris suggested some unimportant improvements in the alphabet of Grotefend, which were made known in Vol. XII. of the *Memoires de l' Academie des Inscriptions*, 2d series. He was followed by Professor Rask, who in an essay translated and published at Berlin, in 1826, under the

title: *Ueber das Alter und die Echtheit der Zend-Sprache und des Zend-Avesta*, applying his knowledge of the Zend to a reading of Grotefend in one of the Niebuhr-inscriptions, added two letters to the cuneiform alphabet proposed by the latter, brought to light a grammatical form of the language of the inscriptions, and established the reading of the name Achaemenidæ. Ten years passed away after the appearance of Rask's essay, when, in 1836, Professor Burnouf of Paris published his *Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées pres d' Hamadan;* and Professor Lassen of Bonn immediately followed with his work entitled: *Die alt-Persischen Kiel-Inschriften von Persepolis.* Up to this time, in the attempts made to decipher the alphabet and unravel the meaning of these inscriptions, two of the copies of Niebuhr, marked B and G on his Tab. xxiv., had been chiefly relied upon. But M. Burnouf's attention was turned to two inscriptions copied from rocks near Hamadan, in the ancient Media, which he found among the papers of the traveller Schultz, in the Cabinet of the Royal Library at Paris, though they were not made by him, but by M. Vidal, dragoman of the French consulate at Aleppo, and, as is supposed, by an Englishman, named Stewart. These inscriptions were published for the first time, in connection with M. Burnouf's *Mémoire.* The investigations of Professor Lassen were based upon five out of the eleven inscriptions copied by Niebuhr, together with copies of three of the same made by Sir Robert Kor Porter, which were published on Plates xliv. and lv. in Vol. I. of his *Travels,* London, 1821; he also made use of a large inscription contained in *Voyage de Corneille Le Brun par la Muscovie et la Perse,* Vol. II. Tab. cxxxi., and of an inscription at Murghab, in the neighborhood of Persepolis, copied by Sir Robert K. Porter, and published on Plate xiii. in Vol. I. of his *Travels.* M. Burnouf depended for his results chiefly upon a very exact knowledge of the Zend language, to which that of the cuneiform inscriptions was from the first, perceived to be intimately related. Professor Lassen proceeded on the supposition that inscriptions, alongside of bas-reliefs representing persons evidently of different nations, would give the names of the nations to which they severally belonged. After the publication of these works, there was another interval of some years, during which this field of archaeology seems to have remained uncultivated, until in 1839, appeared at London, Rich's *Babylon and Persepolis,* containing very exact copies of inscriptions at Persepolis or in its vicinity, in part never before copied; and in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, May and June, 1840, were at length given to the world all the copies of inscriptions at Van, in the ancient Assyria, made by the traveller Schultz. The next step was the publication of Botta's inscriptions, by the Asiatic Society of Paris, already spoken

of. But in the year 1843, a Dane by the name of Westergaard, once a pupil of Professor Lassen, visited India and Persia, under the patronage of the King of Denmark, for the express purpose of making archaelogical researches, and at Persepolis succeeded not only in amending all the copies of inscriptions which Niebuhr had there made, by comparing them with their originals, but also copied several inscriptions in that neighborhood, for the first time. Mr. Westergaard having, on his return to Europe, with great liberality of mind communicated to his former instructor, the new materials which he had amassed, Professor Lassen published in 1844-45, in Parts 1 and 3 of Vol. VI. of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, his last treatise relative to these inscriptions, entitled: *Die Alt-Persischen Keilinschriften nach Herrn N. L. Westergaard's Mittheilungen*, to which is appended a restoration of the latter half of the inscription H, on Tab. xxxi. of Niebuhr, founded upon Mr. Westergaard's collation of it with the original, and the Persian part of a tri-lingual inscription at Nakshi Rustam, near Persepolis, first copied by Mr. Westergaard. It is necessary here to observe, that several distinct species of cuneiform writing have been recognized by paleographists who have attended to the subject. But there is not yet an agreement, as to the number of species to be distinguished, or the names to be given to them. The simplest is generally called the Persian, the most complicated the Babylonian, and the character of the inscriptions of Van and Khorsabad has been designated as the Assyrian. Of these, Prof. Lassen has attempted to decipher only the first. Nor was attention directed to any other, from the time of Grotefend up to the year 1844. In that year, however, a new field was opened by Mr. Westergaard, in an attempt to decipher the character of the Achaemenidan monuments of Persia, which he considers to form a species by itself, distinct from either the Persian, Babylonian, or Assyrian, though most resembling the latter, and which he calls Median. Mr. Westergaard's analysis of this character is fully set forth in a paper in the English language, published at Copenhagen in the *Mémoires de la Societé Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, for 1844. It was, also, made known in the year 1845, in an Essay by Mr. Westergaard, which appeared in Part 2 of Vol. VI. of the *Zeitschrift für d. K. d. Morgenlandes*. Both these articles are accompanied with inscriptions, all of which Mr. Westergaard himself either copied, or made out by collating the copies of Niebuhr and Rich with their originals. The so-called Median part of the tri-lingual inscription of Nakshi Rustam, was published by Mr. Westergaard, for the first time, in the volumes just referred to.

It only remains to notice the labors in this field of paleography of Major Rawlinson, British Resident at Bagdad. This gentle-

man began the study of the cuneiform inscriptions so early as in the year 1835, when he copied for himself the tablets of Hamadan, and from that time he has pursued it, independently for the most part, of the researches going on simultaneously in Europe. To him the learned world is particularly indebted for the first copy of an inscription at Behistun, or Bisitun, in the Persian character, which contains in itself, as is said, more than all the other cuneiform inscriptions together, previously copied, and proves to be of special value as a historical monument. The commencement of a Memoir by Major Rawlinson, on the whole subject of these inscriptions, and on the tablets of Behistun in particular, giving his copy of them, with translations in Latin and English, and notes, may be found in Part 1, Vol. X. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, published during the last year, at London. Major Rawlinson is also understood to have applied himself, with success, to the deciphering of the so-called Babylonian cuneiform character, respecting which nothing has yet been published.

The greater part of the inscriptions of Van, as well as all those copied by Botta, remain for the most part, an unexplored mine. The only publication respecting them is an *Essai de déchiffrement de l'ecriture Assyrenne, pour servir à l'explication du monument de Khorsabad, par S. Loewenstern.* Paris: 1846. It is reported, however, in the Journal of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland, that Major Rawlinson "hopes to be able ere long to ascertain the general application of the Assyrian tablets."

Another interesting branch of paleography is soon to have new light thrown upon it by Professor H. H. Wilson of Oxford. In the last number of this Journal, page 103, the fact of the propagation of Buddhism more than two centuries before the Christian era, westward of the Indus, was proved from an inscription in a dialect of the Sanskrit found at Girnar in Guzerat, and deciphered by James Prinsep, Esq., the late distinguished Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. This is one of a class of inscriptions, extant in widely separated parts of Central India, all of which were interpreted by Mr. Prinsep, and were found to relate to the same subject, the propagation of Buddhism, and to owe their existence to the same ancient sovereign, Asôka, who reigned in the third century before Christ. But a special interest has attached itself to the inscription of Girnar, on account of its mentioning, as Mr. Prinsep was led to believe, the names of a Greek Antiochus and a Ptolemy. It therefore excited much curiosity when, during

the last year, Mr. Norris, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, discovered that this inscription has its duplicate, essentially, in another at Kapur di Giri, near Peshawer in Affghanistan, which was fac-similed on cotton, at great pains, by an English traveller, Mr. Charles Masson, in the year 1838. It was reserved, however, for the distinguished Director of the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland, Professor Wilson, to make a more complete examination of the inscription of Kapur di Giri, than was attempted by Mr. Norris.

With these explanations, we quote the following from the last Annual Report of the R. A. S. of Gt. B. and I.:

"The Council have also reason to expect that the final examination of the interesting inscriptions at Kapur di Giri, by the Director of the Society, will be completed in the course of a few months. The originals have been lithographed, and collated with the revised copy of the Girnar inscription made by Mr. Westergaard. Some differences of interpretation from that of the Girnar tablets by Mr. J. Prinsep, are likely to occur, but the curious facts of the general conformity of the inscriptions and their concurrence in specifying the names of Antiochus and other Greek princes, will be put beyond question."

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. VIII. Part 1, published in 1844, announces, that the British Government has undertaken to obtain accurate drawings of the architecture and decorations of all the rock-cut caves of India. The caves of Ellora, Salsette and Elephanta have already been explored and described by unaided individual enterprize; but there are others on the opposite side of India and in Behar, of which we know little, and a whole series of sculptured caverns, at Ajunta in the Vindya mountains, of which until recently no account whatever has been given. Imperfect, however, as has been the examination hitherto made of this class of monuments, it has shown the importance of a more thorough and accurate exploration, embracing all, for it has produced the conviction, that the ancient history of India, particularly the history of Buddhism in that country, will be very much cleared up, when the united labors of the draughtsman, the architect and the scholar, upon all these monuments, scattered across India from Bombay to Cuttack, together with the inscriptions found in them, shall have classified them as works of art, and ascertained their age in relation to one another, as well as to some known periods in the history of the country in which they are found.

The occasion of this proposed exploration by Government seems to have been the presentation of a memoir by James Fergusson, Esq., in 1843, to the R. A. S. of Great Britain and Ireland, giving an architectural description of all the rock-cut caves which are known to exist in India, excepting those of the province of Behar. This description was drawn from personal observations, made for the express purpose "of ascertaining the age and objects of these hitherto mysterious structures;" and apparently in consequence of the interest it awakened, "the Council of the Society presented a memorial to the Court of Directors, on the subject of these caves," and orders are said to "have been forwarded to the different Presidencies to employ competent persons to draw and copy the antiquities and paintings in each district;" so that "we may at last hope to have these caves illustrated in a manner worthy of their magnificence and great historical interest."

Mr. Fergusson's memoir, though brief, contains more precise views, than any one before him had given, of the plan and purpose of these monuments. It approximates to an exposition, on architectural grounds, of their chronological relation to one another, and embraces twenty-seven caves, never before described, which are at Ajunta, in a ravine where the Ghats rise from the valley of the river Taptî to the table-land of the Dekhan, and of which Mr. Fergusson says:

"They are purely a Buddhistic series, and almost every change in cave architecture can be traced in them during a period of about one thousand, or twelve hundred years, which is nearly the term during which that religion flourished in its native land; and they thus form a sort of chronometric scale which I found extremely useful in my attempts to ascertain the ages and dates of caves in other series, none of which are so complete as this one."

This writer's architectural classification of the caves which bear marks of a Buddhist origin, corresponds in a striking manner with the social and religious development of Buddhism, as indicated by the Sanskrit books of Nepal. We will quote it here, by way of supplement to what we have said on that subject, in our notice of M. Burnouf's work on the history of Buddhism:

"As far as my knowledge of the cave-temples of India extends," says Mr. Fergusson, "the whole may be classified under the following heads:

First; Vihara, or Monastery Caves.

1. The first subdivision of this class consists of natural caverns, or caves slightly improved by art; they are, as might be assumed, the most ancient, and are only found appropriated to religious purposes in the

older series of Behar and Cuttack; and though some are found among the western caves, their existence there appears to be quite accidental.

2. The second subdivision consists of a verandah, opening behind into cells for the abode of the priests, but without sanctuaries, or images of any sort. The simplest form of this class consists of merely one square cell with a porch, several instances of which occur in the Cuttack series; . . . . . and at Ajunta, in the oldest Vihara there, the arrangement is further extended by the verandah opening into a square hall, on three sides of which the cells are situated.

3. In the third subdivision of the Vihara caves, the last arrangement is further extended by the enlargement of the hall, and the consequent necessity of its centre being supported by pillars; and in this division, besides the cells that surround the hall, there is always a deep recess, facing the entrance, in which is generally placed a statue of Buddha with his usual attendants, thus fitting the cave to become not only an abode for the priests, but also a place of worship. At Baug, the statue of Buddha is replaced by the Daghopa, (the relic depositary;) but this is, I believe, a solitary instance of its existence in a Vihara cave.

* To this division belongs by far the greatest number of the Buddhist excavations. The most splendid of them are those at Ajunta. . . . . .

The second class consists of Buddhist Chaitya Caves.

These are the temples, or if I may use the expression, the churches of the series, and one or more of them is attached to every set of caves in the west of India, though none exist on the eastern side.

Unlike the Viharas, the plan and arrangement of all these caves is exactly the same. . . . . In the Viharas, we can trace the progress from the simple cavern to the perfect monastery, but these seem at once to have sprung to perfection, and the Karli cave, which is the most perfect, is, I believe, also the oldest in India. Had the style been gradually elaborated in the rock, from the imperishable nature of such monuments we could not fail to have discovered the earlier attempts; but besides this, there are many reasons that I shall notice in the proper place, which lead me to suppose that they are copies of the interior of structural buildings; and it is not one of the least singular circumstances attached to their history, that no trace of such buildings exists in India, nor, I believe, in Ceylon, nor in the Buddhist countries beyond the Ganges.

All these caves consist of an external porch, or music gallery, an internal gallery over the entrance, a centre aisle which I will call the nave, (from its resemblance to what bears that name in our churches,) which is always at least twice the length of its breadth, and is roofed by a plain waggon-vault; to this is added a semi-dome terminating the nave, under the centre of which always stands a Daghopa, or Chaitya, (shrine.)

A narrow aisle always surrounds the whole interior, separated from the nave by a range of massive columns. . . . . .

In the oldest temples, the Daghopa consists of a plain circular drum, surmounted by a hemispherical dome crowned by a Tee, which supported the umbrella of state. In the earlier examples this was in wood. . . . . In front of the more modern Daghopas there is always a sculptural niche, containing a figure of Buddha with his attendants; this may have existed

in wood in the more ancient, and consequently have disappeared, but I am rather inclined to think it is a modern innovation.

These two classes comprehend all the Buddhist caves in India."

Mr. Fergusson goes on to speak of those caves which seem not to be of Buddhist origin, but we have no object in following him farther. We only add, that he has also published a separate work, entitled: *Illustrations of the rock-cut temples of India, designed to illustrate the architecture of the Buddhist and Brahmanical caves and monoliths, from the earliest to the latest periods at which such works were executed in India.* London: 1845.

The Memoir on Buddhism by Professor Schott of Berlin, which was spoken of in the last number of this Journal as about to be published, has appeared. Its title is: *Ueber den Buddhaismus in Hochasien und in China von W. Schott.* Berlin: 1846.

The last Report of the Asiatic Society of Paris says of it:

"The author begins with a short exposition of the Buddhist doctrine, and of its introduction into China and Thibet; he afterwards discusses in detail and in an ingenious manner the modifications of several of the most important dogmas, which originated with the Chinese, and ends his memoir with numerous extracts from the *Tsing-ton-wen*, a popular work of great reputation in China. This treatise does not exhaust the great subject of Chinese Buddhism, but it is a work executed after the manner required by the present state of knowledge. Since the work of M. Burnouf has begun to throw light upon the chaos of Buddhist sects and schools, and to afford the means of classifying them and reducing them to some leading branches, it is of chief importance to make special researches with reference to the form the general doctrine has taken among each people, and to determine the modifications brought to it by the particular genius of different races."

Professor Neumann, of Münich, has published a Memoir, entitled: *Mexico im fünften Jahrhundert nach Chinesischen Quellen, von C. F. Neumann.* München: 1845; "in which," to use the language of the last Report of the Asiatic Society of Paris, which furnishes us with this item of intelligence, "he identifies Mexico with Fousang, a country spoken of by the Chinese Buddhist travellers, as situated at the distance of two thousand leagues from China, on the east." This seems a very bold conjecture, but we

are not able at present to judge of what can be said in favor of it, not having seen Professor Neumann's memoir.

A suggestion somewhat kindred to this, but which might, as we think, be placed on more substantial grounds, has been recently put forth and advocated by M. d'Eichthal, in a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Paris, but not yet published, to our knowledge, which argues from the resemblance between the Buddhist monuments of Eastern Asia and those lately discovered in Central America, in favor of ascribing to the influence of the Buddhists, the civilization of the native American races.

It has been for some time announced, that an Arabic manuscript exists in the Royal Library at Paris, containing most valuable notices of the state of literature and science in India, at the commencement of the eleventh century. The author of it is ascertained to have been El-Birûny, a member of a society of learned men formed at the capital of Kharism, who accompanied Mahmûd of Gazneh to India, and "spent many years there, initiating himself into the Hindu sciences," as well as communicating the science of the Arabs to the Hindus. He was acquainted with the Sanskrit language, as appears from his citing two works translated from it into the Arabic, by himself.

Professor Reinaud of Paris has already published from this manuscript, in the *Journal Asiatique* for August, September and October, 1844, a geographical description of India, of the highest importance with reference to the history of the country at the period referred to, and which throws light upon traditions of much more ancient times. The publication of the whole text, with a French translation and notes, has been undertaken by M. Munk, one of the *Attachés* of the cabinet of manuscripts of the Royal Library.

It is expected that this work will be of special use in assisting to determine the dates of the history of Hindu literature, about which there is at present much uncertainty. Its value in every respect is heightened by the fact of its having been composed before the Muhammedan conquest could have altered the state of things in India.

Baron Mac Guckin De Slane of Paris, one of the first Arabic scholars of the age, has been occupied nearly two years in search-

ing for rare manuscripts in some of the public libraries of the East. On this literary errand, he has visited Algiers and Constantina, and has been more than a year in Constantinople. A letter, dated December 14, 1845, addressed to Professor Mohl of Paris, and published in the *Journal Asiatique* for January 1846, indicates some of the objects he has in view in his researches, as follows:

"If people want to know, at Paris, what direction I have given to my labors, you may reply, that I propose to bring back complete catalogues of all the libraries; I already have several of them. I examine every work which seems to me to promise information of value, relative to the history and the ancient literature of the Arabs. I take special pains to obtain facts respecting northern Africa, Spain, the invasions of the Arabs into France and Italy, and their establishments in Sicily, in Sardinia, in the Balearic isles, etc., also respecting the crusades, especially the first. I examine all works of astronomy and mathematics, all treatises translated from the Greek, (unfortunately I have not found many of these.) I search for copies of the ancient epic poems of Persia."

We are happy to be informed, by other letters, that his researches have not been fruitless, but have been the means of bringing to light several important works relating to the history of the Arabs. He has, also, found a copy of El-Birûny's work on India mentioned above, which he thinks must be the original of that in the Royal Library.

Baron De Slane seems to have had no difficulty in obtaining an order from the Porte, giving him admission to any library he might wish to visit, and facilities in examining and copying from any manuscript whatever.

In the *Journal des Savans* for April, 1845, the well-known archæologist Letronne communicates the information, that the Director of the Royal Printing House at Paris is having steel punches cut for two sizes of hieroglyphic types. Hitherto, it has been necessary to engrave or lithograph all hieroglyphic texts, or groups of characters, or single signs, which have been required to be introduced into any published work. For instance, Champollion's *Dictionnaire Egyptien* was lithographed throughout, the French text, as well as the hieroglyphics explained by it. But now, as soon as these types are cast, hieroglyphic characters and continuous texts may be printed in the same manner as the Greek, or Hebrew. This can not but be of great consequence, at the present time, when the brilliant discovery of Champollion is continually leading to a more extended knowledge of Egyptian antiquity.

The difficulties in the way of this improvement, pointed out by M. Letronne, were such as only French taste, united with skill, could well cope with.

It may be expected, that there will soon be a great multiplication of published hieroglyphic texts, which are already made readable by the publication of Champollion's *Grammaire Egyptien*, Paris: 1836-41, and the *Dictionnaire Egyptien* of the same illustrious author, Paris: 1841-44.

Chevalier Bunsen, late Prussian Ambassador at the court of Rome, has lately commenced the publication of a work entitled: *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte.* Hamburg: 1845. The volumes before us are chiefly taken up with a discussion of the relative value of the authorities to be consulted respecting Egyptian history, and with chronological adjustments. The author attempts to lay a foundation for the ancient history of Egypt, by combining the data of the lists of dynasties, of Manetho and Eratosthenes, with facts ascertained by the recent deciphering of hieroglyphic monuments. But the main point of this work remains to be brought out, in the concluding book, which will present the history of Egypt in its connections with the general history of the world. A memoir on Egyptian chronology, which we have reason to expect before long from a member of our Society, will take into account the views of Chevalier Bunsen, as well as the results, now so earnestly looked for, of the researches of Lepsius and Prisse, among the monuments of Egypt.

There is a new work relating to the interior of Africa, which adds much to our knowledge of that part of the world, so little explored by Europeans, and opens the prospect of still farther accessions to it. The work to which we refer is: *Voyage au Darfour, par le Cheyk Mohammed ebn-Omar el Tounsy, traduit de l'Arabe par le Dr. Perron, et publié par les soins de M. Jomard.* Paris: 1845. It was composed at the request of Dr. Perron, by his Arabic master in Cairo, whom he found to have travelled extensively in the interior of Africa. Another volume by the same author will give some account of Borgou. The last Report of the Asiatic Society of Paris informs us that

"It is probable, that the new proof which M. Perron has given, of what may be drawn from Mussulman travellers in the interior of Africa, and of the facility with which they visit countries, closed against us, will yield

other fruits; similar attempts might even now be announced, were it not for the fear of hindering their success by a premature publicity."

Our own associate, Mr. Horatio Hale, the Philologist of the late Exploring Expedition of the United States under Captain Wilkes, has published within a year, his Report on Ethnography and Philology, relating chiefly to Polynesia. The work consists of numerous vocabularies and outlines of grammar of the languages of those islands, and an elaborate discussion of the origin of the Polynesian tribes, and the course of their migrations. We hope that either the author himself, or some one for him, will communicate to this Journal a full analysis of the many new facts he has collected.

We might here add a long list of recent publications, touching various departments of oriental learning, particularly that of the history and geography of the East, which, even within two or three years, has been very much enlarged. Many works of special interest, original or translated; or digested from original sources, have been recently published, which illustrate the history of the Arabs, and the influence of their civilization upon the laws, literature and arts of European nations. But the degree of attention at present given to oriental studies in this country seems not to call for an oriental bibliography. It has been our aim to direct attention to these studies, by pointing out some of the most interesting fields of oriental research in which progress has been made since the last number of this Journal was published, and some of the new means applied to increase our knowledge of the East.

E. E. S.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES

OF SOME OF THE

PRINCIPAL NEGRO DIALECTS OF AFRICA.

BY

REV. JOHN LEIGHTON WILSON,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD ON THE GABUN.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

THE following vocabularies will, it is believed, be found to throw some new light on a subject hitherto involved in much obscurity, and not yet fully cleared up, the relationship to one another of the Negro dialects of Africa.

Although some of the lists, as will be noticed, have been borrowed from sources already accessible, for the sake of widening the field of comparison, most of the words here given were collected by Mr. Wilson himself; and any information communicated by this gentleman, with reference to the Negro tribes of Africa and their dialects, is entitled to entire confidence, inasmuch as thirteen years of his life have been spent among the Negroes of the vicinity of the Gabun river and Cape Palmas, in Western Africa, and he has had opportunities of extending his acquaintance to tribes of other parts of the Continent.

Mr. Wilson has already contributed to enlarge our knowledge of the Negro dialects, by several publications which we take pleasure in enumerating here, for the benefit of those

who may desire to possess themselves of all the results of his labors. These publications are:—

A brief Grammatical Analysis of the Grebo Language.
Cape Palmas, 1838.

A Dictionary of the Grebo Language, in two Parts.
Cape Palmas, 1839.

The First Part of the Grebo Reader, with notes and a Dictionary for the use of beginners.
Cape Palmas, 1841.

Comparison between the Mandingo, Grebo and Mpongwe dialects.
Published at Andover, in the Bibliotheca Sacra for Nov., 1847.

A Grammar of the Mpongwe Language.
New York, 1847.

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARIES.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE NEGRO TRIBES OF AFRICA AND THEIR DIALECTS.*

THE Mountains of the Moon form the line of separation between two portions of the Negro race inhabiting the Continent of Africa, which differ from one another, not only in respect to physical traits, habits of life, and intellectual character, but also as to the degree of relationship which is at present discoverable between the several dialects of each. The Negroes living north of those Mountains, speak a great number of dialects which group themselves into several families, apparently very little allied to one another; while the natives of the vast region south of the Mountains of the Moon, embracing perhaps two-thirds, or three-fourths of the entire Negro race, with the exception of the Hottentot tribe and a few others probably kindred to that, about which less is known, appear to have one language in all their varieties of dialect.

The multiplicity of dialects is a phenomenon common to all parts of the Continent which have been explored, and may be readily accounted for by the general ignorance of the art of writing, the absence of any thing like extended political organization, the distance which separates the dwelling-places of the different tribes, the diversity of their pursuits, and the intercourse kept up with various foreign nations.

The tribes of the western coast have borrowed largely from the Portuguese, English, French and other European

* The writer must be allowed to express his obligations to the Committee of Publication of the Oriental Society, for many valuable hints respecting the arrangement of the following Paper.

languages; those of the Cape of Good Hope, from the Dutch and English; the Mosambique tribe, from the Malagese and the Arabic; the tribes on the confines of Abyssinia, from the Amharic, probably; and those on the borders of Egypt and on the southern edge of the Great Desert, from the Arabic, and possibly from the Coptic. Words thus borrowed, are accommodated to the genius of the several dialects with which we are acquainted, either by suffixing a vowel termination, by changing one or more of the radical consonants into others, by interposing a vowel between two consonants, difficult of pronunciation when combined, or by several of these expedients, united. Thus: the English word "plate" has been variously altered to *pĕle* in Mpongwe, *plĕdĕ* in Grebo, *prĕtye* in Fanti, and *pretch* in Shekani. So: "tobacco" is *tama* in Grebo, *tako* in Mpongwe, *taba* in Mandingo, *etabba* in Ibu, *tamaka* in Jalof, etc. But farther accessions have been made to the vocabularies of the Negro dialects, by an onomatopoetical naming of foreign things, seen for the first time. A hand-saw, for example, is variously called *sero* in Mandingo, *grikâ* in Grebo, *egwasa* in Mpongwe, etc., according to the sound of this instrument which took the strongest hold upon the imagination of one or the other tribe. So, a bell has the name of *bikri* in Grebo, *talango* in Mandingo, *woyowoyo* in Bambara, *diololi* and *walwal* in Jalof, *agogo* in Yebu, and *igalinge* in Mpongwe.

Besides these principles respecting the incorporation of new words, there are certain other points in which the dialects of the Negro race in Africa, so far as investigated, have been found to agree. None have either the definite, or indefinite article, but they all use a personal, or demonstrative pronoun in place of the former, and substitute a numeral for the latter; thus in Grebo: *nyi mu fah duh*, "give me knife one," for "a knife," and *nyebwi nâ*, "person he," for "the person;" so in Mpongwe: *mi jena omâ mâri*, "I see person one," for "a person," and *onomi winâ*, "man this," or *onomi wânâ*, "man that," for "the man." The distinguishing of the gender of nouns and pronouns by their form is unusual, but all the dialects subjoin a separate word, as "man" or "woman," in cases where the gender is to be marked; thus in Mpongwe: *onwana wonomi*, "child man" stands for "boy," and *onwana*

nyanto, "child woman," for "girl;" so in Grebo: *blli biyâ*, "cow man," for "bull," and *blli kba*, "cow woman," for "cow." Adjectives have no degrees of comparison, but differences of degree in quality must, in almost all cases, be expressed by circumlocution. All the dialects use particles to express the various shades of meaning of different tenses and moods, though some are more dependent upon these auxiliaries than others. In all, the reduplicated form of certain verbs expresses repetition of action; thus in Mpongwe: *kĕndagĕnda* signifies "to walk to and fro," *nyenya*, "to sprinkle," *pombiavombia*, "to move backwards and forwards," and *timbiarimbia*, "to reel from side to side." The construction of all the dialects is marked by a natural simplicity. All agree also in the free use of figures of speech, many of which are quite striking; for example, in Mpongwe: *njali toba*, "sky's gun," is "thunder," *bŏngo nalugu*, "taken captive by rum," is "drunk;" so in Grebo: *yau â po yi*, "the sky he winks his eye," signifies "it lightens," and *nyĭnna irù*, "day's child," is "morning." In all the dialects, the names of persons are as we should expect, significant. Of these, the following which are very common among the Gabun people, may be taken as specimens: *Ntyâni yam*, "my shame," *Njuke yam*, "my trouble," *Kobonyondo*, "twelve o'clock," *Ibanga*, "the morning," *Nkolu*, "the afternoon," *Pivia zyele*, "no consideration," and *Ntyanga juwa*, "the news of death." As to computations of number, some of the Negro tribes count by fives, i. e. they count up to five and express the higher numbers by multiples of five, while others follow the decimal system.

But this Paper is to be especially devoted to the illustration of the two points suggested in the beginning; the absence of any discoverable radical affinity between the different families of dialects spoken by the northern division of the Negro race, and the apparent common parentage of the dialects spoken by the southern.

I. Negro Dialects of Northern Africa.

Some of the principal families traceable among these, are represented by the Mandingo, Grebo, Avĕkwŏm, Fanti, Efik, and Yebu dialects, spoken on the western sea-coast. The dialects which constitute what may be called the Mandingo family, are the proper Mandingo, the Bambara, the Susu, the Jalof, and the Fulah. To the family of the Grebo belong, besides the proper Grebo, the Vey spoken at Grand Cape Mount, the Dey spoken by the former inhabitants of Cape Mesurado, the Basa spoken at Basa, the Kru, and the dialects of Drewin and St. Andrew's. Of these the Basa, Kru, and Grebo have been reduced to writing by missionaries residing among the people. The Avĕkwŏm family comprehends, with the proper Avĕkwŏm, the dialects of Frisco on the west, and of Basam, Asini, and Apollonia on the east; and there may be some affinity between these and the dialects spoken northward of Ashanti. The dialects of the Fanti family are the proper Fanti, the dialect of Dick's Cove, that of Akra, and possibly that of Popo. But the affinity of the Akra with the Fanti is not very close. To the same family with the Yebu is already known to belong the Aka or Eyo, and from the position occupied by the people who speak it, we may safely conjecture, that there are dialects kindred to it, in Central Africa, which are not yet brought to light. This may also be assumed, on the same ground, in respect to the Efik.

The Mandingo dialect is remarkable for its copiousness, easy enunciation, comparative freedom from nasal and guttural sounds, and uniform mode of deriving the plural of nouns. The Grebo is characterized by many difficult nasal and guttural sounds, a disproportion of monosyllabic words, great deficiency in inflections, and extreme meagerness. It has however the advantage over other dialects of the north, in being able, by its variety of tenses, to express the time of an action with singular precision. The Avĕkwŏm seems to be copious and flexible, yet is distinct so far as we now know, from either of the dialects east and west of it. The Fanti has many sounds which can scarcely be articulated

by our organs; it seems to be more copious than most of the dialects of Northern Africa, but its grammatical structure is very irregular.

The tribes by whom the dialects of the several families, thus represented, are spoken, must be supposed to be allied to one another, since affinity of language always implies a correspondent ethnological relationship. A few brief notices of the groups of tribes here referred to, may assist to a clearer view of the subject before us; and it will be convenient to give to each group a name, derived from that of the dialect which represents the language mainly in common.

(1.) *The Mandingo Family*

The Mandingos occupy the country between the Gambia and Senegal rivers, or what is usually called Senegambia. They do not confine themselves, however, to this one locality, but are to be found as travelers and traders, at Sierra Leone and Cape Mesurado, and in the interior as far as the head waters of the Niger. They are all Mohammedans, and show much zeal in propagating their religion. Most of them pretend to be acquainted with the Arabic, and persons among them are often found scribbling Arabic sentences, which they sell as charms to the pagan tribes; but few or none of them, probably, are proficients in that language. They have, however, taken many Arabic words into common use. Compared with most other tribes of the sea-coast, they are decidedly intelligent and enterprising. They are generally tall, strong, well proportioned, and dignified in gait, and have cheerful and intelligent countenances.

(2.) *The Grebo Family.*

The tribes of this family are to be met with from Grand Cape Mount on the north to St. Andrew's on the Ivory Coast. According to Malte Brun, who founds his opinion upon the observations of early voyagers, they were once united under one government, and bore the common name of the *Mena* or *Mandu* people. But whether this is correct, or not, their affinity to each other is still indicated among themselves, by

their agreeing to give the name *Mena* to their several dialects. All these are pagan tribes, and have less intelligence than those dwelling northward and eastward of them. They are stout, well-formed, of middle stature, with open, earnest countenances, but badly formed heads. Occupying a part of the country not penetrated by any great river, they have had but little intercourse with the interior tribes, and no important commerce with Europeans. They may be called an agricultural people, for their principal article of export has been, until within a few years, the produce of their own rice-fields. Of late, they have entered with spirit, into the trade in dye-wood and palm-oil. They are extensively employed by foreigners, as laborers in their colonies, and on board of their vessels, and are altogether the strongest and most efficient men for such service. They have no organized government, but live in disorderly masses, without forms of justice, without rulers, except such as are merely nominal, and with scarcely any thing deserving the name of legislation. As to their religious notions, these are just what the fancy of each individual suggests. They have very little mechanical ability, and their houses are consequently almost bare of furniture, excepting a few mats and bowls, and such articles as they purchase from trading vessels. Many belonging to these tribes speak for the purposes of traffic, what may be called the Anglo-African, which is made up of native idioms interwoven with broken English words.

(3.) *The Avĕkwŏm Family.*

The Avĕkwŏms, or to adopt an appellation given by Europeans, the Kwakwas, reside between St. Andrew's and Dick's Cove, on the Ivory Coast. The largest and most important tribe of the family is to be found at Cape Lahu, very nearly equidistant between these two points. Their location is an advantageous one for commerce, and accordingly they have trafficked extensively in ivory, gold-dust and palm-oil. They are active, energetic and enterprising, with the reputation of being peaceable and inoffensive in their intercourse with foreigners. A river called the Kwakwa, opens to them an easy communication with the inland tribes living on the western side of the Kong Mountains.

(4.) *The Fanti Family.*

The Fantis reside chiefly in the immediate vicinity of Cape-Coast, including Dick's Cove and Anamabu. They were originally one people with the Ashantis, but several centuries have now passed since their separation. Many of them have been taught to read and write in schools which have been long established among them, and not a few have become noted for wealth and general intelligence. Yet as a people, they are only semi-civilized. Like most of the tribes of the sea-coast, they are pagans, and exceedingly superstitious. They show much more mechanical ingenuity and versatility of character than the Grebos, but less general intelligence than the Mandingos; and with more adaptation than either of those families for the habits of civilized life, they are surpassed by them in manly independence. They are servile to their chiefs, and some of the chiefs afford specimens of the most unrelenting despotism, in the exercise of their authority, while the very extreme of democracy prevails among the Grebos, and perhaps also among the Avĕkwŏms.

(5.) *The Efik and Yebu Families.*

The Yebus occupy the country about the river Lagos, half-way between the British settlements on the Gold Coast and the bight of Biafra in the Benin gulf. The Efiks, or as they are generally called by Europeans, the Calabars, live at the mouth, or about fifty miles from the mouth of a river bearing the name of Calabar, and not far from the island of Fernando Po. Both these families have been unenviably noted for their concern in the foreign slave-trade, and in consequence, equally so for their cruel practices. Among the latter people, a mission has been recently established, and the traffic in the blood of their kindred is not now carried on; but among the Yebus, it is still continued with as much vigor as is possible under existing restraints.

All the maritime Negro tribes of Western Africa, it is probable, are connected by family ties with tribes in the interior;

but how closely, we have as yet no means of determining, for there are no traditions among them which can be relied upon, respecting the descent of their forefathers to the coast, and the interior of the Continent has been too little explored by Europeans. Besides, their participation in the slave-trade, and consequent imitation of the vices of foreigners, has well nigh destroyed the very elements of their native social state, and has also obscured or obliterated, in them, all those interesting and beautiful traits of character which distinguish the Negroes as a race.

The families of dialects which we have singled out from among those of Northern Africa, are now to be compared by means of parallel vocabularies. The Mandingo vocabulary is borrowed from Mac Brair's Mandingo Grammar, and may be relied upon as in the main correct. The Grebo and Fanti were noted down by myself, from the lips of members of the two tribes, and I feel confident of their general accuracy. For the Avĕkwŏm we are indebted to a friend whose ear is nice in detecting the sounds of a foreign language. The Efik is taken from a small volume published by Rev. Mr. Waddell, a Scotch missionary stationed on the Calabar river. The Yebu is extracted from a Vocabulary of a few of the principal languages of Western and Central Africa, compiled in London for the use of the Niger Expedition. But it is important to observe that, under the name of a particular dialect, are sometimes given words from other dialects of the family which it represents.

VOCABULARIES

OF

NEGRO DIALECTS OF NORTHERN AFRICA.

NOTE.—The orthography of the borrowed vocabularies has been remodeled after the system adopted in writing out the others, which is that recommended by the late Dr. Pickering of Boston. No short marks, however, are given to any of the vowels of the Mandingo, Efik, and Yebu words.

The following more particular explanations will suffice:

All letters are distinctly heard in the pronunciation.

g is always hard as in *get*.
j " soft " *justice*.
ty has the sound of *ch* in *church*.

a	"	*a*	" *father*.
á	"	*a*	" *water*.
ă	"	*a*	" *hat*.
i	"	*i*	" *ravine*.
ĭ	"	*i*	" *hit*.
u	"	*oo*	" *moon*.
ŭ	"	*u*	" *pull*.
e	"	*a*	" *mate*.
ĕ	"	*e*	" *met*.
o	"	*o*	" *note*.
ŏ	"	*o*	" *not*.

The diphthongs are *ai*, sounded like *i* in *pine*,
au, " *ow* in *how*, and
iu, " *u* in *pure*.

The division of syllables is not marked, but a hyphen is inserted between the parts of compound words, so far as these could be indicated.

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Avĕkwŏm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yebu.*
Arm	bulo	sonh	ebo	ĕnsa	ubok	akwa; efwa.
Axe	terango	twe	gangasha	ekuma	ekyuri	eddu; iddong; akike.
Back	ko	kĕ	ewozo	etyir	eidim	en.
Bag	boto	blá	edĕke	kotoku	ekpat	okki.
Banana		mĕnaku	kwánatie	impua	mburo-makara	
Basket	sinsingo	tĕba	fandi	bĭrifi	akpan; akpasa	agbwa; apkwa.
Beads	konongo	wudi		ahwoni	inkwa	lekey; ingu; eseu.
Bed	larango	ká	lovu	mpa	bed	akete; akite; ebiso.
Bee	kumoring	do		ndoa; ndowa	okwok	
Beeswax	kango	do-nya				
Bell	talango	bikri	kondyu	dŏndáma	ikanika	agogo.
Belly	kono	kudi	abiulia	yĕfun	idibi	innoh; uku.
Bird	kuno	niblo	yandyuwe	anoma	inuen	e-ye; e-ia.
Black-man		nye-idikpobo				
Blacksmith	numo	blanyá	ezuniyĕ	temfo	osontum; edemutum	alakbede.
Blood	yello	nyiná	evie	mwejĕ	eyip	eije; eja; eye.
Boat	bara	blebwe	gandi-avia	batede	ekunu	fatelle; oko.
Body	balo	frankburu	ewofro	honam	idem	ara; aguidemugu.
Bone	kulo	dakra	ewi	beu	okboh	egugu; egu.
Book	safero	kinide	efruba	ewuma	ngwed	takada; iwe.
Bottle	kabo	soda	butia	bádamá	ekbume	igo; ololo.
Box	kuneo	bránh	ebro	adaka	akaba	apwoti; apoti.
Breast	siso; sisio	kli; nyidi	diniye	akoko	eba; eset	ommo.
Brother	badinke	bebu	eminye	inna	eyenakami	egbo; aboru.
Calabash	mirango	keya	emeya	joroba	iku	ip-kwa; agwi.
Cannon	peso	pu-hwĕ	paramu	epirim	automby	
Canoe	kulungo	tonh	edie	ehyĕnĭma	obum; efuk	okka; okware.
Carpenter	karpentero		wemimizweni			olugmegi.
Casava		soru	vede	banji		
Cat	nyankomo	pomwe	agerawa	ejiramboa	awambana	ologwo; ologobo.
Chair	sirango	bada	fata	abrogwa; egwa	akpaga	aga.
Cheek	tamo; tamada	gaba	etyezi	nyepi	mfuk	ireke.
Child	dingo	yu; hya	betyutyu	afraba *pl.* mafraba	eyenowong	oma; omadi.
Chimpansee			eguwu	adápi	idiok	

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Avĕkwŏm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yebu.*
Chin		mámatyie	emembo	abáji	ebek	ebbi.
Cloth		daro	kasa	itam	ofong	atyio.
Cloud	toualo	sibo; nukbĕ	biakru	esol-iwim	eyong	anu; arang.
Cock	duntung	koká	esu-sun	akwenyin	ekiko-unen	
Cocoa-nut		sowaiya	ebrubu	kube	eyup-makara	
Corn	nyo	ibá	dudu	ebro	ibokbut	
Country	duo	bli		ikro	erut; edut	
Cow	ninso	blli	legwasi	nentyibiri	enang	malu; elala.
Darkness	dibbo	heidĕ	eshim	isum; kĕtu	ekim	
Day	longo	nyina		da; *pl.* nda	osen	ossa; oni; oyo.
Devil	Sentano	Ku; *pl.* Kwi	Nima	Bosum		Elegwa.
Dog	wulo	kbwi	etye	bádám	ebuwa	aja; ayga.
Door		meyu	eshinavi	abo	usung	leku; eku.
Dry-season	tilikando		eso	ahiramanta	ndaiyo	
Duck	buano	dabadaba	dabo	dákodáká	unen-makara	peppeya.
Ear	tulo	noa	eshibe	asoa	utung	eti; etti; effi.
Earth	dunya	bro	edŏnbuburo	iwiaji		ille.
Egg	susekilo	habi-ngĕ	wuro	tyirifua	insa-unen	engyi; awa; enye.
Elbow	nongkongo	sonh-guru	ebo-morowa	ensakŏn	ekungi	orokongwo; igma.
Elephant	sammo	dowĕ; dwĕ	etyiri	ĕsun	enin	eri; ajinaku; jenaku.
Evening	uraro	wide	dovia	inwibiri	mbubreyo	ale; illeshu; jale.
Eye	nya	ye	emábe	enyoe	eyin; nyin	oju; oyu.
Face	nyada	yiba	evasu	enyim	isu	ikbreju.
Farm	kunko	ge	etrande	ekwa	ewang	
Father	fa; fama	bu	dade	aja	ete	babba; baba.
Finger	bulo-konding	gie	ebwebe	ĕnsa-tyaba	nwen-ubok	amawa; omuka.
Fire	dimba	na	eya	ija	ekang	inno; inna; junab.
Fish	nyeo	hnih	etsi	nam	eyak	eja; eya.
Fish-hook	doling-julo	wĕ	ekwáh	kwaba	uwam	egigi.
Fish-net	jalo	tedá	ejan	eboa	iera	
Foot	sing-jambo	bo-pora	eninetre	anansa	ekpat; ukot	esse; essa; eti.
Forest	ulo	krayide	ebuskem	haban	akai	eggong.
Fork	subosirang		ezurewa	faka		
Fowl	suseo	habi	esu	aká	unen	addia; edia.

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Avikwōm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yebu.*
Freeman	freio				eyenesong; eyenowo	
Friend	teri; terima	bayitime	emutye	nyanko	ofan	orre; uluku.
Goat		wudi	emore	apontyi	ibud	
God	Alla	Nyiswa	Lafri; Defri; Lebububu	Nyami; Nyam-kom-pōn	Abāsy	Allahro; Ollalu.
Gold	sanno		asike	sika		sikka; ode.
Grass	nyamo	pidi	lēfri	efu	nyanyunga	koiko; koriko.
Grass-field	nyamo		ladan	esari		
Ground-nut			ngeti	nkatye		
Gum	yirinyajio; kambaro			eshē		oje; odda.
Gun	kiddo	pu	etanyara	itru	ikang	ibong; iba.
Hair	kuntinyo	luyā; piple	emu	ihwi	idet	iru; ollu.
Hand	bulo-jinso	kwa	ebo	ensēm	ubok	awo; owa.
Handkerchief	tiko	gisē	gisē			
Hammer	pemperlango		kunwuri	hamēl	hammer	okontyo
Hat	shappeo	kbebwi	ūmbatu	ityon	itam	atte-ebo; okoro.
Head	kungo	lu	emorobe	ityil; *pl.* etyie	ibud	eri; ori.
Heart	sondimo	tai; woro	ebore	akoma	oti	aiya; okka; akang.
Hen	suso-muso	habi-kha	esu-si	akābiri	uman-unen	abbu; edue.
Hill	konko	tebwē	epowavi	koko	ebut	oki.
Honey	lio	do	ajo	ewo	edan-okwok	oyi; onging.
House	buago	kai	eva	edan; ifi	ufok; ufog	ille; illi.
Infant	dindingo	pano	ebefopore	afraba	eyensak	
Ivory	samma-nyingo	dānh-ngē	etribli	asumēl	oruk	eyeri; eiajinaku.
Key	kunedingo	bade	safa	safi	ukpare	shika; tyika.
King	mansa	bodio	dēbwi	ehin	obong	oba.
Knee	kumbalingo	kona	eri-gruwe	anakunoma	edong	ekung; onnkung.
Knife	muro	fa	nanya	sikan	ikwa	obe; abe; adda.
Leg	singo	bo	eribore	anan	ukot	ojugun; ajugu.
Leopard	solo	gi	atyikiri	jahin; ityue	ekbe	eku; aku.
Light	noro; nuro	pebe	etsimere		uwana	ossa; otokwa.
Lock	karriyado	gābu	ekredu	dako		gidi; godo; magidi.
Man (*and* Husband)	keo	nye-biyā	emowo	benyin	erenowo; ebe	okori; okkuni.
Monkey	sulo	yidi	ekere	doku	ebok	
Moon	karo	hābo	efe	bosim	ofiong	ojupa; oshupa.

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Avikwōm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yebu.*
Morning	soma; soilo	nyinairu	tafrofunh	napa	osenobok	okutakuta; illamong.
Mortar	kulungo	to	ewi	wēdru	urung	
Mosquito	susulo	nipwi	efo	monton	obong	emure.
Mother	ba; bamo	de	mama	na	aka	iya; iyu.
Mouth	da	wuná	enufro	aná	inwa	eno; ennu.
Mug	moggo		emoa	kuraba		
Nail	preko	pūnhma	ezurube	pirego	okbukwa	ityo.
Navel	botakungo	nowáná	bokyume	funuma	ekup	owa.
Neck	kango	pro	ewowe	ikán	itong	enaffu.
Needle	bendango	die	fiefri	drowa	ebiabon	abere.
Night	suto	tā	edusaine	isum; noja	okonio	oru; ellao; okuku.
Noon	tilibula		bisibūbo	ewiabiri	mbubreyo	asagaga; ossa.
Nose	nungo	mia	emuri	ehwin	ibuoh	emu.
Oil	tulukuna	kēna	inyu	ingo	aran	epo; ekpo.
Oyster	uganga	kwari		adantyi; woraba		okuko.
Paddle	jibo	wa	efe	tabon	uren; uden	
Parrot	jobo	kya; kha	ako	eyuru	inem	
People	molu	nyebo	etyuru	kuráfu	eko-ndi	onioyeye.
Pepper	kano	pia	esēngere	amoko	atukon	atu; atta.
Person	mo	nyebwi		nyimpa	owo	enya; enika.
Pestle	nyinkalo	sunh	ezini	dyoma		
Pig	seo	botyu	ekanh	prako	edi	aledi.
Pigeon	pura	hunubwi	koeganjure	abránoma	tomtom	eye.
Pine-apple		koboyo	kumburu	abrobē	eyup-makara	
Pistol	pistolo	namapu	kodiawia	mistáraba	ekpreikang	olewo.
Plantain		ku	beshi	brēdi	ukum	eyiddi.
Plate	pleto	plede	sáfri-bodie	pretyi	usan	awo.
Powder	kidde-munko	pumnu	etanava	etududēl	ekumikang	etu.
Rain	sanjio	nu	efūzumosonh	yankum	erem; edem	ojo; ojoro; odigu.
Rainy-season	samato		eshi		okwo	awojo.
Razor		gēnh	ēdzebrenye	seka-nyidam		
River	woio	niba		baka	akba	odo; osa.
Road	silo	tide	esisan	ekwan	okboesong	ona; onno.
Rope	basejulo	pēdi	eveva; ewán	tampi	irut	okung; okan.

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Avĕkwŏm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yebu.*
Rum	dolo	ná	eta	nsa	min	
Sail	basefano	daro (cloth)	tutu	abrĕde	ofongetu	igbuku.
Salt	ko	ta	etsa	intyin	enun	iyoh; iya.
Sand		pisu	essan-na	ahwia	utan	iari; erongi.
Saw	sero	grikā	sukusuku	sirada	uyongpo	ongungu.
Scissors	tisoro		dabre	apasu		magaji.
Sea	baba	idu	etyu	ĕpo	eyang	okung.
Shadow	nika; nineno	shiyu	enyie	sunsum	ukbong	ojji.
Shark	patamo	kya	emu	ĕswia	onum	nyikonre.
Sheep	sajio	blable	kokose	igwan	erong	aguta; agonta.
Shoes	samato	wisubi	bambwi	asparyiri	ikpaukot	batta.*
Shoulder		wāhu	ebole	abetyil	afara	ejika; ijika.
Side	kara	wa	efranka	infi	ukang	egia.
Silver				dyĕte		oje; sinika.
Skin	balafato	kā	efru	iwuma	ikpok	awor; alla.
Sky	aryena	yau	ezuve	esuru	eyong	orro.
Slave	jongo	gei	edie	akowa; afunaba	ufan	ehru; omma.
Smoke	sisio	nasnu	enyewuru	ehum	insuekang	efe; eurua.
Soap	safono	sinnlĕ	sĕmina	sĕmina		estye.
Spear	tambo	di	eble	kamba	eruat	ika; aka.
Spirit	Nio	Shiyu	Āfonemiri	Sunsum		
Spoon	dosa	mina	dabwĕ	atyiri	ikpangidang	kokko; kantwa.
Star	lolo	neyĕ	eyĭmwa	wuraba	utantafiong	rawo; irawo.
Stone	beri	sia; sia	desi	bĕba	itiat	okuta; okuto.
Sun	tilo	wĕuh	bisi	ewia	utin; eyu	orung; oja; onu.
Sword	fango	kobo-li	sukusuku	inkrantyu; afuna	ofut	obwoa.
Table	meso	teble	tabli	epon	kpokor	
Thigh	wuto	poā	eribare	asiri	ifuji	itaa; akbalutong.
Thread	bora	gise	jĕsi	ahuma		ou.
Throat	kankruba	mlam	abweshi	kāmĕn	onuk	onovong.
Thunder	sankulo; ngalaso	tenh yan-ā-po-yi	efuzudyuko	snanian	nyaotwa	ara; aru.
Time	tumo	ti	tindi	adĕjir	ini	
To-day	bi	nyina	emine	injĕ	imfin	oni; luni.
Toe	sinkodingo	beyĕ	enibebe	anansāba	nwenukot	amalissa.

* This word is in the singular number.

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Avĕkwŏm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yebu.*
To-morrow	sining	nyina-mia-nyamu	ĕtsi	etyinna	mpong	lala.
Tongue	nengo	mĕ	ezarabe	tĕkrama	edem	awu; angwa.
Tooth	nying	nyĕ; gnĕ	enena	insi	edet	ehi.
Town	sateo	oráh; woráh	edŏnh	ekrum	obio	ilu.
Tree	yiro	tu	edziba	iduya	etu	igi; ewajaskwe.
Trowsers	kurto	siĕmu	enembakasityá	troŏs	ofon-gukot	shokoto; sokoto.
Turtle	kuto	diba	etsiri; eziri	epuhuru	ikur-eyang	
Water	jio	ni	esonh	nsu	mong	omi.
White-man		kubĭ			makara	oibo; webo.
Wind	fonio	duduidu	evriva	frama; ako	ofim	efufu; avuvu.
Woman (*and* Wife)	muso	nyinna	emĭse	besia; mbesia	wan; wanowo	obiri; obri; obina.
Year	sanji-kiling	yerá	evira	afrihiyĕ	ishua	oddu; odong.
Yesterday	kunu	trárádá	ewe	enida	mpong	ana.
Bad		nyine; nyineyidu	eluine	bán	idiok; ofonke	ebru; ibro; okong.
Bitter		kra; nyine	ebiranbira		idut	
Black		idibo; idikpobo	ebwigauri	tuntum	obubet	dudu; didu.
Far		hlá	esizuruwa			lahu; ohu; oji.
Good		haka	emimi	papa	eti; ofon	dara; odara; ishiu.
Hard		kra		ijin	okposung	
High		hlá-ya		tyintyin	orokeyong	gu.
Long		hlá		áwal	anyan	gugu; goun.
Low		kwayĕ				
Near		kwane	enisi		adiana	
New		irayedo	alafofo		abufa	tita.
Old		daka	lowáyi		akani; ukai	aribo.
Red		huru	ebie-kre		ideiduet	pekua.
Short		kwa		etyia	ibibio	kukkuru; koru.
Soft		yábá; tyába		miran	memem	
Sweet		nowuná	nĕkanĕka		ininge	
White		plu; pru	evutyu	fufu	afia	

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Aŏkwŏm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yebu.**
Answer	jabi	wai		jru	oboro	
Arrive	futa	dine		aba		
Ask	nyininka	ira		bisĕ	bup	beri; bi.
Assemble					eboon	
Beat	busa; bute	bi		ishwi	dubi	
Beg	dani	badi		petyou	ebenga; mbop	mobbi.
Bird		mon			bop	
Bite	king	mli	yakaeyini	ika	dum	buye.
Break	kute; te	wanh; wĕnh	ebriza	bu	bum	she; for; tye.
Build	lo	pe	yĕpwĕre	isi	ebobufok	ka; kor; akole.
Burn	janni	sie	yewoeo	isho	ata; fop	
Carry	sambo	kba	ejida	jĕrukă	akama	mo; bweia.
Change	faling	hihi	tine	sisa		oyer.
Cheat	ketu	bede	akanzie	sisi	otuk	nja.
Cleanse	seniandi	sowa	wi	pepe	kwak; kwaere	
Come	na	di; dine	ba	bra	di	
Cook	tabi	pi; pinh	yatyu	yĕjibam	tem	shei; sei; oyeno.
Cry	kumbo	wi	yazu	izu	atuiyet	digbe.
Dance	dong	yi; yiwora	yabiyano	isui	unet	
Descend	jinang	te; tĕ	yarebam	brasi	suareri	
Do	ke	ni	dorenyene	yĕ		tye.
Drink	ming	na	yanyu	nnun	wong	mo; monmn.
Eat	domo	di	yadzi-azu	jĕji	dia	je; oyerung.
Enter	dung	di-pa		bre	do-ko-fok	wolie.
Fall	jaleng	piyo; bo	ejareta	fidaji	onuakesong	tyubo.
Fill	fandi	yiedi	tyi	ema	sin	ero.
Find		yi (to see)	mangimagete		ofisu	fu.
Finish	bang	wĕ-ma	etanta	mĕwie		
Fold		pila	tyerae		fut	
Follow	noma	kwĕ	ba	fan	kene	
Forget	nyinne	hinn-mă	esĕnbosita	wirefiri	efre	bugba.
Give	di; so	nyi	mae	ma	no	fu; fung.
Go	ta	mine›	le	kă	ka	bo; olo.
Hear	moi	wănh	ezeba	matyi	kup	bo; bwa.

* Several words which perhaps might have been put down as Yebu verbs, are omitted on account of the uncertainty whether verbs, or nouns are intended in the Vocabulary borrowed from.

YEBU.

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Avĕkwŏm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yebu.*
Hold	muta	krá	muzai	som	mum	dimu.
Hot (to be)		snu; sinu	kawoyaworo			
Hungry (")	konkota	kanu-ni-mu	eloya enyume	kŏmajĭm		
Keep	muta	tu-nĕ-yimu	doyare	isie	num	musi.
Kick	damfa	hla-bajĕ	tyueraga	wántyia	digi	otase.
Kill	fa	la	bai-i	kun	wut; wud	pa; kuo.
Laugh	jelle	kya	leme	sero	sak; sakemam	
Leave	tu; bo	se; seo		finá; fil	kbong	fu.
Lie (down)	la	pĕ	daresamĕni	dakám	nana; nakesong	sa; sung; dubulle.
Lie (to tell a falsehood)		seh	egora		su; su-insu	
Make	ke	ni; nu		yĕ	nam	tye; ongse.
Meet	terra; beng	mwaine	osasita	ishia	osubo	okonono.
Open	yelle	kra-yĕ	bura	bue	kware	la; tyityi.
Pass		hi; hio	engerada		be	
Pay	jo	tŏ	fido	tuyĕkau	su	sur.
Plant	tutu	dowĕ	watala	duyĕ	taw	
Play	tulung	ni-sinu	yakuma	gul	brembre	
Pull		gidi	yawuwe		dudi	
Raise	wulindi	du-yah	yakukwi	madu	mehn	mudiro.
Run	bori	kwidi		gwan	faka; faga	osure.
Say	ko; fo	yĕ; yi; hlĭ	yalo	si	daw; ete	wi.
See	dye; felle; jube	yi; ta-náh	yakoka	shwe	se	ri; wo.
I		má		mĭ	mon; ami	mo; emmi.
Thou		máh		áno	afu	uwa; wa; wo.
He, She, It		á; ná; e; ne		áwo	enye	o; a; ong; re.
We		ă		ehyĕu	nyen	a; awa.
Ye		ah		ehwam	mfu	eyi; enwe.
They		oh; no; ne; eh		ehwŏn	imo	ngwa; uwa; awong.
Who		nyá		wána; á	ania	tani; tiwa.
What		de		ebina	intsu; insu	ti; kenni.
Mine		na		mĭ	mi; okum	temi; mi.

VERBS.

PRONOUNS.

English.	*Mandingo.*	*Grebo.*	*Avikwŏm.*	*Fanti.*	*Efik.*	*Yoku.*
Thine		nah		wo	fu	
His, Her, Its		á; ná		no	enin	
Our		a		hinĕ	nyen	tewa.
Your		ah		hono	mfu	
Their		oh; no		hwá	mo	
This		nĕnu		iyi	emi	ni; i; eyi; ngyi.
That		náná		ánú	odu; oru	hun; hung; nini.
These		nenu; nono		iyinum	puproemi	
Those		nenu; nono		ánánum	puprooru	
Whose		nyá				
All		biyĕ		anyinada	pupru	boghoe; boaboa.
Each		du-du		baku		
One	kiling	du; do	etekri; etŏn	ekol	ket	enni.
Two	fula	su	anyu	ebien	iba	
Three	sabba	tŭnh	aza	ebiasa	ita	
Four	nani	hanh	ana	anan	inan	
Five	lulu	hnu	enyu	enum	itien	
Six	woro	hnu-bodu	awá	esinya	itio-ket	
Seven	worongwula	hnu-bosu	ebyu	esŏn	iti-abo	
Eight	sey	behanh-behanh	etye	awátyi	iti-ata	
Nine	konanta	si-idu	emuna	akono	osuket	
Ten	tang	pu	ejiu	idu	duep	
Eleven	tang-ning-kiling	pu-na-du	jiu-tŏn	du-biako	duep-iket	
Twelve	tang-ning-fula	pu-ná-su	jiu-anyu	du-ebien	duep-eba	
Twenty	tang-fula; moang	woro	evo	edo-nu	edip	
Thirty	tang-sabla	woro-na-pu	evo-e-jiu	edo-yasa	edip-ye-duep	
Fifty		woro-su-na-pu		edo-nuna	aba-ye-duep	
Sixty		woro-tŭnh		edu-esia	ata	
One Hundred	kemi	woro-hnu	apwe-enin	eha	ikia	
Two Hundred	kemi-fula	huba		aba-abien	iki-eba	
One Thousand	kemi-tang	hubwi-hnu		apim	iki-e-duep	

II. Negro Dialects of Southern Africa.

The preceding comparison of vocabularies sufficiently illustrates the apparent want of affinity between the different families of dialects spoken by the Negro race in Northern Africa. But if we make a similar comparison of words taken from the dialects of that part of the Continent which is south of the Mountains of the Moon, we shall find reason to believe, that these have been derived from a common stock. This was conjectured more than thirty years ago, by Dr. Marsden, but evidence sufficient to establish it as a fact, has hitherto been wanting.

In order to illustrate this point, we shall give parallel vocabularies of the Batanga, the Panwe, the Mpongwe, the Congo, the Embomma, the Bechuana, the Kafir, the Mozambique and the Swahere, or Sowhylee, all which are dialects of the southern division of the Negro race.

But the comparison of these vocabularies may be made more intelligently, if we first notice briefly, the localities and general habits of the tribes to whose dialects the words belong, and attend to a few particulars respecting some of the dialects.

(1.) *The Batangas.*

The Batangas, or as they call themselves, the Bânâkâ, reside on the sea-coast, near 3° of North Latitude, and about half-way between the Cameruns, which may be considered as forming the western termination of the Mountains of the Moon, and the Gabun river. They have not been known to white men, until within the last twelve or fifteen years, all their traffic with foreigners having been carried on previously, through the intervention of the natives of the Cameruns and those of the Gabun. Their part of the coast is now, however, one of the largest ivory-marts in Western Africa, and it is a singular fact, that the site of their principal town is known to traders by a high mountain rising in its rear, the outlines of which so nearly resemble an elephant,

that the most casual observer could not fail to notice it. They number about twenty-five or thirty thousand, without estimating a very large population, possibly belonging to their tribe, which according to their own account, occupies the country back of the coast.

Though the Batangas have the principal features of the Negro race, they differ in many particulars from the natives of the same coast in general, and are more like the Kafirs. Their skin is rather copper-colored than black, and their eye-balls have a whiteness which is not usual where the darker shades of the Negro complexion are found. In their style of building, habits of life, amusements and the manner of ornamenting their persons, there is a marked difference between them and the tribes of the Gabun and the Congo. Their dialect resembles in some points of grammar, the Bechuana and other dialects spoken far south, or on the eastern side of the Continent, rather than those of its vicinity on the western coast.

(2.) *The Panwes.*

These are a very numerous tribe, inhabiting an interior region, one or two hundred miles distant from the western coast, between 3° of North and 3° of South Latitude, and equally accessible from the country of the Batangas, the Gabun and Cape St. Catharine. Their population probably does not fall short of a million, though no precise estimate can be formed. They have taken possession of the head waters of the Gabun, and may be expected soon to become predominant on the coast. Their disposition is manly, independent and warlike. Physically, they are well-formed, and of healthful constitutions; one thing particularly noticeable is, that they have long braids of hair. Their dialect is more nearly allied to the Batanga than to the Mpongwe, but has some peculiarities of its own,—for example, the termination of many of its words with abrupt consonant sounds.

(3.) *The Mpongwes.*

The Mpongwes, properly so called, reside on the banks of the Gabun river, where it empties itself into the ocean, and

do not exceed six or seven thousand in number, but if that name is applied to all who speak the Mpongwe dialect, at Cape Lopez, Cape St. Catharine and some distance in the interior, their number can scarcely be estimated at less than two hundred thousand. They are somewhat elevated above the other maritime tribes, and may be called semi-civilized. Commerce has led them to intercourse with various foreign nations, of late more particularly with the English. Their dialect is remarkable for its smoothness, and methodical structure, the great flexibility of its verbs, and its capability of almost unlimited expansion, as new ideas are required to be expressed.

(4.) *The Congos and Embommas.*

These tribes dwell in the vicinity of the Congo river, and in their general character, habits and superstitions are substantially one with the Mpongwes. Christianity was introduced among them two centuries ago, by the Roman Catholics, but there are few if any traces of it at present remaining. It will probably be found, that their dialects bear a special resemblance to the Mpongwe, with respect to grammatical principles.

(5.) *The Bechuanas and Kafirs.*

The Kafirs who form a branch of the Bechuana family, have their home along the southeastern coast, between Fish river and Delagoa bay. According to Moffat, they are a bold and martial people, and though they have frequently been in conflict with the neighboring Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, have up to the present time, maintained themselves in independence. The other Bechuana tribes are spread over an undefined territory, in the interior of the Continent, north of the Kafir-land, and extending about as far westward as 23° of East Longitude, and have the Zulus between them and the eastern coast.

(6.) *The Mozambique Tribe.*

This tribe occupies a part of the eastern coast very nearly opposite to the island of Madagascar.

(7.) *The Swaheres.*

The Swaheres, or Sowhylees, are the original inhabitants of Zanzibar, but having become subject to the Imâm of Muscat, they have no longer any authority on the sea-coast. Their dialect has been quite recently reduced to writing for the first time, by Rev. Dr. Krapf, a German Missionary sent out by the English Church Missionary Society, who still resides among them; and large portions of the Bible have been translated into it, and other helps to a knowledge of it provided, by that gentleman.

We will now bring together in parallel columns, some Batanga, Panwĕ, Mpongwe and Swahere words, collected by myself from original sources; some words of the Congo and Embomma dialects, from the vocabularies written down by Capt. Tuckey, during his exploration of the Congo river, twenty-five or thirty years ago; a few specimens of the Bechuana, from Moffat's Southern Africa, Campbell's Travels in South Africa, and a Table of numerals compiled from Salt, Browne and Krapf, in No. III. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society; some of the Kafir, as represented in a translation of the New Testament into that dialect, published some years since, at the Cape of Good Hope; and some of the Mozambique, drawn from a collection of words made by Dr. Marsden, which is to be found in Tuckey's Narrative of an expedition to explore the Congo, and from the Table of numerals just referred to. The fewness of the words of the last mentioned three dialects, which we have to compare, renders it most convenient to make two series of these vocabularies.

VOCABULARIES

OF

NEGRO DIALECTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

FIRST SERIES.

Note.—The orthography here, is conformed to the system already explained, except that the quantity of the vowels is not always marked.

It may be observed that some of the Swahere words in this and the following series, differ from those of the same meaning in the vocabulary of Mr. Masury, published among the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. This may be accounted for in part, by the supposition that the words given here, belong to the Swahere dialect as spoken at some distance from the coast, and therefore less affected by foreign influences, for the vocabulary of Mr. Masury shows a large intermingling of the Arabic.

English.	Batanga.	Mpongwe.	Congo or Embomma.	Bechuana.	Kafir.	Mozambique.	Swahere.
Antelope		nkambi		khama			
Bee	nyowe	nyowe					nyuki.
Child	moana	onwana	moana	kwanagé, C	unyana		mtoto.
Doctor		oganga	ganga				nganga.
Dog	mboa	mboa	mboa				mboa.
Earth	ishi	ntye	ntato	mu, C	mhlaba		ntye.
Father	paya	rere; rera	tata	barĕ, C rare, M	yise		baba.
Goat	ntaba	mboni	kombo		bokwe		mbozi.
Monkey	kĕma	nkĕma					kima.
Moon	ngánde	ogwĕli	ngŏnde	kŭlŭ, C		musĕ	mwĕzi.
Mother	ina	ngwĕ	mama	matyo, C	nina		mama.
Path	njeya	mpánlá	enzala		nthlela		njiya.
People	batu	anlaga	bantu		abantu		watu.
Person, Man	motu	oma	muntá		mtu; umtu	mŏntŭ	mtu.
Pig	ngwoya	ngowa	ngulu		ngu	gŭrŭe	nguluwe.
Rain	mbuya	ningo	vaula	pula	mvula		mvuwa.
Salutation		bolo		borau	bulisa		
Shoulder	ibĕki	ovega		lihŭli, C	beni		bĕga.
Tongue	dem	olĕmĕ	ludimi	lŭlemĕ, C	ulwimi		olimi.
Tooth	makonga	aná	manu	mĕno,* C		mĕno	mano.
Water	majim (Panwĕ)	aningo	maza	mutzu, C	mazi; emanzini	maji	maji.
White beads	mihanga	ozyange	moanga; sanga				oshanga.
All	yĕ-ĕ	yodu	yo; ionsau		yoke; yonke		yote.
Many	yenge	yenge	benga		ninzi		yenge; nyenge.
To cook	yamba	namba; pika	lambĕ				ko-pika.
To go	wala	kĕnda	wĕnda		hamba		nĕnda.
To leave	dika	tiga					wika.
One	pákà	mári	mose	mongahela		musa	mája.
Two	beba	mbani	kolĕ	babĕeri	babini	pili	mbiri.
Three	belala	taro	tatu	thăro; barăro	atatu	badatu	tatu.
Four	nai; benai	nai	mua	inni	sanu	mesana	ne; ine.
Five	tanu	tani	tanu	thanu		thana	tani.
Six	ntoba	orowa	sambanu	tharo		thana-musa	sita.
Seven	embwĕdi	orágeou	sambodi	liajupa		thana-pili	saba.
Eight	owambi	nanai	euana	arini		thana-sese	nani.
Nine	ibua	inágomi	evăa			luko	lisa.
Ten	jom	igomi	kumi	jume	shumi	kŭmi	kuma.

* This is a plural in Campbell's vocabulary.

NOUNS. ADJECTIVES. VERBS. NUMERALS.

VOCABULARIES

OF

NEGRO DIALECTS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

SECOND SERIES.

Note.—The same system of orthography is followed here, as before, except that the quantity of the vowels is not always marked.

English.	*Batanga.*	*Panwĕ.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Embomma.*	*Swahere.*
Arm	eno	owá	ogá	koko		mkáná.
Axe	ubáki	eshin	orĕm	mpibĕ	táli	
Back	mbua	mvush	nyuma	nema	buza	mgongo.
Bag	elandi	mfĕk	puka	ekauba	kauba	kanda.
Banana	ihube	etátá	etátá			
Basket	elinga	elinga	otondo	mbangau		kikapo.
Beads	mihanga	obán	olonda; ozyange	sanga	psanga	oshanga.
Bed	ilika	ená	odo	mfaulau	tyia	tandiko.
Bee	nyowe	nyo	nyowe			nyuki.
Beeswax	eponga	efonga	ponga			nta.
Bell	ibĕnge	aleni	igalinge			langwedi.
Belly	iwuhu	abumu	iwumu	vaumau	vumu	tombo.
Bird	náni	anán	nyáni	nunĕ	nuni	ndĕge.
Black-man	olámbĕ-vindo	bĕshot	olámbĕ			máosi.
Blacksmith	nkĕ; komba	belui	ogubaguba			mhusi.
Blood	makia	mĕki	ntyina	mĕnga	mĕnga	dam.
Boat	kunga		elende	nzaza	nzaza	mashua.
Body	nyolo	nyotyi	okuwa	solango	avia	mwiri.
Bone		eveshe	epa	visi	vĕzĕ	mfupa.
Book	ekalatu; kalat		ezango; ezangango			mushalf.
Bottle	eposhi		mbute			sopa.
Box	elimbe		egara	lukata		sanduku.
Breast	boanga	nton	ntono	ntaulau*	maboi*	kifua.
Brother	moana-ina	nya-moto	onwángwĕ	pangamĕ		ndugu
Calabash	woba	noam	ntyondo			
Cannon	kásá		oduma			mzinga.
Canoe	bopĕ; iyĕnge; obengi	biali	onwaro; owaro			ngrauwa.
Carpenter	bokele		kapenta			sarmala.
Casava	akwamba	mafia	ngwĕshĕ			
Cat	singi		pus	baudĕ	budĕ	paka.
Chair	konda	ebonh	epwe; epwe-satanga			kiti.
Cheek	mabuku	mama	iwugu	matáma*	matáma*	
Child	moana	mŏngá	onwá; onwana	máana	moana	mtoto.
Chimpansee	kwiya	waka	ntyigo			

* This is a plural in Tuckey's vocabulary.

English.	*Batanga.*	*Panwĕ.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Embomma.*	*Swahere.*
Chin	ibátu	njĕli	jĕgĕlu	bevá	bevo	
Cloth	onamba	ndĕle	olamba	tyindelĕ	blelĕ	ngua.
Cloud	ivindĕ	eviniyo	evindi	esantyĕ	tuti	wengo.
Cock		sangako	kokori			koko.
Cocoa-nut	njima		amatanga.			
Corn	mbas; poti	fon	mba			mtama.
Country	etomba	ayŏnh	ilŏngá	seamĕ	nai	shamba.
Cow	anyaka	nyat	nyare	gombĕ	patyeza	gnámbe.
Darkness	invititi	otyo	mpiri	tombĕ	mboi	useku.
Day	buwa; bua	mĕshu	owenja; ntyugu	lámbá	moini	sikomodya.
Devil	Nkuku	Nkuk	Ibambo	Kadde-mpemba	Kulam-pambo	Shetan.
Dog	mboa	mvu	mboa	mboa	mboi	mboa.
Door	jámbe	ijibige	iguge	kavilu; evitu	vitu	
Dry-season	ilonda	oyon	enomo; nanga	gondi-ásivu		kokavu.
Duck	elálá	azáká	ezáge			
Ear	itá; itoi	matá	iroi	kutu-matu	matu	sikio.
Earth	ishi; otindi	ŭshi; ishi	ntye	ntato	toto	ntye; intye.
Ebony	bevila		evila			mpingá.
Egg	mase	ake-kuba	ike	maki	maki	
Elbow	ibángá		tyángakanio			koa.
Elephant	nják; njáku	nják	njágu			fil.
Evening	kolu	angokon	nkolu			jambo.
Eye	dihá	dish	intyá	mesá		matyo.
Face	boho	asho	ozyo	lusĭ	luziĕ	oso; ozo.
Farm	moanga; bebando	mabĕnk	ntyaga; mpindi			kupanda.
Father	paya	tata	rera; rere	tāta	tata	baba.
Finger	openjo	ano	omeno	mblĕmbo	luzala	kidore.
Fire	veya	ndoa	ogoni	bazao	bazu	mátá.
Fish	yaka; huwi	nkásh	evĕre	bishĕ	mfu	sumaki.
Fish-hook	jábá		ilávi			
Fish-net	mbuja		mbuzya	nzalo	kŏndi	wavu.
Foot	atambi	abŏnh	ntyozyo	tambi	tambi	mgu-u.
Forest	yiki	afan	iga			
Fork	oloma		ntuma	soma	soma	matan.

English.	*Batanga.*	*Panwĕ.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Embomma.*	*Swahere.*
Fowl	koba	ngu	jâgŏni	susu	susu	koko.
Freeman		monâ-she	onwâ-ntye	fumu	fumon-gana	mahuru.
Friend	mboi	amvwi	ndego	dekwami	kundi	sâmo.
Goat	ntaba	kavan	mboni		kombo	mbozi.
God	Njambi	Njamĕ	Anyambia	Zambe; Mpungu	Yambi	Mungo
Gold	hika		sika-tenatena	ola	vula	dahabu.
Grass	utove		orove			
Grass-field	utove		orove			
Ground-nut	mbenda	owona	mbenda			
Gum	bebanga	abama	ekeva			sandrusi.
Gun	ngadi	njadi	njali			mzinga.
Hair	nyowe; howe	eshili	shitue	nsuke	msutye	nyuere.
Hand	ikânjo; ihadu	juwĕ	ntyâmĕ	kandase	koko	mkâno.
Handkerchief			vĕlish			lĕso.
Hammer	njonjo	njoni				
Hat	njonga		pokolo			kâfia.
Head	molo	molo	ewonjo	mtu	mtu	kityua.
Heart	ulema	mlĕm	ntyondo; ilĕmi	nkima	monio	
Hen		galoko	obota	susu-kĕntu		
Hill	nwodi	nkolu	nomba	mzanza	vemongo	
Honey	boi	wi	olĕmbĕ			asali.
House	ndabu; ishĕnga	nda	nago	mzo	mzo	nyumba.
Infant	ikĕ-ĕ	nkĕngala	okĕikei			
Ivory	njâku; mebango	mba-njâk	mpunji; igĕgĕ			pĕmbe.
Key	idiboam		enunguna; shape			funguâ.
King	upolu	kuma	oga	nĕmboma	mtyinu	sultan.
Knee	mabŏngâ	abŏnh	ivuva			gâti.
Knife	pao; haka	ntuma	swaka	mbaili	bile	kisu.
Land	makĕ	ntyĕng	ntyĕnge			
Leg	ombendi	mbiĕn	ompende	vinde	malu	mgu-u.
Leopard	injâ	izyi	njĕgâ			tyuwi.
Light	mbe	miĕr	ozange; ilanga			ofagare.
Lock	ilali		mpâga			kufulu.
Man (*and* Husband)	motu	fam	onomi	muntâ	bukala	mtu.

English.	*Batanga.*	*Panwĕ.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Embomma.*	*Swahere.*
Monkey	kĕma	kwĕ	nkĕma			kima.
Moon	ngánde	ngán	ogwĕli	ngonde	gondĕ	mwĕzi.
Morning	mosko	tyĕtya-zyĕ-giza	ibanga	kĕnsauka	menamena	siboki.
Mortar	eboka	eboká	ezyo			
Mosquito	ukunga		mbo			
Mother	ina	nana	ngwĕ	mâma	mama	mama.
Mouth	udumbu	anom	ogwana	naua	mnoi	kinyua.
Mug	obanga		mŭgi			kino.
Nail	dándáki	mishá	ntyángá			
Navel	itádu	jáp	irárá			
Neck	singo	ngiyĕ	ompele	elaka	msingu	singo.
Needle	dándáki		ntombo			sindano.
Night	bulu	oto; otyo	ogwĕra	mâseka	fuku	siko.
Noon	joba-amolo	amosh	kobonyondo			thinashare.
Nose	mpemba	njuwi	mpombo	mazámá	yuno	pua; poa.
Oil	mateya	mbán	agali	manze	maze	
Oyster	matandi		irandi			shĕi.
Paddle	kapi	nkabi	nkavi			gaduf.
Parrot	koho	ngosh	ngozyo			ndĕge, (bird.)
People	batu	botu	anlaga	pindauame	bantu	watu.
Pepper	ndongo	okangala	tojolo			piripiri.
Person	motu	moto	oma			mtogani; mtu.
Pestle	yele	mbiki	ozázi			
Pig	ngweya	ngwi	ngoa; ngowa	ngulu	gulubo	nguluwe.
Pigeon	benga	abĕng	menga			
Pine apple	janga		iguwi			
Pistol	putu		eduka			tivinge.
Plantain	yándi	mákán	ikándá			ndizi.
Plate	bĕshi		epĕli			sakani.
Powder	njuga	fĕra	mpira			baroti.
Rain	mbuya	mvĕng	ningo	vaula	vola	mvuwa.
Rainy-season	boká	oshoka	ntyanga	mālola-mantiti		nĕma.
Razor	isĕngá		ovenda-wi-shengina			
Redwood	beyio	oshe	igo; yigo			

English.	*Batanga.*	*Pauwi.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Ewhoomma.*	*Swahere.*
River	viko	oläwi	oläwi	moela	moela	mto.
Road	njeya	njën	mpänlä	mozeila	ezzala	njiya.
Rope	ohinga		egulu	singa	sänga	kamba.
Rum	belam	mënyäk	alugu			vinyu.
Sail	bonga		ikuku	vula	vula	tanga.
Salt	visinga	nko	ezanga	mongua	nungua	tyumbi.
Saw	krä; kyä		egwasa			
Scissors	bonbo	okënh	ovenda-tena			
Sea	tubë	oshni	ombeni	mbau	bu	wembe.
Shadow	idingiledi		inimla			
Shark	nlom		nkänjë			papa.
Sheep	dämbë	ndämbe	idämbë			kändä-ä.
Shoes	makoho		ntyozyo-atanga			
Shoulder	ibëki	mabëk	ovega			bëga.
Side	mbanja	abana	owanja	lauvate	mona	obavo.
Silver						fëtha.
Skin	konda	ekondä	ebanda			ngazi.
Sky	loba	yo	orowa	ezulu	zulu	wango.
Slave	ukumu	meshuka	oshaka			mtuma.
Smoke	itutu	otutu	otutu	moiski	moisi	moasi.
Soap			ntyabo			
Spear	ikängä	makänh	igänga			mkuki.
Spirit	Ewololo	Sisim	Inimla			Pëponi.
Spoon	toku	tok	ozyëve			mwikä.
Star	nanga	vëzë	igëgëne	bota	botelë	tondoa.
Stone	ilali	atat	idlo	tadi	etädi	mawe.
Sun	vioi	jo	nkombe	maneno	tangua	juwa.
Sword	okwala		okwara	tanzi	soma	opanga.
Table	tebli		taboro			meza.
Thigh	ebäbiä	abe	ivëvëne	ebabu	badaa-dakamlau	fahotho.
Thread	nyängë		nyängë			
Throat	ngädu; nkängili	eminängän	kängänä	gongolo	elaka	mëzo.
Thunder	ngadi-toba	ngali	njali-toba	mandazi	moindozi	kotyua.
Time	epedi		egombe			

English.	*Batanga.*	*Panwĕ.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Embomma.*	*Swahere.*
To-day	buwa	modĕ	nlĕlă			lĕă.
Toe	openjo		omeno			loajo.
To-morrow	vashĕ	tetyia	mĕlĕ	baze-menĕ	bazi-mene	sikomodya.
Tongue	dem; yem	diĕm	olĕmi	ludimi	ludimi	olimi.
Tooth	makonga	sonh, pl. maso	iná	manu	menu	jino, pl. mano.
Town	mboka	jali	nka; nkala	dimba	vuta	mdini.
Tree	yele	ele	erere	ntyi	tyi	mte.
Trowsers	ngái-enyolo		ngái-sikĕndo			sowali.
Turtle	kudu	nkulu	nkunu			
Water	miba; madiba	majim	aningo	maza	maza	maji.
White-man	nange	tangane	tangane			mzungu.
Wind	upupĕ	efovela	mponga	mpaima	pemo	pĕpu.
Woman (*and* Wife)	nditu	bonaga	omanto; onwanto	kentau	kwinto	monamki.
Year	mbu	puma	ompuma		mu	moaka.
Yesterday	vaiku	yĕngokoa	jau	zono	zono-biokĕli	
Bad	bobe	onabe	mbe	mabi	mambi	bebaiya.
Bitter	dodi		none	kazá	nuli	
Black	ovindo	evin	námbe	mfiote	mfiot	nyeose.
Far	boaba		bo; nda	nseke	tanzi	
Good	boam	mbĕ	mbia	mabute	mavutĕ	gĕma.
Hard	bokolo		jála	golozinge	bala	kavu.
High	oba	oyo; oyau	dondoa	msaiki	nanku	
Long	boaba	oyau	nda, la, etc.	tyĕla	tyikolezi	ndĕfu.
Low	bobuvĕ					
Near	bĕi		piĕre; baraba	kalavau	tyevolagaya	
New	sasa		nyála	tyatyeva	tyamona	
Old	viovio		elungu		simba	
Red	enange	dada	tenatena	yampaimbe		
Short	bu-uve	eton	mpe; pe	kofi	kuffe	pupi.
Soft	bobábu		dĕla	labĕla	butabuta	laiene
Sweet	boam		onigi	tyinsila		
White	vĕlĕlĕte	efuba	pupu	pamba	pembe	nyeope.

NOUNS. ADJECTIVES.

English.	*Batanga.*	*Panuŕ.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Embomma.*	*Swahere.*
Answer	ndia	mĕgia	jivira	tambandede	boulem-bimbo	itika.
Arrive	pădi	kwiya	bonwa	ntyemosanka		
Ask	jwuwa	mashelewa	bambia	kauvăla	uvrula	
Assemble	yenge	mbumana	datama			
Beat	dipa	bola	bola	yaita	bolo	kopiga.
Beg	tyătyĕli	vaganĕu	nĕgira; kăkălă	mganau	mkutu	tupa.
Bird	kota	kanga	kora	kangama		
Bite	koma	nowa	noma	lavata *	tibila	kowuma.
Break	buknka	bundakainai	bundakainia	bădede	baurika	
Build	longa	noga	noga	tănganza		kojĕnga.
Burn	tumba	peaya	peya; peza	vidi	monovia	kungua.
Carry	başĕ	babakĕ	toama	nata	nata	tyukua.
Change	năngăkă-ekai		pengakania	vinga-lekwa	aviengeza	kubadede.
Cheat	pinya		pita			anipunja.
Cleanse		sizyaga	sizya	saukanla	neaveze	
Come	via	njagănĕ	bia; yogo	wisa	anise	njo.
Cook	yamba; bupa	bumaka	namba; pika	lambe	lamba	ko-pika.
Cry	yoa		dena	dela	lila	kudia.
Dance	yemba		jimla *	kina	kina *	kutyeza.
Descend	hubaka		sumina			fanyaki.
Do	haka		janja; denda			kunyua.
Drink	nyătă	mayenătă	jonga	noa	noi	kula.
Eat	da	njaka	nyĕ	dea	lia	
Enter	via-on		jingina		kota	kwanguka.
Fall	kwedo	mavako	powa; kwa	benede	bude	tăzama.
Fill	londa		jonia	zonga	nuazia	
Find	idiwa		dĕnga			mekwisha.
Finish	emaide	wamaniya	mĕniza			
Fold	titna		fina; para			nifati.
Follow	bia-mbua		songa	sida	londa	
Forget	neyabi		devana	zimbakine	zimbankunie	
Give	vĕkĕ		pa; pĕ, va	vana	vama	nipĕ.
Go	wala	kĕngayĕ	kĕnda	wenda	auenda	nĕnda.
Hear	naboinde		jăgă	welu	oselu	nisikiyĕ.
Hold	nabweyi	bika	kota; simbia	simba	simba	sika.
Hot (to be)	yangi	mayĕfu	mpyu	*muĕne	*bazu	
Hungry (to be)	njali		jăgă-njana	*năla	*zala	

Note.—The words marked with * in the Congo and Embomma columns, may be adjectives, or perhaps năla and zala are properly nouns, as njasa means hunger, in the Mpongwe.

English.	*Batanga.*	*Panwĕ.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Embomma.*	*Swahere.*
Keep	tatak		penjavenya	lunda	suonau	kamata.
Kick	bweyam		sika	waita	tokĕnsi	
Kill	weyak	yokânya	jona	mfoa	bonda	mĕnwâ.
Laugh	iyâ		jŏnla; sĕlia	saiba	seva	kotyĕka.
Leave	dika		tiga			wika.
Lie down	itŏndi	bomakĕ	nana; nanabu	daile	bleka	
Lie (to tell a falsehood)	bojowa	onĕmina	noka	*vauna	*mvunu	
Make	bongwa	fangizĕ	panga	saneka	vanga, (*imp. of* panga?)	fanyie.
Meet	vitaka		datana	bâlasĕna	bulanjana	nâkupĕnda.
Open	diboa		nunguna	zibâla	zabokweli	
Pass	vala		piagana			
Pay	vĕmba		pa; va	feta	fitezi	
Plant	lia		bĕnla			kupanda.
Play	majo		sheva	tyobaubo	sakuna	
Pull			kâga			
Raise	yemede		nŏngunia			
Run	mĕmbila		mango	zaukuloka	zuola	kimbia.
Say	langwa		buia; bulia; kamba	vova		nâkwambie.
See	yombwa		pona; jena	tala	mona	nâtazama.
Seek	iva		buta	tomba	tomba	
Sell	kamba		kola	zeka	lumbika	na-anza.
Send	iloma	tomiya	toma; tuma	toma	tuma	nâtumiza.
Sew	ilânjâ		tuma			
Shame	ihâni		utyâni	*somi	*soni	
Shut	ediba		nunja	zeka	zeka	funga.
Sleep	viâ		nana; antyâ-vinâ	laika; lala	lika	kolala; konana.
Speak	ebeka		kamba	ovova	vova	
Stand	itĕmĕ		kumana	talama	telema	simama.
Steal	yiba	onezip	jufa	kweya	muke	kwiba.
Swallow	imiâ		mĕnlâ			
Sweep	iwângâ		jâmbuna			
Take	nângâ-â		bŏnga	bŏnga		
Tear	ilena	temika	tena	masanga	baka	
Tell	ilangwe	wazyona	bulia	kamba		
Try	hĕdyĕ		keniza			
Walk	itĕma		kĕnda	*diata; wĕnda	*deuta	ko-nĕnda.
Want	ivak	bela	bela			natakahuya.
Write	ilĕndi		tĕnda			

NOTE.—The words marked with * in the Congo and Embomma columns, may be nouns.

English.	*Batanga.*	*Panuĕ.*	*Mpongwe.*	*Congo.*	*Embomma.*	*Swahere.*
I	mba		mi; mie	meno	mimu	mie.
You	ávĕ		o; awĕ; à	gaya	gaye	weya.
He, She, It	mo		e; ayĕ; yĕ			yĕye.
We	wĕ		azuwe; azwe			woyĕ.
Ye	ayowe		azuwĕ	yeno		
They	bo		wao	ana	du	
Who	nja		mande	nane	aunanie	nane.
What	elĕnde		ande; sĕ			
Mine	ami	zam	yam; zam, etc.			zango.
His, Her, Its	yo		yĕ; sĕ, etc.			mtu.
Our	jahu		yazyo; wazyo, etc.			
Your	ana		yani; zani, etc.			
Their	yabu		yao; wao, etc.			
This	ekayi		yinà, zinà, etc.			
That	ekni		yánà			
These	kadi		sinà			
Those	kadi		sánà			
All	yĕĕ		yodu; zodu, etc.	iousau	yo	yote.
Each			màri			
One	pàkà	vizà	màri	basĕ	mose	mkja.
Two	beba	bebĕ	mbani	kole	meoli	mbiri.
Three	belala	tayh	taro	tatà	tatu	tatu.
Four	benai	benĕ	nai	kea	mna	ne; ine.
Five	tanu	tani	tani	tanu	toanu	tani.
Six	ntoba	yevàlà	rowa	sambarau	sambana	sita.
Seven	embwĕdi	yĕvebĕ	orágemu	sambanadi	sambodi	saba.
Eight	owambi	yĕvetayh	nanni	enana	nana	nani.
Nine	ibua	yĕvĕnĕ	inágomi	evia	*nana	tisa.
Ten	jom	igom; dyom	igomi	ekime	kumi	ashur; kuma.
Eleven	jom-na-pàkà		igomi-ni-màri		kumi-e-mioli	
Twelve	jom-na-mbuda		igomi-ni-mbani	ekaume-e-ole	makum-oli	
Twenty	aboma-aba		agomi-mbani	makaum-oli	makum-a-sambanu	
Thirty			agomi-taro	makaum-a-tatau	†sambanu	
Fifty			agomi-tani	makâm-a-tanu		
Sixty			agomi-rowa	makaum-a-sambanau	mkama	mia.
One hundred	ebweya		nkama	tyangkâma		
Two hundred			inkama-mbani			

* This, or the word for *eight* must be an error.

† This, or the word for *six* must be an error.

The preceding lists of words taken from several of the principal dialects of the Negro race in Southern Africa, of both sides of the Continent, and spoken as far south as the borders of the Hottentot country, show a degree of resemblance between these dialects, sufficient to authorize the belief, that they are kindred to one another. There is therefore a probability that the same grammatical principles will be found to prevail in them all, which we have attempted elsewhere to exemplify by an analysis of the Mpongwe.

Such being the state of our knowledge respecting the Negro dialects of Africa, spoken on either side of the Mountains of the Moon, an interesting ethnological inference readily suggests itself, to which we will briefly allude. As the facts now lie before us, it appears evident, that nearly all of the numerous tribes of Southern Africa must be of one great family; while, on the contrary, a diversity of family connections seems with equal clearness attributable to the Negro tribes of the north, unless indeed, the wider differences of dialect among these are the result of a longer occupation of the soil on their part, in a state of barbarism.

With respect to the Negro dialects of the north as compared with those of the south, since there are several families of the former, the relations of the two groups to one another are necessarily complicated, and all that can be said with confidence, at present, is this, that important differences have been discovered between some single dialects of each group, and that the two remain as yet without any connecting line.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

I. *On the Mandingo Dialect.*

From the list of Mandingo words presented by Mr. Wilson, it appears,

1. That Mandingo nouns for the most part end in *o*; as, *tilo*, the sun; *karo*, the moon. The origin of this final *o* is not known. Rev. R. M. Macbrair states that it is frequently emphatic, and in some cases equivalent to a definite article.

2. That some of the words are formed by onomatopeia; as, names of animals, *nyankomo*, a cat; *wulo*, a dog; or names of special artificial objects, *talango*, a bell; *pemperlango*, a hammer; *sero*, a saw.

3. That the repetition of a noun sometimes expresses the diminutive; as, *dingo*, a child; *dindingo*, an infant. According to this, *Baba*, the name of a tributary of the Niger, denotes 'a rivulet,' from *ba*, a river, and not 'river-river,' as suggested by M. Jomard. See Caillié's Travels, II. 275.

4. That some of the words are compounded; as, *susemuso*, fowl-woman, i. e. a hen; *samma-nyingo*, elephant's-tooth, i. e. ivory; *kidde-munko*, gun-dust, i. e. powder; *sanji-kiling*, rain-one, i. e. a year; *ba-din-ke*, mother's-child-man, i. e. a brother. These compounds illustrate the simplicity of uncultivated tongues.

5. That some of the words are derived from the Arabic; as, *safero*, a book, = Arab. سِفْر *sifr*, comp. Heb. סֵפֶר; *Sentano*, = Arab. شَيْطَان *Shaitân*, the devil, comp. Heb. שָׂטָן; *dunya, the earth*, more correctly *the world*, = Arab. دُنْيَا *Alla*, God, = Arab. اَللّٰه *Allâh*, comp. Heb. אֱלוֹהַּ; *noro*, or *nuro*, light, = Arab. نُور *nûr*, comp. Chald. נוּר fire. These are mostly words pertaining to religion.

6. That some of the words are taken from European languages; as, *karpentero*, a carpenter; *freio*, a freeman; *shappeo*, a hat, comp. Fr. *chapeau*; *moggo*, a mug; *pistolo*, a pistol; *pleto*, a plate; *tisoro*, scissors. These are mostly of one class.

7. That the Mandingos have one word which is almost equally related to the Arabic and to the European languages, namely, *sáfono*, soap. Compare on the one hand, Arab. صَابُون *sâbûnun*, Pers. صَابُون *sâbûn*, and on the other, Fr. *savon*, Ital. *sapone*, Lat. *sapo*, (gen. *saponis*,) Gr. σάπων, Germ. *seife*, Anglo-Sax. *sape*, Eng. *soap*, Welsh, *sebon*. M. Caillié says, (Travels, I. 397,) that the name *sabon*, *sabúne*, or *safnan*, is found throughout the interior of Africa, from the Senegal to Bondu, Kaarta, Kason, and Bambara. I incline to believe, therefore, that the Mandingos have derived this word from the Arabic of the Moors; and as the primitive wanderers of our race could hardly have carried soap with them in the *sacks* or pouches with which philologists have furnished them, it is natural to conclude that the word is of Teutonic origin, (see Schmitthenner, Schwenk, Liddell and Scott, sub vocibus,) and passed at an early period to the Greek and Roman nations; especially as Pliny and Martial assure us that soap, made from tallow and ashes, is an invention of the Gauls. See Bosworth, sub voce.

There are several Mandingo words which are important as entering into the composition of proper names, and contributing to their elucidation:

1. *Mansa*, a king or chief, which term we recognize as a title in *Mensé-Suleiman*, the founder of Tumbutu, in the 610th year of the Hegira, mentioned by Leo Africanus.

2. *Keo*, a man, which enters into the composition of *Jallon-ké*, an original inhabitant of Futa-Jallon, in contradistinction to the *Fulahs*, the conquerors of that country; *Bondu-ke*, a man of Bondu; etc.

3. *Duo* or *dugu*, a country, which enters into the composition of *Fula-du*, *Bon-du*, *Fessa-dugu*, etc.

4. *Kong*, a mountain, (compare *kungo*, the head, *konko*, a hill,) an appellative, which in respect to the *Kong Mountains* has been taken as a proper name.

5. *Ba*, a river, which enters into the composition of *Ba-fing*, (black river,) the principal tributary of the Senegal; *Ba-goé*, (white river,) which empties into the Niger a little below Sego; *Ba-ndiéguè*, (fish river,) which empties into the Tankisso, a branch of the Niger; *Ba-lio*, (white river,) and *Ba-niu*, (black river,) supposed by Jomard to be arms of the Niger; also the second part of the composition in *Joliba* and *Kwara-ba*, names of the Niger.

We subjoin the Lord's Prayer in Mandingo, from Mr. Macbrair, with a grammatical analysis.

Ntolu fa membe aryenato, fo ys ito miselmeyandi. Fo ila mansaro sina. Fo ila lafio si ke dunyato, ko aketa aryenato nyamenna. Domofingolu di ntolula bi lungola. Ntolula julolu tu ntoluye, katuko ntolu kaje ntolula julomutalalu tu. Kana ntolu dundi ningeroto; barri ntolu kisandi kujatola. Katuko ite le tamu mansaroti, aning fankoti, aning tentoti. Amin.

Ntolu, we, plur. of *nte*, I; here before a noun of relationship equivalent to 'our.'

Fa, father, expressed in Mandingo as in most languages by a labial sound, as easiest for the practised lips of the young child.

Membe, for *menbe*, by a common euphonic principle, being made up of *men*, who, and *be*, is.—*Men*, who, which, what, a relative pronoun, probably i. q. Arab. مَنْ *men*, who? which? which seems to show an original cognation between the Mandingo and Shemitish.—*Be*, is, the substantive verb.

Aryenato, in heaven, from *aryena*, heaven, and *to*, a suffix or inseparable postposition, denoting 'to,' 'in,' 'on,' with considerable latitude of signification.

Fo, that, introducing the future indicative used as the imperative.

Ys, made up of *y*, they, used indefinitely for 'men,' 'people,' and *si*, the sign of the future.

Ito, thy name, made up of *i* for *ite*, thou, and *to*, name; here, between the tense-sign and the verb, denoting the object.

Miselmeyandi, should make holy, a causative verb from *miselmeya*, be holy, a word of Arabic origin, comp. Arab. مسلم *musallim*, 'saluting,' or 'blessing;' here, with *si* preceding, forming the future tense, but used as the imperative.

Fo, that, as before.—*Ila*, thy, the possessive case of *ite* or *i*, thou, formed by the suffix *la*.

Mansaro, kingdom, from *mansa*, a king, by suffixing *ro*, which forms abstract nouns from concrete.

Sina, should come, the future indicative of *na*, come; here used, with *fo* preceding, as the imperative.

Fo, that, as before.—*Ila*, thy, as before.—*Lafio*, will, a noun, from the verb *lafi*, wish, want.

Si ke, should take place, the future indicative of *ke*, do, happen, take place; here used as the imperative.

Dunyato, on earth, literally in the world, from *dunya*, the world; comp. *aryenato*, above.

Ko, as, a relative adverb of manner, commencing with the sound of *k*, like relative words in many languages.

Aketa, it takes place, made up of *a*, he, she, it, and *keta*, the aorist of *ke*, do, happen.

Aryenato, in heaven, as before.—*Nyamenna*, in which way, compounded of *nya*, way, *men*, which, and *la*, in; here pleonastic.

Domofingolu, food, literally eat-things, plur. of *domofingo*, eat-thing, from the verb *domo*, eat.

Di, give, the simplest form of the verb, used as in many languages for the imperative of the second person singular.

Ntolula, to us, from *ntolu*, we, and the suffix *la*, denoting 'to,' 'for,' etc. as the indirect or second object placed after the verb.

Bi, to-day, an adverb.

Lungola, for the day, from *lungo*, day, and the suffix *la*.

Ntolula, our, the possessive case of *ntolu*, we; comp. *ila*, above.

Julolu, debts, plur. of *julo*, a debt; comp. *ntolu*, above.

Tu, forgive; comp. *di*, above.

Ntoluye, to us, from *ntolu*, we, and the suffix *ye*, denoting 'to,' 'for,' etc.

Katuko, for, because, a causal conjunction, involving the relative *k*.

Ntolu, we; see above.—*Kare*, the sign of the present tense, here joined with *tu*, forgive.

Ntolula, our, as before.—*Julomutulalu*, debtors, plur. of *julomutale*, a debtor, literally a debt-holder, compounded of *julo*, a debt, and *muta*, hold; here, between the tense-sign and the verb, denoting the object.

Tu, forgive, here, with *kare* preceding, in the present tense.

Kana, not, the adverb of negation, employed with the imperative.

Ntolu, we, here, before the verb, denoting the object 'us.'

Dundi, lead, a causative verb, here in the imperative.

Ningeroto, into temptation, from *ningero*, temptation, (from the verb *ninge*, tempt,) and the suffix *to*; (comp. *aryenato* above;) here as the indirect object placed after the verb.

Barri, but, a conjunction.

Ntolu, us, as before.—*Kisandi*, save, a causative verb from *kisa*, be safe; here in the imperative.

Kujauola, from an evil thing, from *kujauo*, an evil thing, (compounded of *kuo*, thing, and *jau*, evil,) and the suffix *la*; comp. *ntolula* above.

Katuko, for, as before.—*Ite*, thou, see above.—*Le*, it is, the substantive verb.

Tamu, thine is, made up of *ita*, thy part, and *mu*, a particle used in explaining.

Mansaroti, the kingdom, made up of *mansaro*, kingdom, (see above,) and *ti*, a particle used at the end of a clause.

Aning, and, a conjunction.

Fankoti, the power, from *fanko*, comp. *mansaroti* above.

Aning, and, as before.—*T'entoli*, the glory, from *tento*, comp. *mansaroti* above.

Amini, amen, from the Hebrew, as in English.

J. W. G.

II. *On the Susu Dialect.*

The Susus inhabit the coast of Senegambia, between the Rio Nunez on the northwest and the Kissi on the southeast, and speak a language kindred to the Mandingo. Many Arabic words are found in the Susu.

The possession of a *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Susoo Language*, published at Edinburgh in 1802, by Rev. Mr. Brunton, a Scotch missionary, enables us to exhibit here the leading characteristics of this dialect.

(I.) *Phonology.*

1. The Susu dialect has the usual vowel sounds, *a, e, i, o, u;* but no proper diphthongs.

2. It has the aspiration *h;* the semi-vowels *y, w;* the liquids *l, r,* also guttural *rh;* the nasals *ng, n, m;* the dentals or sibilants *s, sh,* but not *z,* nor *zh.*

3. It has the palatal mutes *k, g, kh,* but not *gh;* the lingual mutes *t, d,* but not *th,* nor *dh;* the labial mutes *p, b, f,* but not *v;* the mixed consonants *dzh,* (Eng. *j,*) but not *tsh,* (Eng. *ch.*)

(II.) *Euphony.*

1. Every word ends with a vowel, or with the palatal nasal *ng;* except *narhan,* who, *em,* I, and *nimnim,* taste.

2. The following euphonic laws show that the Susus have some regard to agreeableness of sound.

(1.) *Ng* before the labials *m, b, f,* is sometimes changed into *m;* as, *mum beri,* for *mung beri,* what time? Before *n,* into *n;* as, *mun na a ra,* for *mung na a ra,* what is it?

(2.) *N* before the labials *m, p, b, f,* is sometimes changed into *m;* as, *narham be,* for *narhan be,* whom to. Before *k* and *rh,* into *ng;* as, *narhang kulong,* for *narhan kulong,* who knows? Before *r,* into *r;* as, *narhar ra,* for *narhan ra,* whom.

(3.) *M* before a vowel is sometimes changed into *ng;* as, *eng a kulong,* for *em a kulong,* I know it.

The author of the Susu Grammar seriously proposes to abolish these euphonic laws!

(III.) *Natural Significancy of the Sounds.*

It is pleasant to find that the Susu, like other languages, has its foundation in nature.

1. The interjection of lamentation and invocation is *o*, as in most other languages. That of surprise is *khwo*.

2. Some words are evidently formed by onomatopeia: as, *nimnim*, taste; *bangbang*, drive a nail; *bobo*, stammer; *bqre*, a dog; *gniare*, a cat.

3. The repetition of a numeral denotes distribution; as, *kiring kiring*, one by one.

4. The repetition of a noun expresses the diminutive; as, *di*, a child, *didi* a little child.

5. The repetition of a noun and insertion of *o*, expresses the indefinite; as, *she*, a thing, *she o she*, any thing.

(IV.) *Parts of Speech.*

The kinds of words, or parts of speech, in respect to signification and form, are the same as in most other languages.

1. There is no article, definite or indefinite, in the Susu.

2. Pronouns.

(1.) The personal pronouns are *em* or *emtang*, I; *e* or *etang*, thou; *a* or *atang*, he, she, it; *muku* or *mukutang*, we; *wo* or *wotang*, ye; *e* or *etang*, *they*.

Also, *emkang* or *emtangkang*, myself; *ekang* or *etangkang*, thyself; etc.

(2.) The possessive pronouns are expressed by placing the personal pronouns before a noun; as, *em she*, my thing; *e she*, thy thing; etc.; or by means of the suffix or postposition *rha*; as, *em rha*, or *emtang rha*, my; *e rha*, or *etang rha*, thy; etc; or by means of the suffix or postposition *be*; as, *em be*, or *emtang be*, my; *ek be* or *etang be*, thy; *ak be*, or *atang be*, his; *mukuk be*, or *mukutang be*, our; *wok be*, or *wotang be*, your; *ek be*, or *etang be*, their.

(3.) The demonstrative pronouns are *i*, this, these; *na*, that, those; *sende*, such an one.

(4.) The interrogative pronouns are *inde*, who? whom? in reference to persons; *mung*, what? which? in reference to persons, or things.

(5.) The relative pronoun is *narhan*, who, which, that.

(6.) The indefinite pronouns are expressed by the repetition of some word and the insertion of *o*; as, *murhe o murhe*, any person; *she o she*, any thing; *ire o ire*, any place; *gine o gine*, any woman; *beri o beri*, any time.

(7.) The pronominal particles are *be*, here, *mine*, there, *minding*, where? *ire o ire*, any where, *mi ire*, no where, *narhande*, where, *kuore*, now, *na yang-dzhi*, then, *mung beri*, when? *beri o beri*, any time, *to*, when, *i ki*, in this manner, *na ki*, in that manner, *mung ki*, in what manner? *ki narhan ma*, according as, etc.

3. The numerals are

Kiring, one	*Sheni*, six
Firing, two	*Shulifirung*, seven
Shukung, three	*Shulimashukung*, eight
Nani, four	*Shulimanani*, nine
Shuli, five	*Fu*, ten

Some of the numerals between five and ten are evidently formed by composition; as, *Shulifirung* = five-two; *Shulimashukung* = three upon five.

The tens are formed by means of *tonga*, take; as, *tongashukung*, thirty, literally three takes.

The ordinal numbers are sometimes the same as cardinals.

Distributive numerals are formed by doubling the cardinals; as, *firing firing*, two by two.

Numeral adverbs are formed by means of *sambania*, time; as, *sambania firing*, twice.

4. The prepositions, or exponents of relations, are postpositions, and few in number.

5. The conjunctions are few in number.

(V.) *Formation of Words.*

1. The simplest form of the verb is the past tense, as in many Indo-European languages.

2. Diminutives are formed by adding *di*, child; as, *lingga di*, a small calabash; *rhame di*, a little man.

3. A great variety of abstract nouns and of nouns of action, may be formed from the past tense of verbs, or from other nouns, by adding *fe*, business, affair, concern; as, *tu fe*, death; *fuka fe*, murder; *kwongdzhii shuku fe*, the catching of slaves, liter. slaves-catching-business; *malung shi fe*, the planting of

rice, liter. rice-planting-business; *bonie fe*, thought, liter. heart-affair; *alla fe*, religion, liter. God-affair; *gine fe*, adultery, liter. woman-affair; *ale-yurhui fe*, devilishness, God's-enemy-affair.

4. Nouns denoting an agent or subject are formed by means of *murhe*, a person; as, *she ra fala murhei*, laborers; *kongdie sha murhei*, judges, liter. judgment-passing-people; *rharang murhe*, schoolmaster, liter. teaching-person.

5. Nouns of place are formed by adding *ire*, or *kongdzhi*, place; as, *yari ire*, a lion's den; *kongdie sha ire*, a place of judgment; *alla kongdzhi*, God's place, i. e. heaven.

6. Nouns of time are formed by adding *lokha*, time; as, *malabu lokha*, rest-time, i. e. the sabbath day; *kongdie sha lokha*, the day of judgment.

7. Nouns of the instrument are formed by adding *she*, an instrument; as *futung she*, a cat for whipping; *shuku she*, a leopard, liter. a mischievous thing.

8. A large number of adjectives denoting negation are formed by adding *teri*; as, *fafe teri*, fatherless; *sangdzhi teri*, footless; or by prefixing *mu*; as *mu fang*, not good.

9. A great variety of verbs are formed by means of *ba*, to do, commit; *ti*, to set up, build; *sha*, to put, lay; *shota*, to get; *fala*, to make; etc.

(VI.) *Inflection.*

1. There is no declension of nouns, or inflection of them in gender, number and case combined, as in many languages.

(1.) Gender is expressed in men and animals by adding *rhame*, man, for the masculine, and *gine*, woman, for the feminine; as, *di rhame*, a son; *di gine*, a daughter; *ningge rhame*, a bull; *ningge gine*, a cow.

(2.) Number is expressed by adding an obscure *i* for the plural; as *shi*, a goat, plur. *shii*, goats; *rhame*, a man, plur. *rhamei*, men.

(3.) The cases, or relations, are expressed by suffixes or postpositions, and by the mere collocation.

The nominative, or the subject, is known by its collocation at the beginning of the clause.

The vocative is expressed by *o* placed after the noun; as, *rhame o*, O man.

The dative is expressed by the suffix or postposition *be*; as, *a lu em be*, it was to me, i. e. I had it; *a niurhung em be*, it is pleasing to me; *a fe fange ra ba a be*, he did a good thing for him.

The accusative, or the object, is expressed by the suffix or postposition *ra*, or is known simply by its collocation between the nominative and verb; as, *a fe ra ba*, he managed the affair; *a lili sha a ma Bubakari*, liter. he name laid him on Bubakari. Some relations are expressed by this case in Susu, which in other languages are expressed by other cases; as, *a kili a ra*, he rose up against him; *em sisi beri ra*, I am drunk with rum; *a a bomba uri ra*, he beat him with a stick; *a a toingga a ingnii ra*, he took it out of his hands; *a a ra ba arha darhe ra*, he did it after his own way; *em serimma rhimbeli ra*, I am shaking with cold.

The modal is expressed by *ra*, as above.

The ablative is expressed by the suffix or postposition *ma*; as, *rhame ma*, from the man. Some relations are expressed by this case in Susu, which in other languages are expressed by other cases; as, *a borhe ma to*, he looked on the ground; *a a woli ye ma*, he threw him into the water; *na she fi em ma*, give me that thing.

The local is expressed by the simple noun; as, *a kili Futa*, he got up in the Foulah country.

The terminal is expressed by the suffixes or postpositions *ma* and *hong*; as, *a a samba a hong*, he sent it to him; *e wama mung hong*, you seek for what? *e luma be rhii yere ma*, you stay here days how many?

The instrumental is expressed by *ra*, as above.

The genitive, or adnominal case, is expressed by the suffix or postposition *rha*; as, *rhame rha*, of the man. Also by simply placing a noun or pronoun before another noun; as, *yamfa fe*, deceit affair, i. e. deceitful affair.

(4.) The adjective is not inflected by gender, number, or case.

2. Comparison. The comparative degree is expressed by adding *pisa*, more, and putting the noun following in the dative, or by adding *danggu*, more, and putting the noun following in the accusative. The superlative is expressed by the same words followed by *biring*, all.

3. *Conjugation.* Verbs are not inflected by person, gender, or number.

(1.) The tenses are as follows

Em lu, I was.
Em luma, I am or shall be.
Em nu luma, I was.
Em banta lu, I have been.
Em nu banta lu, I had already been.
Em nu lu, I had been.
Em nu fama lu, I was about to be.
Em fama lu, I am about to be.
Em fama gei lu, I am about to have been.

There are also seven tenses in the conjunctive, formed by means of *fata*, to be able.

(2.) The modes and voices are expressed as follows:

A negative proposition is expressed by *nu* placed immediately after the subject or nominative.

An interrogative proposition does not differ in form or arrangement from the affirmative, but depends on the intonation only.

The affirmative imperative is expressed by means of *rha*, must, after the nominative or subject.

The negative imperative is expressed by *na ma*.

The conditional or conjunctive is expressed by means of *rha*, if, at the beginning of the clause, or by means of the verb *fata*, to be able.

The infinitive is a proper nomen verbi; as, *a lu be nafuli shota fe va*, he was here money making business for, i. e. he was here for the business of making money.

A passive voice may be formed, but is not much used.

(VII.) *Concord.*

As the adjective is not inflected at all, and verbs have neither gender, number, nor person, there is no concord in the language.

(VIII.) *Government.*

There is no government, strictly speaking. The prepositions are few in number, but much experience is necessary for their exact use, which probably depends upon the radical or physical sense of the verb with which they are constructed.

(IX.) *Collocation of Words.*

1. As there is little or no inflection in the language, much depends on the collocation of the words.

2. The parts of a proposition are arranged thus: first, the subject or nominative; then the direct complement of the verb, if there be any; then the verb; then the indirect complement of the verb, if any, and its other modifications.

3. It is no easy matter to know what accusative is to be placed before the verb, and what after. Much depends probably on the primary or radical meaning of the verb. The accusative placed before the verb may be formed by *ra* or *ma*, or expressed merely by the collocation. The second accusative with verbs of naming is put after the verb; as, *a hili sha a ma Bubakari*, liter. he name, put him on Bubakari. So a single accusative may be placed after the verb; as, *a maninga mungge ra*, he is like to the king; *a fa a ra*, he brought it, liter. he came it with.

4. The adjective of quality or number is placed after the substantive which it qualifies, the adverb after the verb which it modifies, and the proposition after the noun, or noun and adjective, which it governs.

5. The adjective pronoun is placed before its substantive.

6. The genitive or adnominal case is placed before its substantive.

7. The relative pronoun takes the same place in its clause, which the corresponding demonstrative pronoun would take.

8. The conjunction is often placed second in its clause.

(X.) *Idioms.*

There are some idioms in this language which deserve attention.

1. *A fe marke ra ba a be*, he injured him, liter. he thing bad did him to; *a fe fange ra ba a be*, he benefited him, liter. he thing good did him to.

2. *A fa a ra tide*, he brought him to death, as in English.

3. *Fe funge fa a be*, he was fortunate, liter. thing good came him to.

4. *A nierma Alla kira ma*, liter. he walks God's way on, i. e. he walks in the way of God.

5. *A she ra falama Alla be*, he thing does God for, i. e. he serves God.

6. *A a fe niarhe tongga*, he his thing evil took away, i. e. he justified him.

7. *A Alla rha fe shukuma*, he God's business takes hold of, i. e. he is religious.

(XI.) *Versification.*

Of this nothing is known.

(XII.) *Orthography.*

This language was reduced to writing by Rev. Mr. Brunton. A Grammar and Vocabulary, with some other elementary books, were published by him at Edinburgh, in 1800-1802. His orthography, however, has needed some changes to adapt it to the mode of writing now generally employed for barbarous languages.

(XIII.) *Literature.*

The Susus have no literature in their own language, and probably very little acquaintance with Arabic literature.

III. *The Mandingo and the Susu Dialect compared.*

A comparison of the Mandingo and Susu dialects exhibits the following results.

1. These dialects accord very nearly in their phonology, or in the development of consonant and vowel sounds. Initial *ng*, the only sound in Mandingo which is difficult to an Englishman, is found also in Susu.

2. They accord in certain euphonic principles, particularly in accommodating the nasal *m*, *n*, or *ng*, to the following mute.

3. They accord in having special forms for nouns of the agent, and of the instrument, for abstract nouns, and also for adjectives.

4. They accord in not marking the gender, even in the pronoun of the third person singular.

5. They accord in denoting the case-relations by postpositions instead of prepositions.

6. The tense-forms in these dialects have only a remote analogy.

7. These dialects exhibit a radical connection,

(1.) In some of the personal pronouns; as, Mand. *m*, Susu *em*, I; Mand. *i*, Susu *e*, thou and they; Mand. and Susu *a*, he, she, it.

(2.) In the interrogative pronoun; as, Mand. *mun* or *mung*, Susu *mung*, what?

(3.) In the mode of expressing the indefinite pronoun; as, Mand. *mengomen*, whoever, whatever, Susu *she o she*, any thing.

(4.) In some of the cardinal numbers; as, Mand. *kiling*, Susu *kiring*, one; Mand. *fula*, Susu *firing*, two; Mand. and Susu *nani*, four; Mand. *kemi*, Susu *keme*, a hundred.

(5.) In the mode of expressing the distributive numeral; as, Mand. *kilingokiling*, Susu *kiring kiring*, one by one.

8. These dialects accord remarkably in the collocation or arrangement of words.

(1.) They place the adjective after its substantive, the adverb after its verb, and the postposition after its noun.

(2.) They place the negative word in a sentence immediately after the subject or nominative.

(3.) They arrange an interrogative sentence like an affirmative.

(4.) They give the same place to the relative pronoun, as to the demonstrative.

(5.) They place the direct object before the verb, and all the indirect objects after the verb.

In some of these traits we are to look for the proper type of the Mandingo family of languages.

J. W. G.

IV. *On the Grebo Dialect.*

The following notes have been suggested by an examination of Mr. Wilson's published observations on this dialect and specimens of it.

1. The relations of case in substantives are generally indicated only by position. But the genitive case may be marked by affixing *ăh*, as: *Yăkobo ăh yu*, the son of Jacob; and Mr. Wilson derives this affix from the pronoun of the third person singular, which indeed is sometimes used in its stead, as: *Yăkobo â yu*.

We here find, then, the same law, regulating the derivation of the terminations of case, which prevails in all the Indo-European languages. But that this genitive-affix *ăh* is a ground-form of the personal pronoun, rather than its inflected genitive, is evident not only because we find that pronoun having *nâ* for its genitive-inflection in the singular, and *no* in the plural, but also because one and the same affix is used for the sign both of the genitive singular and plural of nouns, as: *dibŏdī ăh nyinyĕ*, the giving of food, and *tih ăh babe*, the branches of trees. Hence it may be inferred, that this affix came into use before the pronoun, from which it is derived, was inflected. Very frequently, however, the relation of the genitive, as of other cases of substantives, is left without any special mark, as: *â kbadă nyĭnna hya bu kâ â de hĕ*, he took the girl's father, and her mother also.

2. Relative pronouns, referring to third persons, are almost always followed by personal pronouns, generally as affixes, the object of which seems to be to convey to the relative the distinctions of case belonging to the personal pronoun, for, independently of such affixes, the relative varies its form only to indicate number; for example: *â hlĭdă nyănă kădă Sĭnegŏgĭ măh*, he said to him who had the Synagogue,—where *nă* puts the undeclined relative *nyâ* in the objective case; *ne â pidă hwanu bâ lelĭ Ilai dene Nyĭswa lelĭdă nâ*, and he feared to tell Eli that which God told him,—where *ne* marks the relative *de* as the object of the verb *lelĭ*; and *no â yidă hĭdĕ kâ nyono oh wĭdă*, and he saw the tumult, and them who wept,—where *no* shows the rela-

tive *nyo* to be an object with reference to the verb *yidă*, while *oh* makes it the subject of the verb *widă*. It is true that the pronoun of the third person in neither number distinguishes between the possessive and the objective case, and is of course incapable, by itself, of imparting this distinction to the relative to which it is affixed. But we find traces of the use of the sign of the genitive *ăh*, in addition to *nă* and *no*, when affixed to *nyă* and *nyo* in the sense of genitives, as: *ohbe wodădè nyânâ kâdă Sinegŏgĭ ăh kai*, others came out from the house of him who had the Synagogue; and *ne oh towănă nyono krĕ ăh kbàkba*, and they began the carrying of them who were sick. The sign *ăh* is not always introduced in such cases, for example: *nè nyono todă nâ mâh oh kwenh wĕdă ne*, and of them who touched him the diseases ceased.

3. The persons of the verb are distinguished, in the imperative and conditional, by inflection, as:

Imperative.

be di, let me eat.	*bă di*, let us eat.
beh di, eat thou.	*băh di*, eat ye.
bâ di, let him eat.	*boh di*, let them eat.

Conditional.

nè di, if I eat.	*bă di*, if we eat, &c
neh di, if thou eatest.	like the imperative.
bâ di, if he eats.	

Here we have the auxiliaries *be*, to be obliged, and *ne*, to be, with personal inflections, though the first person singular presents only the naked radical.

In all other parts of the verb, the distinction of person, if expressed at all, is marked by prefixing to the unchanged form of the verb, one or other of the three personal pronouns, as:

Present.

mâ di, I eat.	*ă di*, we eat.
măh di, thou eatest.	*ăh di*, ye eat.
â di, he eats.	*oh di*, they eat.

But the pronominal prefixes which mark the first and second persons are often omitted, leaving it to gesture alone to de-

termine in which of the two the verb is to be taken, as: *hanhtenu hlĭ ahmu mâh*, truly (I) say to you; *de ka mu dĕdĕ haka*, why call (you) me good?; *ni ne*, (I) do it; *ni ne*, (you) do it? Indeed, Mr. Wilson observes that the pronouns of the first and second person singular are seldom used in common conversation, by the Grebos, and are distinguished from each other only by the intonation of the voice, which the final *h* of the second persons *mâh* and *ăh* is intended to express.

The Grebo dialect in its present form, therefore, exhibits a sort of epitome of the history of its progress in defining the reference of verbs in respect to person. Gesture appears to have been the first expedient resorted to, inasmuch as it is still relied upon generally, where the person speaking or the person addressed is the subject of the verb. But a more precise indication was sooner or later secured by pronominal prefixes, which were probably first employed to attach to the verb the idea of a third person as its subject. It was evidently the latest step, in the progress of the language, to combine the pronoun with the verb in the form of an inflection.

4. It is a remarkable peculiarity of the Grebo, that in negative verbal propositions, relative to the past, the particle of negation takes to itself the proper tense-inflection, instead of its being affixed to the verb, as: *ne oh yedă dididĕh kâ*, and they did not have food; which, turned into an affirmative proposition, would be *ne oh dididĕh kâdă*, and they had food, or made negative, in the present time, would be, *ne oh ye dididĕh kâ*, or *ne oh ye dididĕh kâ ne*, they have not food. So: *Vatsi yedă di*, and not *Vatsi ye didă*, is the expression for "Vatsi did not come."

This usage seems to confound the particle of negation with a verb signifying *not to do, not to be*, or *not to have*. But it is not an isolated phenomenon in the language. It has its analogy in the fluctuation of certain other Grebo words between different parts of speech, to which we shall next allude.

5. Mr. Wilson notices several Grebo words which are used both as prepositions, and as verbs or nouns, thus: *wo*, from, is also a regularly inflected verb; to come from; *kĕ*, upon, is at the same time a noun, back; *hi*, by, is used

as a verb, to pass; *lu*, over, or above, is also a noun, head; *yĕh* and *yăh*, up, is also a verb, to ascend; *wa*, beside, is also a noun, side; and *păh*, in, if written *pă*, is a verb, to enter.

This deserves to be considered with reference to the origin of prepositions, as a question of general philology. We seem to see them, here, in the very act of developing themselves from nominal and verbal forms of kindred signification.

6. The imperative holds a prominent place in the Grebo. It is, according to Mr. Wilson, the ground-form of all the other parts of the verb, and we find it to have a wide use in the expression of thought. It is almost invariably employed in a conditional proposition, to denote the condition, as: *Nyĭswa bâ dă mâh, beh po nâ*, if God calls (liter. let God call) thee, thou must say to him; *dene be ni, plĕ mâ hânâ kâmâ ti biyĕ*, what is that which if I do, (lit. let me do,) my heart will be always glad? *bă nowănĭ Nyĭswa, ne Nyĭswa mi ănnu yi tumu ti biyĕ*, if we love God, God will (lit. let us love God, and God will) keep eyes upon us always. This use of the imperative is exemplified in other languages, and may perhaps depend upon the principle, that a command necessarily implies something conditional upon it, which is its ground. It is so fixed in the Grebo, that this dialect has, as we have seen, no form for the conditional distinct from the imperative, except in the first and second persons singular. Again, the Grebo imperative seems to be frequently used to set forth an event as contingent, for example: *â munădé tebwĕ lú bâ bedĭ*, he went to the top of a mountain, that he might pray, (lit: let him pray;) *hănĭ e kunâhĕ nyono nowănĭ wudih boh păde Nyĭswa kĕnhdŏm*, how hard is it for them who love riches, that they enter (lit. let them enter) God's kingdom. Here we may have recourse, for explanation, to the idea of possibility which is always involved in the use of the imperative.

E. E. S.

V. *On the Fanti Dialect.*

The following tables, furnished by Mr. Wilson, afford some hints respecting the grammar of this dialect.

1. *Examples of the formation of the plural of nouns.*

Wanâ,	mouths;	from	*anâ,*	mouth.
Ensoă,	ears;	"	*asoa,*	ear.
Inan,	feet;	"	*ananse,*	foot.
Hwânsĕm,	hands;	"	*ensĕm,*	hand.
Intyiri,	spoons;	"	*atyiri,*	spoon.
Etru,	guns;	"	*itru,*	gun.
Asikan,	knives;	"	*sikan,*	knife.
Mafraba,	children;	"	*afraba,*	child.
Ahĭn,	kings;	"	*ehĭn,*	king.
Inkrum,	towns;	"	*ekrum,*	town.
Adan,	houses;	"	*edan,*	house.
Maka,	rivers;	"	*baka,*	river.

It will be observed that the plural in each of these examples is formed from the singular by a change in the *initial* syllable, and that there are some traces of system in this mode of marking the number of a noun. An initial *a* of the singular is changed into *i, in, en, wa* and *ma,* in the plural; an initial *e,* into *a* and *in;* an initial *en* into *hwân;* an initial *i,* into *e;* an initial *b,* into *m;* an initial *si,* into *asi.* An analogous mode of distinguishing the plural of nouns belongs to the Mpongwe, Swahere and Zulu dialects of Southern Africa.

2. *Examples of the formation of the genitive of nouns.*

Afraba atyiri,	child's spoon.
Afraba ensă,	" hand.
Ehĭn n'ekrum,	king's town.
Ehĭn ne baka,	" river.
Ehĭn n'asoa,	" ear.

Where there is any distinction of form to denote the case, we see the personal pronoun *ne,* his, her, its, used to make an inflection like *ăh* or *ă* in the Grebo.

3. *Examples of the concord of pronouns and adjectives with nouns.*

M'aná,	my mouth.
M'ensa, or *m'ensĕm,*	" hand.
Mi sikan,	" knife.
M'atyiri pa,	" good spoon.
M'aná kĕsi,	" large mouth.
Mi mba pa,	" good children.
M'idán kĕsi,	" large house.

E. E. S.

VI. *On the Yebu Dialect.*

The numerals up to ten, not included in the vocabulary of this dialect given by Mr. Wilson, are put down by M. D'Avezac, in a Paper on the Yebus and their country in the *Mémoires de la Société Ethnologique,* Vol. II, as follows:

Ikne, or *ŏko,*	one.	*Eva,*	six.
Eyi,	two.	*Eye,*	seven.
Eta,	three.	*Eyo,*	eight.
Ere,	four.	*Eso,*	nine.
Aro,	five.	*Egwa,*	ten.

The Paper here referred to contains, also, remarks on the grammar of the Yebu, as well as on the Yebu people, which may be advantageously consulted.

E. E. S.

VII. *On the Swahere Dialect.*

Mr. Wilson has furnished the following tables and remarks, illustrative of some points in the grammar of this dialect.

1. *Examples of the formation of the plural of nouns.*

Miji,	towns;	from *mdini,*	town.
Majumba,	houses;	" *nyumba,*	house.
Miti,	trees;	" *mte,*	tree.
Viti,	chairs;	" *kiti,*	chair.

Mikĕka,	mats;	from	*mkĕka,*	mat.
Vino,	mugs;	"	*kino,*	mug.
Vikapo,	baskets;	"	*kikapo,*	basket.
Gadif,	oars;	"	*gaduf,**	oar.
Kamba,	ropes;	"	*kamba,*	rope.
Mizĭnga,	guns;	"	*mzĭnga,*	gun.
Panga,	swords;	"	*opanga,*	sword.
Watu,	men;	"	*mtu,*	man.
Watoto,	children;	"	*mtoto,*	child.
Sámo,	friends;	"	*sámo,*	friend.
Vityua,	heads;	"	*kityua,*	head.
Ndimi,	tongues;	"	*olimi,*	tongue.
Nyiboa,	dogs;	"	*mboa,*	dog.
Koko,	fowls;	"	*koko,*	fowl.

2. *Examples of the formation of the genitive of nouns.*

Olimi wao mboa,	dog's tongue.
Ndimi za mbua,	" tongues.
Kityua sao koko,	fowl's head.
Kityua sao mtu,	man's "
Olimi wa mtu,	" tongue.

3. *Examples of the concord of pronouns and adjectives with nouns.*

Miji menge,	many towns.
Majumba tĕlĕ,	" houses.
Miti nyengé,	" trees.
Viti nyenge,	" chairs.
Mizĭnga menge,	" guns.
Panga tĕlĕ,	" swords.
Watu tĕlĕ,	" men.
Vityua venge,	" heads.
Kikapo kyango gĕma,	my good basket.
Mtu bebaiya mâja,	one bad man.

* This is evidently the Arabic غانوف *ghâduf.*

E. E. S.

Remarks.—The foregoing tables, though too meagre to be made the basis for any extended comparisons, nevertheless afford sufficient data to show that the Swahere, and the Mpongwe, as exhibited in my grammar of that dialect, have grammatical, as well as radical affinities. It would seem from the above examples, that Swahere nouns admit of a classification, if not precisely the same, yet quite as marked as that in the Mpongwe. In both dialects, with what may be regarded as a few exceptions in the Swahere, the plural is derived from the singular by some change in the *initial* syllable, which is effected either by dropping the initial vowel, by prefixes, or, in the Swahere, by the substitution of one consonant for another. In both, the plurals of nouns relating to human beings are irregular. Swahere adjectives have the same peculiarity as those of the Mpongwe, by which they change their forms so as to accommodate themselves to the nouns to which they belong, as may be seen from the use of the words, *menge, nyenge, venge, tĕlĕ*, in the examples of the concord of adjectives with nouns. It would seem, also, that the Swahere has a definite pronoun like that of the Mpongwe, which serves, beside for other purposes, as a connecting link between nominatives and genitives, always agreeing in number and declension with the noun which stands first in the construction of the sentence. Affinities might, undoubtedly, be shown, also, in the structure of the verb, but the examples given are not sufficient for a comparison.

PUBL. COMM.

THE ZULU LANGUAGE.

BY

REV. JAMES C. BRYANT,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD AMONG THE ZULUS.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY BY REV. DR. ANDERSON.

THE ZULU LANGUAGE.

[Mr. Bryant entered the Zulu country in the summer of 1846, and acquired the native dialect with remarkable facility. See Annual Report of the American Board for 1847, p. 75.—R. A.]

The language spoken by the aborigines in the colony of Natal, is the same or nearly the same as that of the Zulus who still inhabit the country north-east of this colony.

The Zulu alphabet, according to the notation of the American missionaries, contains the same letters as the English; but many of the letters are called by different names, and represent different sounds.

The vowels have each one uniform sound, as follows:

A has the sound of broad *a* in *father*, or *car*.
E has the sound of long *a* in *fate*, or of *ey* in *prey*.
I has the sound of *ee* in *meet*, or of the French *i* in *pique*.
O has the sound of long *o* in *note*, or *toll*.
U has the sound of *oo* in *boot*, or *pool*.

The *g* is always hard. The *r* denotes a deep guttural aspirate similar to the Hebrew ר.* The other consonants have nearly or quite their usual sounds in English.

* The sound of the English *r* does not exist in this language, and the natives find great difficulty in pronouncing it. [Comp. the Susu *rh*, (p. 365,) which is said by Mr. Brunton to be the deep guttural sound given to *r* by the people of Northumberland.—J. W. C.]

The Zulu, like the Kafir, has three clicks, represented in our books by the letters *c*, *q*, and *x*, the last being precisely the click made in the side of the mouth by which a man urges forward his horse.

The Zulu language is distinguished for euphony. Two or more consonants sometimes come together in the same syllable, but the language is in general characterized by a regular alternation of vowels and consonants. Every noun and adjective must begin with a vowel, and every word must end with a vowel, except a very few which end in *m;* and even these can scarcely be regarded as exceptions, for they are frequently pronounced with a slight vowel sound at the close. There is a strong propensity manifested to make every syllable terminate with a vowel sound. Hence, in spelling such words as *abantu, izinkomo, ukubamba,* children uniformly divide the syllables thus: *a-ba-ntu, i-zi-nko-mo, u-ku-ba-mba,* unless by a long course of drilling they have been educated to divide them differently. The Zulus find it impossible to pronounce many English words and Scripture names, unless vowels are first supplied at the beginning, middle and end; for example, the word *stove,* an English monosyllable beginning and ending with consonant sounds, they instinctively pronounce *isitova,* making it a word of four syllables, and adding nearly as much to the melody of the word as to the number of its syllables.

It might be supposed that this language, so smooth and flowing, would be favorable for the composition of poetry; and to poetry like that of the Hebrews, untrammeled by rhyme and modern poetic feet, perhaps it would adapt itself; but let a person attempt to write a few stanzas in this language, and he will soon find himself encompassed with difficulties. Poetic feet require a regular alternation of accented and unaccented syllables; but in this language the accent must, with a few unimportant exceptions, fall on the penultimate syllable. It matters not what is the length of a word, the penult must by invariable laws take the accent; and hence, as this language abounds in long words, it is impossible to make the laws of the language and the laws of metrical harmony coincide. The English language abounds with short words, but in the Zulu such words are very few; here,

every noun and every adjective must contain at least two syllables, and the vast majority contain three or more. The language is good for public speaking, and may be good for almost any kind of prose writing; but, with more than asinine obstinacy, it refuses to assume the drapery and move in the measured gait of modern poetry.

The language, however, is not destitute of that higher kind of poetic beauty which consists in the thought, and not in the mere form of expression. Take, for example, the word *umsebelanga*, twilight, literally, the eyelashes of the sun; what conception can be more beautiful! the gleams of morning light are but the eyelashes of that great orb which is just ready to open on the world. Perfectly parallel is the well know Hebrew expression עַפְעַפֵּי־שָׁחַר, eyelashes of the dawn.

The people here use in conversation many strong and bold figures. A man comes to ask a favor, and he will probably preface his request by saying "you are rich, you are great, you are a chief, and *I am only a dog.*" A man thinking himself defrauded in a bargain, says of the cheater *he has eaten me up.* One of the highest compliments that can be paid, even to a white man, is to say *you are black.*

Compared with the languages of civilized nations the Zulu is of course much limited in the number of its words; and yet for all practical purposes it is sufficiently copious and expressive. One Zulu word will often express a complex idea which can be conveyed in English only by two words or more, thus: *umne*, a brother; *umkuluwe*, an elder brother; *umninawe*, a younger brother; *izilemani*, brothers by the same mother. In some passages of the New Testament we are in doubt whether the phrase "the love of Christ" means our love to Him, or His love to us, but a Zulu can express either sense without ambiguity, simply by changing one letter; for *ukutanda kuka Kristu* means our love to Him, and *ukutandua kuka Kristu* means the love which He exercises towards us.*

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* *Ukutánda* here appears to be the active form, love, and *ukutandua*, the passive form, the being loved; see p. 392.

J. W. G.

The Zulu language has no article definite or indefinite, the place of the article being supplied in part by demonstrative adjective pronouns.

Nouns are divided into twelve classes, the class of each noun being determined by its prefix,* or the initial part of the word. I give here a table of the prefixes, and examples of the classes of nouns.

Class.	*Prefixes.*	*Nouns.*	*Signification.*
1.	Um, U	*um*fana, *u*dade	boy, sister.
2.	Im, In	*im*vu, *in*to	sheep, thing.
3.	I, Ili	*i*hashi, *ili*tye	horse, stone.
4.	Isi	*isi*bonda	pole.
5.	U, Ulu	*u*daka, *ulu*ti	mud, stick.
6.	Um	*um*uti	tree.
7.	Ubu	*ubu*mnyama	darkness.
8.	Uku	*uku*hla	food.
9.	Aba, O	*aba*fana, odade	boys, sisters.
10.	Ama	*ama*hashi	horses.
11.	Izi, Izim, Izin	*izi*bonda, *izim*vu, *izin*to	poles, sheep, things.
12.	Imi	*imi*ti	trees.

The difference between nouns of the first and of the sixth class, which have the same prefix, *um*, is this: the former relate to persons, the latter to inanimate things. The plurals of these two classes are formed differently; compare classes first and ninth with sixth and twelfth.

Nouns of the first six classes are always singular; nouns of the seventh and eighth classes may be either singular or plural; and those of the remaining classes are always plural.

One important peculiarity of this language is what has been termed the principle of *alliteration* or *euphonic concord*. By this principle, the prefix of any noun determines the prefix of adjectives and pronouns connected with it. The nouns of each class have what may be called their *euphonic letter*, which is placed before nouns and pronouns governed by

* The word *prefix* may require a little explanation. What we call the prefix in the Zulu is not something extraneous to the word and placed before it, but *a part of the word itself*. By prefix we mean the initial syllable or syllables of a word. The term, as thus explained, is in common use both here and in Kafirland.

them in the genitive case, and generally before adjectives agreeing with them. The following table will exhibit this peculiarity more clearly than any mere verbal description; the nouns, it will be observed, are the same as in the preceding.

Class.	*Prefixes.*	*Euphonic letters.*	*Nouns.*	*Pronouns.*			
				ami, my	*ako*, thy	*etu*, our	*abo*, their.
1.	Um, U	w	umfana	*w*ami	*w*ako	*w*etu	*w*abo.
2.	Im, In	y	imvu	*y*ami	*y*ako	*y*etu	*y*abo.
3.	Ili, I	l	ihashi	*l*ami	*l*ako	*l*etu	*l*abo.
4.	Isi	s	isibonda	*s*ami	*s*ako	*s*etu	*s*abo.
5.	U, ulu	lu	uluti	*lu*ami	*lu*ako	*lu*etu	*lu*abo.
6.	Um	w	umuti	*w*ami	*w*ako	*w*etu	*w*abo.
7.	Ubu	b	ubumnyama	*b*ami	*b*ako	*b*etu	*b*abo.
8.	Uku	ku	ukuhla	*ku*ami	*ku*ako	*ku*etu	*ku*abo.
9.	Aba, O	b	abafana	*b*ami	*b*ako	*b*etu	*b*abo.
10.	Ama		amahashi	ami	ako	etu	abo.
11.	Izim	z	izimvu	*z*ami	*z*ako	*z*etu	*z*abo.
12.	Imi	y	imiti	*y*ami	*y*ako	*y*etu	*y*abo.

The last four columns of this table show the manner in which the euphonic letter of a noun unites with the genitive case of a pronoun governed by it. Thus it is proper to say *umfana wami*, *umfana wako*, etc., but this form of the pronoun could not be connected with a noun of another class; *imvu*, for example, has *y* for its euphonic letter, and this letter must be prefixed to all pronouns which are governed by *imvu* in the genitive case, thus: *imvu yako*, *imvu yetu*, etc. The genitive case of nouns is formed in the same way, namely, by placing the euphonic letter or syllable of the governing word before the word which is governed, thus: *ukuhla kuamahashi*, food of the horses; *izimvu zabafana*, sheep of the boys.*

* A few days ago an English missionary suggested an idea which may be worthy of consideration. What we and others call the euphonic letter, he regards as simply the pronoun contracted, and he would analyze a sentence thus: *abantu bami*, my people=*abantu be ami*, people they-mine; *ihashi lako*, thy horse=*ihashi li ako*, horse it thine, *li ako* being contracted into *lako*; *izimvu zabafana=izimvu zi abafana*, the sheep they (of) the boys.

The following table will show what influence the prefixes of nouns exert on the forms of adjectives:

Nouns.	*Adjectives.*		*Nouns.*	*Adjectives.*	
	Great.	Bad.		Great.	Bad.
Umfana	omkulu	ombi	Ubumnyama	obukulu	obubi.
Into	enkulu	embi	Ukuhla	okukulu	okubi.
Ihashi	elikulu	elibi	Abafana	abakulu	ababi.
Isibonda	esikulu	esibi	Amahashi	amakulu	amabi.
Uluti	olukulu	olubi	Izinto	ezinkulu	ezimbi.
Umuti	omkulu	ombi	Imiti	emikulu	emibi.

From this table it will be seen that the inflections of nouns and adjectives have their place at the beginning, and not at the end; and that the forms of adjectives depend not on the number, or the gender, or the case of nouns, but simply on their prefixes.

Of adjectives there are but few in this language, but the place of an adjective may be supplied in different ways: (1.) by a participial form of the verb, thus: *umuntu o bongayo*, a thankful person, literally, a person who (is) thanking; (2.) by using a pronoun and a noun expressing the name of a quality, thus: *usuku o lu namakaza*, a cold day, literally, a day that has coldness; (3.) by a noun expressing both the name and the quality of an object, thus: *ubuhlalu*, beads, in general; *umgazi*, red beads; *itambo*, white beads; *ibuma*, green beads; *isipofu*, brown beads.

Zulu adjectives have no forms to express the degrees of comparison, but one thing is said to be great or small *to* another, that is, in comparison with it. The verb *hlula*, to surpass, and the preposition *pezu*, above,* are often used to express degrees of comparison.

Another peculiarity of this language is the great number and variety of its personal pronouns. Not only has each class of nouns its own appropriate pronoun, but for the nominative and accusative case each pronoun has two different forms, a monosyllabic and a dissyllabic. Take, for instance, the first person singular "I"; the two forms are *gi* (in Kafirland *di*) and *mina*, and these forms are the same for the accusative as for the nominative. For the expres-

* Comp. Susu *pisa*, more; see p. 369.

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sion "a person loves me," a Zulu would naturally say *umuntu u ya gi tanda*, placing the monosyllabic pronoun before the verb; or, taking the dissyllabic form and placing it after the verb, he might say *umuntu u ya tanda mina*. Sometimes both forms of the pronoun are used in the same sentence, thus: *umuntu u ya gi tanda mina*. This mode of expression is more emphatic than either of the preceding; it signifies, that he loves *me* in distinction from, or more than, others. The dissyllabic form of the nominative case is never used as the direct subject of the verb, but, when it is introduced, the monosyllabic form must also be employed. The two forms are used where emphasis is required; thus, go to a house and ask "who is the sick person?" the answer will be: *yena u ya gula*, he, he is sick; so: *kodua mina gi ya tyo kuni*, but I, I say unto you. These remarks and illustrations, relative to the first person singular, apply to all the pronouns corresponding to the twelve classes of nouns.

Another peculiarity of the Zulu is that the three generic divisions of time, as past, present, and future, are expressed by changes in the form of the pronoun, and not in the form of the verb, thus:

Present	*gi ya hamba*,	I walk.
Past	*ga hamba*,	I walked.
Future	*go hamba*,	I will walk.

Other tenses are formed either by changing the termination of the verb, or, more commonly, by employing as auxiliaries the verbs "to be," "to go," "to come." Most of the tenses have several different forms, all conveying a similar but not precisely the same shade of meaning.

Zulu verbs, with four or five exceptions, terminate in *a*.

In many cases where, in English, the present tense of the verb "to be" is used as a copula, the substantive verb is understood in the Zulu, thus: *ihashi li hle*, the horse it (is) handsome; *ba kona*, they (are) there; *u pina?* you (are) where?

It is a singular defect, that there is no verb in this language corresponding to the English "to have." The idea of having or possessing is expressed by the preposition *na*, with, thus: *gi n'amahashi*, I with horses, i. e. I have horses; *ba n'ezinkomo*, they with cattle, i. e. they have cattle.

The substantive verb, as in most other languages, is very irregular, being made up of fragments of three different roots. The proper verb "to be" is *ukuba*; this is used in most of the modes and tenses, but never in the indicative present, where *ngu* is used with certain classes of nouns, and *yi* with other classes, thus: *ku ngu umfana*, (contracted orally *ku ng'umfana*,) it is a boy; *ku yi isibonda*, (contracted *ku y'isibonda*,) it is a pole.

By a few simple rules of derivation, several nouns may be formed from almost any verb, the signification of each as an abstract or a concrete, or as implying activity or passivity, being settled by its prefix and termination, thus:

Uku*busa*, to rule, to govern.
Umbusi, a ruler, governor.
Umbuso, a kingdom.
Ukubusa, a ruling, i. e. administration.
Ukubusua, a being ruled.

The last two forms, *ukubusa* and *ukubusua*, are in fact verbs, the former an infinitive active, and the latter an infinitive passive; but they are employed to perform all the offices of nouns. In this respect the Zulu language resembles the Greek, in which the infinitive mode often takes the article, and subserves the purposes appropriate to nouns.

This language has one peculiarity in common with the Hebrew. In addition to the usual division into active, passive and neuter, Zulu verbs admit another classification, corresponding in part to the Hebrew conjugations, thus:

1. Radical form uku*bona*, to see, Kal.
2. Objective form " *bonela*, to see for,
3. Causative form " *bonisa*, to cause to see, show, Hiphil,
4. Reciprocal form " *bonana*, to see one another, } Hith-
5. Reflexive form " *zibona*, to see one's self, } pael.
6. " *boneka*, to be seeable, liable to be seen.

These forms admit of regular inflection through the different modes and tenses. The last form has not yet received a grammatical cognomen, but it expresses nearly the same idea as the Latin terminations *bilis* and *dus*, as: *boneka*, visibilis, videndus.*

* Why not Potential form? Comp. the use of the Hebrew Niphal.
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The Zulu language has but few prepositions and conjunctions. The want of prepositions is in part supplied by the ablative case of nouns, a case that always conveys a reference to some locality, or to time, denoting "at," "from," "by," "towards," "in" a place or time.

Verbs are sometimes connected by changing the termination of the latter verb, thus: *go hamba gi bone*, I will go and see.

The expressions *wa ti*, he said, *kua ti*, it said, *ba ti*, they said, are often used at the beginning of a paragraph merely as connectives.

The Zulu language has no disjunctive "or." To express a disjunctive idea we sometimes employ *na*, and, though in a sense very different from its original import, and hence liable to be misunderstood; and sometimes we find it difficult to express such an idea correctly, even by a tedious circumlocution.

Interrogatory sentences, whether the question be direct or indirect, all close with the falling inflection. A question is indicated by the particle *na* placed at the end of a sentence, and spoken with some emphasis, thus: *u ya gula na*, are you sick?

Many proper names among the Zulus are intelligibly significant. People here have usually only one name, sometimes two or three, but never a surname, like the English. The following are names of men: *Umpandi*, a root; *Umlomo*, a mouth; *Inkabi Endala*, an old ox; *Untabana*, a little mountain; *Unyokana*, a little serpent.

I give below the Lord's Prayer, with an interlinear translation, and a few explanatory notes.

Father	our	who (art)	in	heaven,	let	it	be hallowed
Ubaba	*wetu*[1]	*o*	*s'ezuluini,*	*ma*	*li*[2]	*dun-*	
name	thy.	Kingdom	thy	let	it	come;	
yisue	*igama*	*lako.*	*Umbuso*	*wako*	*ma*	*u*[2]	*ze;*
will	thy	let it be done	on	earth	here	as	
intando	*yako*	*ma*	*y'enziwe*	*emhlabeni*	*apa*	*jenga*	

in heaven. Us give to-day bread daily our;
s'ezulwini. Si pe namhla isinkua semihla setu;

us forgive sins our, like as we we them forgive
si yekele izono zetu, jengokuba tina si ba yekela

those who sin against us. Thou not us lead into
bona abonayo ku ti. U nga si zisi eku-

temptation, but us deliver from evil; for kingdom
lingueni, kodua si kulule ekuoneni; gokuba umbuso

it is thine, and power it is thine, and glory it is
u ngo wako,(2) n'amanhla a nga ako,(2) n'obukosi bu ngo

thine forever. Amen.
bako(3) kubengunapakade.(4) Amen.

NOTES.—(1.) Pronouns in the genitive case almost invariably follow the nouns by which they are governed.

(2.) The nominative case of a pronoun must always precede the verb, even when the subject of the verb, to which the pronoun refers, is a noun expressed. Other illustrations of this remark occur towards the close of the prayer.

(3.) It will be seen that the expression, "it is thine," is repeated in connexion with each of the nouns "kingdom," "power," and "glory;" and it will also be observed that the Zulu verbs and pronouns differ from each other respectively in each of these propositions. In English, we can say "thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, and"—as many other things as we choose to add. Not so in the Zulu. The prefixes of nouns exert a stern control over the forms of adjectives, pronouns, and some verbs. There are laws of caste, here, as unyielding as in the society of India, and nouns of different classes will not consent to be grouped together under one common predicate, but each noun must have its own pronoun, and adjective, and sometimes its own verb.

(4.) This is not a simple word, but a union of several short words, and signifies "for a long time." There is no word in this language which expresses the full meaning of the English "forever."

Cognate Dialects.

The Zulu language is only one member of a numerous group of dialects, all more or less immediately connected. So far as investigation has yet gone, and it has extended from the Great Orange river to Delagoa bay, it appears that all the native tribes of this part of Africa speak only different dialects of one and the same original language. The same grammatical principles form the common basis of them all; and it is said that a familiarity with the different dialects furnishes a ready solution of some anomalies which are found in each. So similar are these dialects that the Zulus find but little difficulty in understanding the Kafirs, the Amasuazi, and the natives of other tribes. An English missionary has told me he thinks, that the natives of different tribes here understand one another about as well as the peasantry of different counties of England.

These different dialects comprise in the aggregate a much more perfect language than that now in use by any one tribe. The Kafirs, for instance, have a word to express "king," in distinction from "chief," which the Zulus have not; and another tribe has a word for "concubine," which is found neither among the Zulus nor Kafirs. Such words, having the native form and prefix, could be easily transferred from one tribe to another; and this transfer would seem vastly better than to introduce from the Hebrew or Greek, the English or Dutch, words which must have a prefix added, perhaps a vowel added at the end, and two or three other vowels inserted, in order to separate what would otherwise be, to a native, unpronounceable consonants. A word thus introduced is at best but a barbarous intruder, more ugly, less intelligible, and far less expressive, than a native word would be, even though a visitant from another tribe.

The Hottentot language, which is now nearly extinct, being supplanted by a grossly corrupt and ungrammatical Dutch, is said to be very inharmonious, abounding in clicks and rough gutturals. In the Kafir and Zulu dialects, the clicks and gutturals are much less numerous; in the Amasuazi dialect, the clicks are fewer still, c being more common than the others; and among the Bechuanas, the clicks

are not used at all. It is generally true that *the farther north we go, the less common are the clicks.*

Among the Kafirs and Zulus, the ablative case of nouns terminates in *eni* and *ini*; in the Sechuana dialect, the ablative is said to terminate in a nasal *ng*.

Some tribes use *t* where others have *z*, and *h* where others have *k*. Thus a Zulu says *izinkomo*, cattle, which a Kafir frequently shortens into *inkomo*; another tribe makes it *tinkomo*; and a fourth *tihomo*.

Some are sanguine in the belief that a system of orthography might be introduced, which would be intelligible to all the native tribes of Southern Africa. The thing is exceedingly desirable, but cannot be accomplished without much time and labor. The American missionaries at Natal have adopted nearly the same orthography which is used in Kafirland by the English, Scottish and German missionaries; while the French missionaries, followed by a few English Wesleyans, have adopted a different system. There is no doubt that we should derive much profit from the study of the cognate dialects; and we hear with pleasure that a new Kafir Grammar is being printed at Graham's Town, in which this subject is extensively discussed.

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THE ZULU AND OTHER DIALECTS

OF

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

BY

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THE ZULU AND OTHER DIALECTS.

[Mr. Grout entered the country of the Zulus in the beginning of the year 1847.—R. A.]

In the following article, I propose to communicate such facts concerning the languages or dialects of this part of Africa, as I have been able to ascertain, either by my own study and observation, or from the works of others more learned and experienced on the subject than myself. Among the authorities to which I am indebted, I must mention a manuscript grammar, by Rev. N. Adams, M.D.; *A grammar of the Kaffir language, by W. B. Boyce; Etudes sur la Langue Séchuana, par E. Casalis; The Missionary Magazine*; and the oral instructions of the older missionaries of our Society in this field, and of Rev. H. Schreuder, a missionary from Norway.

I shall, in the first place, endeavor to present some of the more important characteristics and principles of the Zulu dialect, which is the language of the natives in the colony of Natal, and of the Amazulu, to the north-east of this colony; and shall afterwards speak of the dialects of Southern Africa, generally.

I. On the Zulu Dialect.

Elementary Sounds.

The elementary sounds of the Zulu are twenty-six in number, which we represent by the letters of the English alphabet: *a, b, c, d, e, f*, etc.

They are divided into vowels, consonants, and clicks. The vowels are five in number, viz: *a* as in *father*; *e* as *a* in *name*; *i* as *ee* in *meet*; *o* as in *pole*; and *u* as *oo* in *pool*. The consonants are, nearly the same as in English, except that *g* is always hard, as in *give*, and *r* is a guttural; *g* and *j* sometimes become nasalized by the sound of *n* put before them, as *gi* or *ngi*, *je* or *nje*; and by some tribes *y* is substituted for *l*, as *sila* or *siya*, to grind; *p* and *b* are interchangeable, as *ibetya* or *ipetya*.

The clicks are three, represented by the following letters, viz: *c* for the dental click, so called from its being made by compressing the tongue upon the front teeth and withdrawing it suddenly, with a suction of air; *q* for the palatal click, made by compressing the tip of the tongue upon the palate, and suddenly withdrawing it; and *x* for the lateral click, made by compressing the sides of the tongue upon the side teeth, and the suction of air on a sudden withdrawal of the tongue from the teeth.

The clicks are difficult of pronunciation to a foreigner; but, as uttered by a native, are thought by some to be an ornament to the language. They may have been introduced from the Hottentot language; or, as some suppose, may be a remnant of the primitive state of this language, having originated in efforts to imitate sounds in nature, or to convey a meaning by resemblance in expression.

Syllabification.

In every word there are as many syllables as vowels or diphthongs. Every syllable ends with a vowel, or with the consonant *m* or *n*. Those ending with *m* or *n* are few, and generally the initials of nouns. The enunciation of *m* at the end of a syllable is often aided by inserting after it a furtive vowel, *u*, and sometimes *i*. When the furtive vowel *u* is thus inserted after *m*, in the initial syllable of a word in the singular, it disappears in the formation of the plural, as: *umzi*, or *imuzi*, a kraal; plural, *imizi*, kraals: *umntu*, or *umuntu*, a man; plural, *abantu*, men.

Euphony.

The great peculiarity which pervades the Zulu dialect is strict attention to euphony and precision. Each of these is eminently secured by a peculiar and remarkable assimilation of initial sounds in related and connected words, called *euphonic concord*. In addition to this, the euphony of the language is farther promoted by a variety of changes, omissions, and insertions of letters, similar to what are found in other languages, especially the Greek.

The euphonic or alliteral concord causes the initial element of the noun, a letter, a syllable, or syllables, to re-appear as the initial element of the adjective agreeing with the noun; requires the pronoun to assume a form corresponding to the initial of the noun for which it stands; and detaches the important part of the initial of the governing noun, to assist in forming a bond of connection with and control over the noun, or pronoun, governed in the genitive. This often causes the repetition of the same letter or letters at the beginning of several words, and points out all the various modifications and limitations of the subject or the object in a sentence; alike promoting in a high degree a soft, fluent, and harmonious enunciation, and imparting distinctness, precision, and force to the expression of ideas. Take, for example, *izinivu zami zi ya li zua ilizui lami*, literally, (the) sheep of me they do it hear (the) voice of me, i. e. my sheep hear my voice. Here the euphonic letter *z* in *zami*, and the pronoun *zi*, point directly to the initial *izim* of the noun *izimvu*; while the pronoun *li*, and the euphonic letter *l* in *lami*, point to the initial *ili* of the noun *ilizui*.

Accentuation.

The accent falls usually on the penult, but sometimes upon the antepenult, and occasionally upon the last syllable of a word.

There are eight parts of speech, the same as in English, except the article, which is wanting in the Zulu.

Nouns.

This dialect is rich in nouns denoting different objects of the same genus, according to some variety of color, redundancy or deficiency of members, or some other peculiarity; thus, one noun signifies "a cow," another "a red cow," another "a brown cow," another "a white cow," another "a barren cow," etc. Abstract nouns are generally derived from adjectives by prefixing *ubu*, as: *kulu*, great; *ubukulu*, greatness. Proper names are taken from some object or incident in common life, thus: *Untaba* comes from *intaba*, a mountain; *Ubalekile* signifies "she has run away." There are very few nouns expressing the abstractions of mind, or spiritual things.

Every noun consists of two parts: the initial, and the radical. The initial, whether a single letter or a syllable, is that part of the noun, which, in a modified form, re-appears in the beginning of all adjectives agreeing with it; from which also its pronoun is derived; and by which the number, class, and condition of the noun are determined. The rest of the noun is called the radical, or root. For example: *um* is the initial, and *fazi* the root, of the noun *umfazi*, a woman; *in* the initial, and *to* the root, of the noun *into*, a thing. This initial element has sometimes been called a prefix. It is not, however, a prefix, but an essential part of the noun, without which the noun is not a noun, is not complete, and has no signification.

The initial of a noun, in impressing its image upon an adjective, and in undergoing various inflections to assist in indicating the number and condition of the noun, bears a strong resemblance to the terminations of a noun in Latin and Greek. The initial elements and euphonic letters of the several classes are as follows:

Class.	Initials.	Euphonic letters.	Examples.
1.	U, Um (personal)	w	*ubaba*, my father; *umfana*, a boy.
2.	In, Im	y	*into*, a thing; *imvu*, a sheep.
3.	Ili, I	l	*ilizue* or *izue*, a country.
4.	Isi	s	*isitya*, a dish.
5.	Ulu, U	lu	*uluti* or *uti*, a stick.
6.	Um (impersonal)	w	*umusa*, kindness.
7.	Ubu, U	b	*ububomi* or *ubomi*, life.
8.	Uku	ku	*ukuhla*, food.
9.	O, Aba	b	*odade*, sisters; *abantu*, people.
10.	Ama	no euphonic	*amadoda*, men.
11.	Izi, Izin, Izim	z	*izitya*, dishes; *izinto*, things; *izimvu*, sheep.
12.	Imi	y	*imiti*, trees.

Inflection of Nouns.

All nouns of the first six classes are of the singular number; those of the seventh and eighth classes may be either singular or plural; and all of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth classes are plural.

Nouns of the singular number become plural by changing their initials, according to their several classes, thus:

Class.	Initials.	Examples.	
1.	U into O	ubaba	pl. obaba.
	Um " Aba	umfazi	" abafazi.
2.	In " Izin, Ama	into	" izinto.
		indoda	" amadoda.
	Im " Izim	imvu	" izimvu.
3.	Ili, I " Ama	ihashi	" amahashi.
4.	Isi " Izi	isitya	" izitya.
5.	Ulu, U " Izin, O, Ama,	uluti	" izinti.
		ubala	" obala.
6.	Um " Imi	umhlambi	" imihlambi.

It will be seen that nouns change their classes by changing their number.

The distinction of objects with regard to gender is scarcely recognized in the grammar of this dialect. The changes which must be made in the adjective, pronoun, or verb, are all determined by the initial element of the noun. A distinction is made, however, between persons and things, in the first and sixth classes, all nouns in *um* which denote persons belonging to the first class, and those which denote things

belonging to the sixth. The distinction of masculine and feminine gender is made sometimes by the use of separate words, and sometimes by suffixing to nouns denoting the masculine, the particle *kazi*, to denote the feminine, as: *umfana*, a boy; *intombazana*, a girl; *inkosi*, a king; *inkosikazi*, a queen. There is a peculiarity in the words for "father" and "mother," a different word being used according as the pronoun, connected with it, is of the first, second, or third person, as: *ubaba*, (my) father; *uyihlo*, (your) father; *uyise*, (his) father; *umame*, (my) mother; *unyoko*, (your) mother; *unina*, (his, her) mother.

Nouns in the Zulu have four cases, viz: the Nominative, the Genitive, the Accusative, and the Locative.

The Nominative case expresses simply the name of a thing, and is always accompanied by a pronoun, which is the direct subject of the verb, as: *izinyoni zi ya kala*, the birds sing, literally, (the) birds they do sing. When this case is used in addressing a person, the initial of the noun, if it consists of a single letter, is dropped, as: *baba*, father.

The Genitive case denotes the relation of property or possession. The particle significant of this relation is the letter *a*, which is preceded by the euphonic letter of the governing noun. This particle *a*, prefixed to the noun governed, coalesces with the initial vowel of that noun, $a+u$ becoming *o*, and $a+i$ becoming *e*.* But when the initial vowel of the word governed is *a*, *e*, or *o*, the genitive vowel *a* is absorbed in them. It has been already remarked, that to show the dependence of the genitive case, and to promote the precision and euphony of the language, a part of the initial of the governing noun, called the euphonic letter, is taken out and prefixed to the noun governed. This seems to be a shortened form of the pronoun, and has some analogy to the Hebrew suffix pronoun. Take, for example, *izinto zomhlaba*, things of earth,—here, the euphonic *u* of *umhlaba*, the word governed, coalescing with the genitive particle *a*, makes *o*, and prefixed to this is the euphonic letter *z* of

* The origin of *e* from $a+i$, and of *o* from $a+u$, is exhibited also in the Indo-European class of languages, and is called by the Sanskrit grammarians *guna*.

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the governing word *izinto*; *ukuhla kuehashi*, food of the horse,—here *ku*, the euphonic of *ukuhla*, a noun of the eighth class, is prefixed to *ihashi*, and the initial *i* of *ihashi*, coalescing with the governing particle *a*, makes *e*, so that the whole form is *kuehashi*, of the horse, the *ku* showing what belongs to the horse, namely, *ukuhla*, food.

The names of persons, in the genitive, take before them *ka*,, which is the genitive particle *a* hardened by *k*, and this is preceded sometimes by the personal pronoun of the governing noun, as: *umbuso ka 'Tixo*, the kingdom of God; *ubuso buka Jehova*, the face of Jehovah. In the last example, *bu*, the pronoun of *ubuso*, is joined with *ka*.

The Accusative case is used to express the object of an action, or the complement of a preposition, and is the same in form as the nominative.

The Locative case is used to point out the place of existence, or of action. It denotes the place where a thing is or is done, and to or from which an action proceeds. It is generally formed by changing the initial vowel of the noun into *e*, and the final vowel into *eni* or *ini*, as: *umhlaba*, the earth, *emhlabeni*, in, on the earth; *isanhla*, the hand, *esanhleni*, in the hand; *ilizue*, the country, *elizueni*, in the country.

Adjectives.

There are only a few adjectives in this dialect; but this deficiency is in part supplied by the use of nouns joined with prepositions, as adjectives, thus: *umuntu u n'amanhla*, the man is strong, literally, (the) man he with strength; *Utixo u nomusa* (*na* + *umusa*), God is merciful; *u be nomsa*, he was merciful.

A verb, also, may be used as an adjective by connecting it with the noun in the same manner as adjectives are connected, and suffixing the termination *yo*, as: *utyani obutambileyo*, grass which is soft,—here *tambile* is the perfect tense of the verb *ukutamba*, signifying "to be soft." The perfect tense of neuter verbs is used most frequently as an adjective.

The adjective, having no initial element of its own, borrows one from the noun with which it agrees; and the correspondence between the beginnings of the noun and its adjective, in this language, resembles that which is often found between the terminations of nouns and their adjectives, in

the Latin and Greek, as: *izinto ezihle*, nice things, liter. things which they nice; *ukuazi okukulu*, great knowledge, liter. knowledge which it great; *abantu abaningi*, many people, liter. *abantu*, people, *a*, who, *aba*, they, *ningi*, many.* See the relative pronoun.

The initial of the noun detached and repeated before the adjective, becoming the initial of the adjective, is also a personal pronoun, and has the relative pronoun incorporated with it, both which together serve the double purpose of a definitive and a copulative, to point to the noun with which the adjective agrees, and to connect the adjective with it, as: *leta isitya esikulu*, bring a large dish,—here *esi* of the adjective *esikulu* consists of the relative pronoun *a* and the personal pronoun *isi*, the former, *a*, serving to continue the sentence *leta isitya*, bring a dish, and the latter, *isi*, showing with what the adjective agrees, or what is large; *fundisa abantu abaningi*, teach many people, liter. teach people who they many.

But when, in English, the adjective would be connected with the noun by the substantive verb as a copula, that is, when the adjective is the predicate of the sentence, the personal pronoun only is used, as: *isitya si kulu*, the dish is large, liter. (the) dish it large; *ukuhla ku hle, ku ningi*, the food is nice and abundant, liter. (the) food it nice, it abundant.

Comparison of Adjectives.

Adjectives having in themselves no inflection to express the comparative or the superlative degree, the use of separate words is resorted to, for this end. The comparative degree is denoted by the preposition *ku*, to, in relation to; by the preposition *pezu*, over, above; or by the verb *ukuhlula*, to surpass, as: *umuntu um kulu kumfana*, a man is greater than a boy, liter. great to a boy; *u ya tanda izinkomo pezu kuoyise*, he loves cattle more than his father; *ubomi bu ya hlula ukuhla*, life is more than, liter. surpasses food. The superlative degree is denoted by means of the adverb *kakulu*, greatly, or *impela*, decidedly, as: *inkosi enkulu kakulu*, a very great king.

* Comp. Mpongwe *nyenge*, many.

J. W. G.

Numeral Adjectives

Many of the terms used to express number are somewhat complex, being phrases rather than single words. The method of the natives is to commence counting by holding up the little finger of the left hand, proceeding thence to the thumb, which completes the hand, *isanhla*, and is called *isihlanu*, five; then, taking the thumb of the right hand, they go on in order, to the little finger of the same, and then strike their hands together, which makes up ten, *ishumi*. Numbers greater than ten are expressed by various circumlocutions, in which the ten, or tens, and the digits are interwoven with one another. The radical parts of the cardinal numbers are mainly as follows: *nye*, one; *bili*, two; *tatu*, three; *ne*, four; *hlanu* (the hand is done with), five; *jatisitupa* (take the thumb), six; *kombisa* (point), or *tatukomba* (take the pointer), seven; *shiyangalobili* (leave two fingers), eight; *shiyangalolunye* (leave one finger), nine; *ishumi*, ten; *ishumilinanye* (ten with one), eleven; etc.

Cardinal numbers are connected with nouns in the same manner as adjectives, thus: *izinto ezimbili*, two things, literally, things which they two; *abantu abahlanu*, five men; *amahashi amatatu*, three horses.

The ordinal numbers, except the first, are formed from the cardinal numbers by prefixing *isi*, as: *kuqala*, first; *isibili*, second; *isitatu*, third; *isine*, fourth; *isihlanu*, fifth; *isitatisitupa*, sixth; etc.

Numeral adverbs are formed from the cardinal numbers by prefixing *ka*, as: *kanye*, once; *kabili*, twice; *katatu*, thrice, etc.

Pronouns.

Pronouns may be divided into five classes, viz: Personal, Relative, Interrogative, Demonstrative, and Indefinite.

Personal pronouns admit the distinction of person, number, and case; but gender is not denoted in either the first, second, or third person. Pronouns of the third person, in the Zulu, are a kind of reflection or image of the initials of the nouns for which they stand, and are used to show the condition of those nouns. There are, therefore, as many classes of them, as of nouns, that is, twelve.

Personal pronouns have three varieties of form, viz: the Radical, the Oblique, and the Definitive. The Radical is the groundform of the pronoun. It may be either the subject, or the object of a verb, and, if of the third person, it is the image of the initial of the noun for which it stands. For examples, see the following tables. The Oblique form is used for the genitive governed by a noun, or it is employed with a preposition. It consists of two letters, and, if the pronoun is of the third person, these letters, except in the first class, are the euphonic of the noun referred to, together with the vowel *o*. See the following tables. The Definitive form is used either with another pronoun, or with a noun, to point out the person or thing spoken of, with emphasis and precision. See the tables.

These several forms of the pronoun, as related to other words, may be called the Radical Nominative and Radical Accusative; the Oblique Genitive and Oblique Accusative; and the Definitive Nominative and Definitive Accusative. Thus, in: *gi yā 'm bona*, I see him, *gi*, I, is the radical nominative, and *'m*, him, the radical accusative; in *u ya ngi bona*, he sees me, *u*, he, is the radical nominative, and *ngi*, me, is the radical accusative; in *umfazi wake u ya lima ga lo igeja*, his wife digs with a pick, liter. (the) wife of him she does dig with it, a pick, *ke*, preceded by the genitive particle *a*, and *w*, as the euphonic of *umfazi*, is the oblique genitive, and *lo*, preceded by the preposition *ga*, is the oblique accusative; in *wena u ya si bona tina*, you see us, literally, you (in particular, or emphatically,) you do us see us, (in particular,) *wena* is the definitive nominative, and *tina* the definitive accusative; and without these definitive pronouns the sentence might read "he sees it," instead of "you see us," the pronoun *u* being either the second, or the third person singular, and the pronoun *si* being either the first person plural, or the third person singular, and referring to any noun of the fourth class,—see the tables; so: *ihashi li ya bu tanda utyani*, the horse loves grass, liter. (the) horse it does it love grass; *hamba na bo*, go with them, where *bo* refers to a noun of the ninth class; and *igama lake*, his name, where the pronoun *ke*, of the first class, takes the genitive particle *a*, and the euphonic *l* of *igama*, of the third class, making *lake*.

Declension of Personal Pronouns.

First Person Singular.

Radical form, *gi*, I, me; the subject, or the object of a verb.
Oblique " *mi*, of, to, by, with me; used with a noun, or a preposition.
Definitive " *mina*, I, me, in particular.

First Person Plural.

Radical form, *si*, we, us; the subject, or the object of a verb.
Oblique " *tu*, used with a noun, or *ti*, used with a preposition, of, to, by, with us.
Definitive " *tina*, we, us, in particular.

Second Person Singular.

Radical form, *u*, as the subject of a verb, or *ku*, as the object, you.
Oblique " *ko*, with a noun, or *we*, with a preposition, of, to, by, with you.
Definitive " *wena*, you, in particular.

Second Person Plural.

Radical form, *ni*, you; the subject, or the object of a verb.
Oblique " *nu*, with a noun, or *ni*, with a preposition, of, to, by, with you.
Definitive " *nina*, you, in particular.

Third Person.

Class.	*Initials of the Antecedent.*	*Radical form.* he, him, she, her, it, they, them.	*Oblique form.* of, to, by, with, him, her, it, them.	*Definitive form.* he, him, she, her, it, they, them, in particular.
1.	U, Um	um, u	ke, ye	yena
2.	In, Im	in, i	yo	yona
3.	Ili, I	ili, li	lo	lona
4.	Isi	isi, si	so	sona
5.	Ulu, U	ulu, lu	lo	lona
6.	Um	u	wo	wona
7.	Ubu, U	ubu, bu	bo	bona
8.	Uku	uku, ku	ko	kona
9.	O, Aba	aba, ba	bo	bona
10.	Ama	ama, a	wo	wona
11.	Izi, Izin, etc.	izi, zi	zo	zona
12.	Imi	imi, i	yo	yona

Note.—Some have made five cases for the pronoun of each person, and for some of the cases double or triple forms, as:

1st Nom.	*mina*, I;	2d Nom.	*gi*, I.
Gen.	*ami*, of me.		
Dat.	*kuni*, to me.		
1st Acc.	*mina*, me;	2d Acc.	*gi*, me.
1st Abl.	*gimi*, by me;	2d Abl.	*gami*, through me;
		3d Abl.	*nami*, with me; etc.

What is called the Relative pronoun might better be called the relative particle, as it is insufficient, without the co-operation of the personal pronoun, to point out the antecedent, or the noun to which reference is made. The relative pronoun, or particle, in its simplest form, is *a*, the same as the genitive particle, which seems intended to mark a close connection. The relative is always combined with the personal pronoun, that is, with the initial element of the antecedent, or its representative, according to the general euphonic principles of the language. Thus, if the personal pronoun begins with *u*, *u*+*u* coalesce into *o*; if with *i*, *a*+*i* coalesce into *e*; but if with *a*, the relative, *a*, undergoes no change, as: *umuntu o bona*, the man who sees, literally, (the) man who he sees; *ihashi eli hamba*, the horse which walks, liter. (the) horse which it walks; *abantu abalungileyo*, men who are good, liter. (the) men who they good, etc. The relative is not inflected.

There is properly but one Interrogative pronoun, viz: *ni*, what? But this enters as a constituent into several compound interrogatives, which, though originally phrases, have come, by usage, to be regarded as single words. Some of these are: *ubani* or *ubanina?* who? *kabani*, whose? of whom? *Pi* has been called an interrogative pronoun, but it is more properly an adverb, signifying "where?"

The Demonstrative, like the personal pronoun, varies according to the initial of the noun to which it points, and the nearness of the object signified. If it points to a distant object, it terminates in *o*; if to a very distant object, it termin-

ates in *yá*; and the greater the distance, the greater the prolongation and emphasis of *yá*. For example: *leli 'hashi*, this horse; *lelo 'hashi*, that horse; *leliya ihashi*, that horse yonder; *lesi 'sitya*, this dish; *leso 'sitya*, that dish; *lesiya isitya*, that dish yonder; *laba 'bantu*, this people; *labo 'bantu*, that people; *labaya abantu*, that people in the distance.

There are three Indefinite pronouns, viz: *nye*, one, another, some; *ningi*, much, many; and *onke*, all, each. *Nye* and *ningi* are united with nouns in the same manner as adjectives, thus: *into enye*, one thing, liter. thing which it one; *impahla eminingi*, many goods, liter. goods which they many. *Onke* takes before it the euphonic letter of the noun with which it agrees, as: *abantu bonke*, all people; *insimu yonke*, each garden.

Verbs.

The root of a verb is the same as the infinitive mode, rejecting *uku*, the sign of the infinitive, thus: *bona* is the root of *ukubona*, to see, and *enza* is the root of *ukuenza*, to make.

There are both regular and irregular verbs. Regular verbs are those of which the roots consist of more than one syllable, and begin with a consonant, as: uku*tanda*, to love. Irregular verbs are those of which the roots are monosyllabic, or begin with a vowel, as: uku*ti*, to say; uku*pa*, to give; uku*enza*, to make.

In regular verbs, the root is identical with the second person singular of the imperative mode; but not so in irregular verbs, the latter taking a prefix in this mode, for euphony.

The Zulu dialect, like others which have never been cultivated, is rich in forms for different modes and tenses; and has also a variety of conjugations, derived from the simple or radical form of the verb, which express different shades or modifications of its meaning. In this latter respect, a resemblance to the Hebrew will be observed. (1.) The Simple form is that which may be written with the fewest letters, and has the simplest meaning, as: uku*tanda*, to love. (2.) The Relative, or, as it has been called, the Objective form, having the superadded signification of "for," or "in relation to," is derived from the simple form,

by inserting *el* before its final vowel, as: ukutandela, to love for; for example: *ni ya ngi sebenzela*, you work for me. This form of the verb is often used with the infinitive mode, and with adverbs and nouns of place. But it sometimes merely conveys the signification of the simple form with greater force. (3.) The Causative form, having a causative signification superadded to that of the simple form, is derived by inserting *is* before the final vowel of the latter, as: uku*tandisa*, to cause to love; uku*funisa*, to teach; from uku*funda*, to learn. Neuter verbs, of the simple form, become active by putting on the causative form. (4.) The Reciprocal form, denoting a mutual interchange, where a thing is done by one to another, is derived from the simple form, by inserting *an* before its final vowel, as: uku*tandana*, to love one another; so: uku*bona*, to see; uku*bonana*, to see one another. (5.) The Reflexive form, denoting the performance of an action upon, or for the agent, is derived by prefixing *zi* to the simple form, as: uku*zitanda*, to love one's self.

Any two or more of the above forms may be combined, as: uku*beka*, to lay up; uku*bekela*, to lay up for; uku*zibekela*, to lay up for one's self; uku*zibekelisa*, to cause to lay up for one's self; so: uku*tenga*, to buy; uku*zitengelisa*, to cause to buy for one's self. A conjugational characteristic may be several times repeated in the same form. This often gives intensity of signification, as: uku*bona*, to see; uku*bonisa*, to cause to see; uku*bonisisa*, to cause to see clearly, to demonstrate.

Passive forms of a verb are made by suffixing *kala* to the root, or by dropping its final vowel and adding *eka*, as: uku*bona*, to see; uku*bonakala*, to appear; uku*hlupa*, to persecute; uku*hlupeka*, to suffer.

The great variety of forms significant of mode and tense may be reduced to the number generally adopted in English.

There are five modes, viz: the Infinitive, the Indicative, the Potential, the Imperative, and the Subjunctive, having the import usually given to them, respectively, in our own language. The characteristic of the Infinitive mode is *uku*, preceding the root of the verb, as: *ukutanda*, to love. The chief characteristic of the Potential is *ga*, or *nga*. When ob-

ligation is implied, *ga* is generally used, which is put before the pronominal subject; when possibility is implied, *nga* is generally used, which is put after the pronoun. The Imperative is characterized by *ma*, though this particle is not always employed. Irregular verbs, beginning with a vowel, take the euphonic prefix *y* in this mode, as: *yenza*, make, from *ukuenza*, to make; but those beginning with a consonant take the euphonic *yi* before the root, as: *yipa*, give, from *ukupa*, to give. The Subjunctive is distinguished by *uma*, or *ukuba*, preceding the indicative, as: *uma si tandile*, if we have loved. See the paradigm.

Verbs have six tenses, viz.: the Present, the Past,* (imperfect,) the Future, the Present Perfect, (perfect,) the Past Perfect, (pluperfect,) and the Future Perfect, (second future.)

The sign of the Present tense is the auxiliary *ya*, or *za*, from the verb *ukuya*, to go, or *ukuza*, to come. But sometimes neither of these auxiliaries is used; the latter, *za*, seldom occurs.

The sign of the Past is *a*, incorporated with the pronoun, or the substantive verb *ba*, as: *ga tanda*, or *gi ba tanda*, I was loving.

The sign of the Future is *o*, incorporated with the pronoun, as: *bo tanda*, they will love; or else the auxiliary *ya*, or *za*, is used with the infinitive, the initial *u* of the infinitive being dropped, as: *gi ya kutanda*, I shall love, literally, I go to love, or *gi za kutanda*, I shall love, liter. I come to love.

The sign of the Present Perfect is *ile*, *le*, or *e*, as: *gi tandile*, or *gi tande*, I have loved.

The Past Perfect is made up of the perfect of the auxiliary *ba* and that of the verb, united, as: *gi be ngi tandile*, I had loved, liter. I have been, I have loved.

The Future Perfect is made up of the future of *ba* and the present perfect of the verb, united, as: *go ba ngi tandile*, I shall have loved.

By various changes and combinations of the principal auxiliaries, *ukuya*, to go, *ukuza*, to come, and *ukuba*, to be, the verb is susceptible of almost innumerable inflections.

* For the nomenclature of tenses here adopted, and the propriety of it, see *Wells's Grammar*, published at Andover.

The negative idea is affixed to verbs chiefly by means of the particles *a* and *nga*, thus: (1) *a* is inserted before the pronoun nominative, or *nga* before the verb, in all the modes and tenses; *a*, as the final vowel of a root, being changed into *i* in the indicative present and the imperative, and into *i* or *e* in the potential present, past, and future; (2) *nga* is appended to the verb in the indicative past; (3) *nge* is often used for *nga* in the potential; (4) the auxiliary *ya*, or *za*, is always omitted in the negative form of the indicative present. See the paradigm.

Paradigm of the Regular Verb ukutanda, to love, in the Active Voice, Affirmative and Negative.

INFINITIVE MODE.

Affirmative: *Ukutanda*, to love.
Negative: *Ukungatanda*, not to love.

INDICATIVE MODE.

Present Tense.

	Affirmative. I do love, or I love, etc.				*Negative.* I do not love, or I love not, etc.	
Class of pron. of third person.	*Initials.*	Singular.	Class of pron. of third person.	*Initials.*	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
		1. gi ya tanda			1. si ya tanda	a ngi tandi	a si tandi
		2. u			2. ni	a ku ..	a ni ..
1.	u, um	3. u	9.	o, aba	3. ba	a ka ..	a ba ..
2.	im, im	.. i	10.	ama	.. a	a i ..	a ka ..
3.	ili, i	.. li	11.	izi	.. zi	a li ..	a zi ..
4.	isi	.. si	12.	imi	.. i	a si ..	a i ..
5.	ulu, u	.. lu				a lu ..	
6.	um	.. u				a u ..	
7.	abu	.. bu				a bu ..	
8.	uku	.. ku				a ku ..	

or

Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. gi tanda	si tanda	gi nga tandi	si nga tandi
2. u ..	ni ..	u	ni .. ..
3. u ..	ba ..	u	ba .. ..
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Past Tense.

Affirmative. I loved, etc.		*Negative.* I did not love, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. ga tanda	sa tanda	a ngi tanda nga	a si tanda nga
2. wa ..	na ..	a ku	a ni .. ..
3. wa ..	ba ..	a ka	a ba ..
.. ya ..	a ..	a i	a ka ..
.. la ..	za ..	a li	a zi ..
.. sa ..	ya ..	a si	a i ..
.. lua ..		a lu	
etc.		etc.	

Future Tense.

Affirmative. I shall or will love, etc.		*Negative.* I shall or will not love, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. go tanda	so tanda	a ngi yi kutanda	a si yi kutanda
2. wo ..	no ..	a ku	a ni .. ..
3. wo ..	bo ..	a ka	a ba ..
.. yo ..	o ..	a i	a ka ..
.. lo ..	zo ..	a li	a zi ..
.. so ..	yo ..	a si	a i ..
.. luo ..		a lu	
.. wo ..		a u	
.. bo ..		a bu	
.. kuo ..		a ku	

or

1. gi ya kutanda	si ya kutanda	a ngi ya kutanda	a si ya kutanda
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Present Perfect Tense.

Affirmative. I have loved, etc.		*Negative.* I have not loved, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. gi tandile	si tandile	a ngi tandile	a si tandile
2. u ..	ni ..	a ku ..	a ni ..
3. u ..	ba ..	a ka ..	a ba ..
etc.	etc.	..etc.	etc.

Past Perfect Tense.

Affirmative. I had loved, etc.		*Negative.* I had not loved, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. gi be ngi tandile	si be si tandile	gi be ngi nga } tandile	si be si nga tandile
2. u be u } *or*, u bu }	ni be ni	u be u nga } *or*, wa be u nga }	ni be ni nga
3. e be e } *or*, wa be e }	be be be } *or*, ba be be }	e be e nga } *or*, wa be e nga }	ba be be nga
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Future Perfect Tense.

Affirmative. I shall have loved, etc.		*Negative.* I shall not have loved, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. gb ba ngi tandile	so ba si tandile	{ a ngi yi kuba ngi tandile }	{ a si yi kuba si tandile }
2. wo ba u	no ba ni	a ku yi kuba u	a ni yi kuba ni
3. etc.	etc.	a ka yi kuba e	a ba yi kuba be
		a i yi kuba i	etc.
		etc.	

POTENTIAL MODE.

Present, or Future Tense.

Affirmative. I may or can love, etc.		*Negative.* I may not or cannot love, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. gi nga tanda	si nga tanda	a ngi nge tande } *or*, gi nge }	a si nge tande } *or*, si nge }
2. u	ni	a ku nge } *or*, u nge }	a ni nge } *or*, ni nge }
3. a	ba	a ka nge } *or*, a nge }	a ba nge } *or*, be nge }
i	a	etc.	etc.
li	zi		
etc.	etc.		

I must or ought to love, etc.		I must not or ought not to love, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. ga ngi tanda	ga si tanda	ga ngi nga tandi	ga si nga tandi
2. ga u	ga ni	ga u nga	ga ni nga
3. ga e	ga ba	ga e nga	ga ba nga
ga i	ga a	ga i nga	ga a nga
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Present, Past, or Future Tense.

Affirmative.		*Negative.*	
I might, could, would, or should love, etc.		I might, could, would, or should not love, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. gi be ngi nga, *or* ga be ngi nga } tanda	si be si nga } tanda	gi be ngi nge } tande	si be si nge tande
2. u be u nga, *or* u bu nga etc.	ni be ni nga ... 3. ba be ba nga ... etc.	u be u nge ... e be e nge ... etc.	ni be ni nge ... ba be ba nge ... etc.

Present Perfect, or Future Perfect.

Affirmative.		*Negative.*	
I may, can, or must have loved, etc.		I may, can, or must not have loved, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. gi nga ba ngi } tandile	si nga ba si } tandile	a ngi nge be ngi } tandile	a si nge be si } tandile
2. u nga ba u ...	ni nga ba ni ...	a ku nge be u ...	a ni nge be ni ...
3. a nga ba e ... etc.	ba nga ba ba ... etc.	a ka nge be e ... etc.	a ba nge be ba ... etc.

Present Perfect, or Past Perfect.

Affirmative.		*Negative.*	
I might, could, would or should have loved, etc.		I might, could, would or should not have loved, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. ga be ngi tandile	ga be si tandile	ga be ngi nga } tandile	ga be si nga } tandile
2. ga be u ...	ga be ni ...	ga be u nga ...	ga be ni nga ...
3. ga be e ... etc.	ga be ba ... etc.	ga be e nga ... etc.	ga be ba nga ... etc.

Imperative Mode.

Affirmative.		*Negative.*	
Let me love, etc.		Let me not love, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1. ma ngi tande	ma si tande	ma ngi nga tandi	ma si nga tandi
2. tanda, *or* ma u tande	tanda ni, *or* ma ni tande	u nga tandi, *or* ma u nga tandi	ni nga tandi, *or* ma ni nga tandi
3. ma ka ... ma i ... etc.	ma ba ... ma ka ... etc.	ma ka nga ... ma i nga ... etc.	aia ba nga ... ma ka nga ... etc.

Participles.

Present.

Affirmative. I loving, etc.		*Negative.* I not loving, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
gi tanda	si tanda	gi nga tandi	si nga tandie
u "	ni "	u nga "	ni nga "
e "	be "	e nga "	be nga "
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Present Perfect.

Affirmative. I having loved, etc.		*Negative.* I having not loved, etc.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
gi tandile	si tandile	gi nga tandile	si nga tandile
u "	ni "	u nga "	ni nga "
e "	be "	e nga "	be nga "
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

The Passive Voice is formed from the active, by inserting *u* before the final vowel of the verb in the several modes and tenses, as:

Active.	Passive.
tanda,	*tandua.*
tande,	*tandue.*
tandi,	*tandui.*
tandile,	*tandiwe.*
tanda nga,	*tandua nga.*

But many verbs vary from this general rule. Most of the irregular verbs, and some of the regular, form the passive by inserting *iw* before the final vowel, as: *ukuaka*, to build; *ukuakiwa*, to be built; so: *ukuti*, to say; *ukutiwa*, to be said. There are also many euphonic changes made in forming the passive; for example: *b*, preceded by a vowel, is changed to *ty*, as: *ukuloba*, to write, to paint; *ukulotyua*, to be painted; *mb* is changed to *nj*, as: *ukubamba*, to catch; *ukubanjua*, to be caught; *p*, in the final syllable, is changed to *ty*, as: *ukubopa*, to bind, *ukubotyua*, to be bound.

The substantive verb; *ukuba*, is seldom used in the present tense, except in the imperative mode. But in a predicate clause, where the present tense of the substantive verb is understood, the personal pronoun nominative generally takes a sort of euphonic particle between itself and the predicate. The particles used are, radically, *ng* and *y*. *Ng* is used before nouns whose initial vowel is *u*, and *y* before nouns whose initial vowel is *i*; as: *gi ngumuntu*, I am a man, liter. I a man; *ba ngabantu*, they are people, liter. they people; *u ŋinkosi*, he is a king, liter. he a king. The substantive verb *ukuba* is inflected like a regular verb, except that it has no present tense, and forms the second person imperative, like other irregular verbs beginning with a consonant, by prefixing *yi*, thus: *yiba*, be thou. The first person singular of the past tense is *gá ba*, I was; of the future, *go ba*, or *gi ya kuba*, I shall be; of the present perfect, *gi be*, I have been, etc.

Ukuba na, literally, to be with, is used in the sense of the English verb "to have;" as: *wa ba nezinkomo*, he had cattle, liter. he was with cattle; *bo ba nobomi*, they shall have life; *bo bá ná bo*, they shall have it (life); *gi be nencuadi*, I have had a book; *gi be na yo*, I have had it; *go ba namanhla*, I shall have strength; *go ba na wo*, I shall have it.

Adverbs.

The place of adverbs is supplied by the use of verbs carrying in themselves the force of adverbs, as: *ukulunga*, to do well; *ukulungisa*, to make right; *ukuandula*, to be first. Of proper adverbs, some are always interwoven with the inflection of the verb, for example, *se* or *sa*, *ke* or *ka*, meaning "just now," "already," as: *ukuhla se ku vutiwe*, the food is *just* ready; *a si ka tandi*, we do not *yet* love. *Ze*, *de*, and *da*, signifying "until," are always preceded by the same pronoun as that which follows them, and is the nominative to the verb, as: *ba de ba tandile*, until they have loved. Many of the adverbs are words compounded either of a preposition and a noun, as: *gemihla*, daily, by day; *gamanhla*, powerfully, by strength; or of a pronoun and an adjective, as: *kuhle*, well; or of a preposition and an adverb,

or of two prepositions, as: *gapi*, whence; *gapambile*, before. The following are some of the more important adverbs:

1. Of Time:

apa,	when.
emini,	at midday.
futi,	again.
gomso,	tomorrow.
izolo,	yesterday.
kaloku,	now.

2. Of Place:

apa,	here.
apo,	there.
galapaya,	yonder.
kufupi,	near.
pambile,	before.
pansi,	below.
pezulu,	above.
pi (na)?	where?

3. Of Manner:

gani (na)?	how?
gapi (na)?	whence?
impela,	utterly.
kakulu,	greatly.
kangaka,	so much.
njalo,	so, thus.

4. Other adverbs:

ai,	no.
amanga,	no, it is false.
ehi,	yes.
jenga,	like.
kodwa,	but, only.
yebo,	yes.

The adverb of place signifying "here he, she, it is," "there he, she, it is," and "there he, she, it is yonder," varies according to the class of the noun referred to; thus, for nouns of the first class, we have: *nangu*, here is; *nango*, there is; *nanguya*, there is yonder; for nouns of the second class: *nansi*, here is; *nanso*, there is; *nansiya*, there is in the distance; and for nouns of the eighth class: *naku*, here is; *nako*, there is; *nakuya*, there is yonder; for example: *nangu umuntu*, here is a man; *nanso inkabi*, there is an ox; *nambaya abantu*, there are people yonder.

Prepositions.

Several of the prepositions are never used singly, but always go in pairs, the principal preposition being followed by *ku*, or *na*; as: *pezu ku elitye*, upon a rock; *eduze nenhlu*, near the house. The necessity for many prepositions is superseded by using the locative case, as: *ba sebenza ensimini*, they worked in the garden; *imiti*, trees, *emitini*, among, in the trees; *inhlu*, the house, *enhluini*, at, in, to the house. Some of the principal prepositions are:—

emva,	after, behind.	*pantsi,*	beneath.
ga,	for.	*pakati,*	within.
gu,	by.	*pezu,*	above.
ku,	to.	*pambi,*	before.
na,	with.	*pesheya,*	beyond.

Conjunctions.

The conjunctions of this dialect are few in number. The Zulus, like other ignorant and barbarous people, unaccustomed to lengthened trains of reasoning, or continued thought, generally make use of short and abrupt sentences, which require but few connectives. The principal words used as conjunctions are:—

gokuba,	for, because.	*ukuba,*	that, if.
jengokuba,	as.	*uma,*	if.
kodua,	but.	*ungabi,*	lest.
na,	and.		

Interjections.

The principal interjections are:—*au! mame! mamo! maye! o! ou!*

Derivation of Words.

A Derivative is formed from its primitive, by giving the latter an initial or a termination, or by making some change in the initial or the termination. The primitives of this dialect are very few, being far outnumbered by the derivatives. Thus, from the single primitive root uku*bona*, to see, may be formed fifteen or twenty derivatives, some of which are:—

uku*bonisa,*	to cause to see.	uku*bonana,*	to see one another.
.. *bonisisa,*	.. demonstrate.	.. *bonakala,*	.. appear.
.. *bonela,*	.. see for.	.. *bonakalisa,*	.. cause to appear.
.. *bonelela,*	.. look and imitate.	*umboneli,*	a spectator.
.. *zibona,*	.. see one's self.	*imbonisisi,*	an overseer.
.. *zibonela,*	.. see for one's self.	*isibonelelo,*	an emblem.
.. *zibonelisa,*	.. cause to see for one's self.	*isibonekiso,*	a sign.
		isibonakala,	a prospect.

Nouns are derived from verbs: (1) by prefixing the initial *um* to the root, and changing the final vowel into *i;* such nouns are generally personal, as: uku*fundisa,* to teach; *um-fundisi,* a teacher; (2) by prefixing the initial *um,* and changing the final vowel to *o;* such nouns often denote the instrument for performing the action of the verb, as: uku-*tyanela,* to sweep; *umtyanelo,* a broom; (3) by prefixing the initial *in,* and changing the final vowel to *o;* such nouns denote the idea of the verb abstractly considered, as: uku*khohlisa,* to deceive; *inkohliso,* deception; (4) by prefixing *isi,* and terminating in *o;* as: uku*ona,* to sin; *isono,* sin; uku-*bopa,* to bind; *isibopo,* a band.

Diminutives are formed from other nouns by adding *ana, na,* or *yana,* and sometimes omitting, or changing the termination, as: *abantu,* men; *abantuana,* children; *inja,* a dog; *injana,* a little dog; *inkomo,* a cow; *inkonyana,* a calf.

From adjectives are derived abstract nouns, by prefixing *ubu,* as: *kulu,* great; *ubukulu,* greatness; *hle,* good; *ubuhle,* goodness.

The derivation of verbs from verbs has been already noticed. The derivation of adverbs from nouns and prepositions has been referred to, as: *gemihla,* (*ga,* for + *imihla,* day,) daily; and from a pronoun and an adjective, as: *kuhle,* (*ku,* it + *hle,* nice,) well.

I have thus endeavored to present some of the leading features of the Zulu dialect, as fully as time would allow; and so to do it, that a comparison between this and any other languages of the Continent, of which a similar account should be given, might be intelligibly instituted. I shall next condense such information as I have been able to obtain either here, or at Cape Town, respecting the dialects of Southern Africa generally.

Umsunduzi Mission Station,
March 24, 1848.

II. Classification of Dialects of Southern Africa.

In the present state of our information, it appears that all the native dialects of Africa, south of the Equator, or rather south of Jebel-el-Kumr, (the Mountains of the Moon,) may be reduced to two classes.

The first, or most ancient, may be called the *Click Class*. It represents the language spoken by the earliest inhabitants of this part of the Continent, and embraces the cognate dialects of the Hottentots, and the Corannas, the Namaquas, and the Bushmen, a scattered population inhabiting the northern frontier of Cape colony and the banks of the Gariep, or Orange river. These dialects are gradually going into disuse, and the time may not be far distant when all which shall remain of them will be their history, a few religious books published in them by former missionaries, and perhaps some of their clicks, which may have passed into the neighboring tongues. The chief characteristics of this class are deep aspirated gutturals, other harsh consonants, and a multitude of ugly, inimitable clicks.

The second may be called the *Alliterative Class*. It differs widely from the former. Instead of the endless, and, to a European, unutterable jargons of the other class, its pronunciation is flowing and harmonious; and its structure is simple, systematic and beautiful. Its most remarkable and distinguishing feature is its alliteration, or euphonic concord, which is a peculiar assimilation of initial sounds, produced by prefixing the same letter, or letters, to several words in the same proposition, related to, or connected with one another. This principle has been already briefly presented in my remarks upon the Zulu dialect, where it is found in one of its most perfect forms. The initial element of the leading noun re-appears either in a euphonic letter, or some other form, at the beginning of each of the dependent or related words in the sentence, as: *abantu bake bonke abakoluayo ba hlala ba de ba be ba qedile*, all his faithful men remained until they had finished; *izinto zetu zonke ezilungileyo zi vela ku 'Tixo*, all our good things come from God. But the alliteration is not always so manifest as in these examples. It is sometimes

obscured by contractions in the initial element of the noun, and euphonic changes in contiguous vowels, as: *izui* (*ilizui*) *lake li lungile*, his word is good; *umfazi wake wa-pendula wa-ti*, (*umfazi uake ua pendula ua ti*,) his wife answered and said. So strong is the influence of this inclination to concord produced by the repetition of initials, that it controls the distinction of number, and quite subordinates that of gender, and tends to mould the pronoun after the likeness of the initial element of the noun to which it refers, as: *amadoda ake a ya hamba*, (the) men of him they do walk; *abafazi bake ba ya hamba*, (the) women of him they do walk; *izintombi zake zi ya hamba*, (the) daughters of him they do walk; *imihlambi yake i ya hamba*, (the) flocks of him they do walk; *inkabi yake i ya hamba*, (the) ox of him he does walk. In the first four of these examples, the pronouns *a*, *ba*, *zi* and *i* are of the same number, but they differ in form according to the initial elements of the nouns to which they refer. In the second and third examples, the pronouns *ba* and *zi* are of the same gender, but of different forms, while, in the last two examples, the pronouns *i* and *i* are of different genders, but of the same form, according to the initial elements of the nouns for which they stand.

These remarks and examples, in connection with what has been said upon the Zulu dialect, may be sufficient to give some idea of the chief characteristic of this class of African tongues.

The principal families of dialects which are at present known to belong to the Alliterative Class, are these four, viz: the Zulu, or Kafir; the Sechuana; the Damara; and the Congo.

1. The first named family, embracing the cognate dialects *Zulu*, *Kafir*, and *Fingo*, extends along the south-eastern coast of Africa, from near Delagoa bay on the North, to the Great Fish river, or the old colonial boundary on the South, and from the Indian ocean inland, to the great chain of mountains by which it is separated from the Sechuana family. The Zulu dialect is spoken by the natives in Natal colony; by the Amazulu, whose country extends from the Utugala river nearly to Delagoa bay, and inland to the Drakenberg or

Quathlamba mountains; and by the subjects of Umoselekatsi, who formerly occupied a country near the Kuruchane mountains, but having been driven thence in 1837, by the Boers, retired to the north-east, and is supposed to dwell, at present, somewhere inland from Inhambane. The Kafir dialect is spoken by the Amaxosa or Kafirs proper, who reside along the coast, between the Fish and Bashi rivers; by the Abatembu or Tambukis, now occupying a tract of country between the upper branches of the Kei and the Tarka district of the Colony; and by the Amaponda, living chiefly upon the banks of the Umzimvubu. This dialect is closely allied to the Zulu. The principal points of difference are such as might be expected from the different geographical position of the two tribes from which the names of the dialects are taken. The Zulu being the farthest removed from foreign tongues, especially the Hottentot, is comparatively free of clicks and words of foreign extraction, in both which the Kafir abounds. The latter also seeks to abbreviate and contract its words, while the former delights in full forms. The other sister of the Zulu, the Fingo dialect, is the language of several tribes or remnants of tribes, scattered in various places. Among these are the Fingos or Amafengu, many of whom reside in the old Colony; the Amabaca, reported as about to settle on the borders of Natal colony; the Matabeles, remnants of tribes which have settled in different parts of the Bechuana country, chiefly along the Blue mountains, and the Caledon river; and the Amaswazi or Baraputses, a large and powerful tribe living north-west of the Amazulu, and extending nearly to Delagoa bay. The language of the Amaswazi has been reckoned as of the Fingo branch, though in many of its features it rather resembles the Zulu dialect. Indeed, all the dialects of the Fingo branch seem to approximate nearer to the Zulu than to the Kafir, in every respect, with the exception of consonantal changes, which are its peculiar feature.

The following examples may give some idea of the dialectical variations in the triad above mentioned:

English.	*Zulu.*	*Kofir.*	*Fingo.*
Arrive	fika	fika	figa.
Bread	isinkua	isonka	isinkua.
Cattle	izinkomo	inkomo	itinkomo.
Cook	peka	peka	penga.
Eyes	amehlo	amehlo	amaso.
Father (my)	ubaba	ubawo	ubaba.
Man	indoda	indoda	intonta.
Person	umuntu	umutu	umuntu.
Rain	imvula	imvula	infula.
Run	gijima	gidima	gijima.
Water	amanzi	amanzi	amanti.

2. The second or Sechuana family of the Alliterative Class comprises the dialects spoken by the Basutos, Barolongs, Baharutsis, Batlokuas or Mantalis, Batlapis,—in a word, by all the great Bechuana tribes of Southern Africa. Their country may be described, in general terms, as extending from 23° to 29° of East Longitude, and from the Orange river northward, to a little beyond the tropic of Capricorn. Some of the general features of this family are exhibited in the following notes, drawn from the *Etudes sur la Langue Séchuana*, by Rev. E. Casalis, a missionary of the Paris Missionary Society, now laboring among the Sechuanas.

The Sechuana language is rich in names for external objects, but very deficient in metaphysical terms. It has no words signifying "spirit," "conscience," etc., and none to express the abstractions of mind. Harmony and clearness are its chief qualities. Its words generally have from two to four syllables, each syllable being composed of one consonant and one vowel following it. The noun is composed of a variable prefix and a radical. The plural number is formed from the singular by changing the prefix *le* into *ma*, as: *legeba*, plural *mageba; mo* into *ba*, as: *motu*, man, plural *batu*, men; *se* into *li;* and *bo* into *ma;* or else the plural is marked by the prefix *li.* The article is nothing but the prefix of the noun repeated, and is used to bind the adjective to the substantive, as: *sefate se segolu*, great tree, liter. tree the great. The adjectives are few, because of the frequent employment of nouns to express attributes, as: *motu oa musa*, man of amiability, i. e. amiable man. The adjective takes the prefix of the substantive to which it belongs, and is always

placed after the noun, as: *selomo se segolu*, precipice the great. The place of the comparative degree is often supplied by employing the verb *feta*, to surpass; yet comparison is regularly expressed by the preposition *go*, to, towards. The pronoun of the third person accommodates itself to the prefix of the substantive to which it relates. Thus, the prefix *se* gives the pronoun *sona*, or *sea*, before the verb; *le* gives *lona*, or *lea*; *bo*,—*bona*, or *boa*; *li*,—*chona*, or *lia*; and *a*,—*ana*, or *ɨ*, as: *serutu sa moseme ki sona se seintle*, the basket of rush it is beautiful,—where *se* of *serutu* combines with the preposition *oa*, of, and makes *sa*, unites itself with the pronoun *ona*, and makes *sona*, becomes the article *se*, and prefixed to the adjective *intle* makes *seintle*; all of which shows the control of the subject over the other parts of the sentence. The verb has three forms, the Efficient, Causative, and Relative; and each form has three voices, the active, the passive, and the middle, as: Eff. act. *kia reka*, I buy; pass. *kia rekoa*, I am bought; mid. *kia iteka*, I buy myself; Caus. act. *kia rekisa*, I cause to buy; pass. *kia rekisoa*, I am caused to buy; mid. *kia itekisa*, I cause myself to buy; Rel. act. *kia rekela*, I buy for, etc. A few verbs have a reciprocal force, as: *bɨfa*, to bind; *bofana*, to bind one another. Some have an intensive force, as: *bofisisa*, to bind very strong, etc., etc. These notes, derived from "a very creditable work for completeness and simplicity," are sufficient to give some idea of the Sechuana language; and, compared with the foregoing account of the Zulu dialect, show the affinity of the two families.

An interesting fact concerning the dialects of south-eastern Africa is, that their divergence from one another corresponds with the geographical relations of the tribes which speak them. Thus, from the Great Fish river to the Natal colony there is a gradual approximation of the Kafir dialects to the Zulu. So, from the Quathlamba mountains, which border the Natal colony, to the farthest Bechuana tribes, there is a gradual divergence from the Zulu. Accordingly, the Sechuana family has been divided by some into two branches, the eastern and the western. The difference between them lies chiefly in consonantal changes, the eastern dialects being softer than

the western, and more like the Zulu. The soft aspirate of the eastern tribes becomes a guttural among the western. The *l* and *s* of the former become *r* with the latter; the *f* and the *p* of the one become *h*, *sh*, *tl*, or *ts* in the other. The following specimens, taken respectively from the Zulu, the Sesuto, a dialect of the eastern branch of the Sechuana, and the Setlapi, a dialect of the western branch of that family, will serve to show the resemblance and difference between the two branches of the Sechuana, and between the Sechuana and Zulu families:

English.	*Zulu.*	*Sesuto.*	*Setlapi.*
Enter	ngena	kena	tsena.
Eyes	amehlo	matlo	matlo.
Father	ubaba	ntate	rara.
Fire	umlilo	mulelo	mulelo.
Foot	unyawo	lenao	lonao.
Hand	isanhla	seatla	seatla.
Life	ubomi	bopelo	botselo.
Live	pila	pela	tsera.
Milk	amasi	mafi	mashi.
Night	ubusuku	bosigo	bosigo.
Tree	umuti	sefate	setlare.
Water	amanzi	metsi	metse.
Woman	umfazi	masari	masari.

3. The Damara family includes the dialects spoken by the Damara tribes which dwell on the western coast of Africa, between Benguela and Namaqualand, or from about 17° to 23° of South Latitude, and from the coast to about 19° of East Longitude. The Damaras are divided into two branches, called the Hill Damaras, and the Cattle Damaras or Damaras of the Plain. The dialect of the Hill Damaras, who live immediately to the north and north-east of Namaqualand, is the same as that of the Namaquas, and is therefore included in the Click Class of African tongues. But the dialect of the Damaras of the Plain, who dwell beyond the Hill Damaras, is evidently cognate with the Sechuana and Zulu families. This affinity was first noticed by Rev. Mr. Archbell, for a time a missionary among the Bechuanas, and the author of a Sechuana grammar, who made the Damaras two visits, one by way of Walwich bay, and the other by way of Namaqualand; and his opinion has since been confirmed by Rev.

Mr. Haddy, formerly a missionary in Kafirland, but now laboring among the Damaras. Mr. Haddy has published a small book in the Damara dialect, in which the characteristics of the Alliterative Class are clearly discernible.

4. The Congo family includes the dialects spoken on the western coast, in the countries of Congo, Loango, Angola, and Benguela, extending from 17° to at least 4° of South Latitude, and probably quite to the Equator, or even to the Camerún mountains. All the dialects of this extensive region seem to be closely allied to each other, and to have an interesting peculiarity, which long since attracted the attention of travellers and missionaries. An expedition under Diego Cam, on discovering and ascending the river Zaire, about 1488, found the shores "filled with people exceedingly black, and speaking a language which, though Diego knew those spoken in other parts of the coast, was wholly unintelligible to him." In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several Roman Catholic missionaries, laboring in Congo, observed that the language of the people possessed a striking peculiarity in its structure, for which they could not account. According to De Grandpré, the language of the whole of Congo "is extremely musical and flexible; not particularly sonorous, but very agreeable; with a perfect syntax, and bearing in some points a resemblance to the Latin." A grammar of the Bunda language, as spoken in Congo and Angola, published by a missionary of the Propaganda, "acknowledges the existence of an extensive alliteration, produced by what we call the euphonic concord;"* and the fact stated in the *Missionary Magazine*, published at Graham's Town, that "the principal characteristic of the Bunda language consists in the singular and plural of its nouns, and the voices, tenses, and persons of the verbs, being distinguished by prefixes instead of terminations," shows that the Congo family is nearly related to the Zulu and Sechuana, and consequently belongs to the Alliterative Class. This conclusion is sustained by comparing with the Zulu and Sechuana a few words selected by Rev. Mr. Casalis, from a work of M. Donville on the Congo, which belong to a dialect of the Congo family, termed the Mogialona:

* Boyce's *Introduction to Kafir Grammar.*

English.	*Zulu.*	*Sechuana.*	*Mogiulona.*
Beat	beta	betsa	beta.
Bite	luma	luma	lumata.
Die	fa	fua	fua.
Five	hlanu	tlanu	tanu.
Name	igama	leina	gina.
Rain	imvula	pula	fula.
Three	tatu	taru	tatu.
Water	amanzi	metse	masa.

The writer also heard remarks from Rev. Mr. Walker, of the Gabun mission, during his visit to the United States, respecting the language of the Mpongwe people, among whom he had resided, which might be applied to the Zulu.*

The other languages of the Alliterative Class, dialects spoken in that vast and unexplored part of Africa which lies between the tropic of Capricorn, the Mountains of the Moon, Lower Guinea and the Indian Ocean, are too little known to us, at present, to warrant an attempt to classify them according to their families. The following remarks respecting them are mostly taken from the *Missionary Magazine*, for 1847. In this periodical it is said:

"All the research yet made, proves that the languages spoken in this extensive portion of South Africa are at least similar to those of the Kaffir and Sechuana families; and, in many cases, Kaffir and Sechuana roots have been detected. The Delagoa bay dialect has every appearance of belonging to the Fingoe branch of the Kaffir family, an opinion which is corroborated by the fact that some of the Amafengu, when living in their own countries, were in the habit of trading with the tribes in that neighborhood. In all probability, other dialects spoken still higher up the coast, as those of Inhambane, Sofala, and Quilimane, will be found to belong to the Kaffir family. The languages of the interior regions, in the same latitudes, are supposed to belong to the Sechuana family. To this effect the Rev. R. Giddy writes in one of his letters to the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missions. 'As

* This relationship between the Mpongwe and the Zulu, noticed by Mr. Grout, has been abundantly confirmed by Mr. Wilson's Grammar of the Mpongwe.

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far,' Mr. Giddy observes, 'as we can ascertain from incidental information, obtained now and then from the north and north-east, these regions are densely inhabited with people, all speaking the Sechuana language, or some dialect of it, and living in a far more compact and congregated state than those tribes inhabiting the southern regions.'"

"At some distance from the coast, and about due north from the mouths of the river Zambesi and Quilimane, lie the Makoas, to which nation many of the emancipated slaves of the Colony belong. They are supposed to extend from about 17° to 9° or 10° South Latitude. Still farther in the interior, and to the north-west of Mozambique, from which place they are thought to be two or three months' journey, dwell the Monjous. From Mozambique to as far as Nombasa and Nelinda, along the coast, lie the Sowauli, or, as they are termed by Dr. Krapf, the Sooahelees. Some of these people are also found in the interior of the island of Zanzibar, where they are called Nookhaden. From a statement of Dr. Krapf, in the *Missionary Register*, it would appear that the Sooahelee language is spoken a considerable distance beyond Nelinda. On his visiting Barawa, about 2° North Latitude, he thus writes: 'The language of Barawa is Somalee, but most of the inhabitants understand the Sooahelee language, which is spoken from Nukdeesha to Mozambique, but only on the coast, not in the interior. The tribes inland from Nombasa are called Wonicas and Wakambas, the former inhabiting the plains, and the latter dwelling in the hills and forests. The language of the Wakambas seems to be similar to that of the Wonicas; and those Wakambas who have much intercourse with the Wonicas, understand and speak the Wonica language perfectly well.'"

With reference to these different tribes, Mr. Boyce observes, in his introduction to Mr. Archbell's Sechuana grammar, that they "speak languages only slightly differing from the Sechuana spoken near the Cape Colony. An Arab," he adds, "who had travelled for commercial purposes from Nombasa to Mozambique, at some distance from the sea-coast, gave the writer some specimens of the language spoken among the tribes through which he had passed, in which Kaffir and Sechuana words were easily recognized. Natives conveyed

from the interior to Mozambique, and from thence taken to the Bechuana country, have found no difficulty in making themselves understood; sufficient proof, this, of a radical identity of language."

This opinion is supported by that of Dr. Adamson, of Cape Town, who has had the opportunity of inspecting two manuscript grammars, prepared by Dr. Krapf, one of which appears to be that of the Sooahelee tongue, referred to in the preceding paragraph, which he found to be a slightly modified form of the Sechuana.

"A language similar to the Congoese is said to be spoken by a people called Kazumbu, some of whom have been found among the liberated Africans at St. Helena. They live at such a distance from the coast, that, to arrive at any possession of the Portuguese, they are obliged to travel three or four moons, often over burning deserts. Their language seems to resemble the dialects spoken by the Vishi-Congos, and Congos, in several of its words, especially the numerals. The language of the Molouas, who are supposed to live about the centre of the Continent, in the same latitude with Angola and Bonda, is very similar to the Bunda, as slaves from Moloua learn the latter almost immediately on their arrival in Angola."*

Some additional light has been thrown upon the languages of the interior by a visit of Rev. T. Arbousset, of the Paris Missionary Society, to some captured Negroes near Cape Town, in 1845. He says: "I found the number of captured Negroes to amount to two hundred and sixty-two, belonging to three principal tribes, namely, the Makoas, Mazenas, and Koniunkues. The Koniunkues seem to be the farthest removed in the interior. One of them assured me that he had been three or four months in one Arab gang, before they reached the channel of Mozambique. The Mazenas live nearer the coast, probably between the former and the Makoas. The language of the Koniunkues is soft and musical; the words simple and liquid, the vowels distinct, and almost always one to every consonant, as in Kaffir and Sechuana, which it much resembles; but it has not the disagreeable click of the former, from what I know of it."†

* Dr. Adamson's speech at Wesl. Miss. Meeting, in 1846.
† *Commercial Advertiser*, published at Cape Town.

The following examples of words belonging to several of the preceding languages, will be confirmatory of their general identity with the Kafir and Sechuana:

English.	*Kafir.*	*Sechuana.*	*Delagoa.*	*Makoa.*	*Monjou.*	*Suaheli.*	*Koniunkue.*
Bird	inyoni	nunyane	yonyane	nuni	nuni		
Eyes	amehlo	matlo	tihlo	meto	mezo	matsho	maro.
Flesh	innyama	nama	innyamo	inama	niyama	yamo	
Pig	ingulubi	kulubi	golua	kolua	leguluvi		
Three	amatatu	mararu	mararu			madato	mataru.
Tree	umti	sefate					mote.
Two	amabini	maberi	mabizi			mabizi	mapele.
Water	amanzi	metse	amati	mazi	mizi		mose.

The foregoing is the amount of the most authentic and recent information which I have been able to obtain, here and in Cape colony, respecting the languages of those numerous aboriginal tribes of Africa which dwell south of Jebel el-Ḳumr, or the Mountains of the Moon. I have already drawn out the subject to such an extent that I will say nothing of their probable origin.

Umsunduzi Mission Station.
April 14, 1848.

ET-TABARY'S

CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY THE ARABS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TURKISH

BY

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ET-TABARY'S

CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY THE ARABS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following translation is made from the Annals of Abû Ja'far Muḥammed Ibn Jarîr Et-Ṭabary, a native of Tabaristân, on the southern shore of the Caspian sea, as his name indicates, who was born A. H. 224 or A. D. 838–39, and died at an advanced age, A. H. 310 or A. D. 923, at Baghdâd, where his high reputation as a jurisconsult and historian had long drawn around him many inquirers after his opinion on points of Muslim law, and pupils in the traditions of Arab history. Ibn Khallikân, the celebrated biographer of the thirteenth century, in his *Memoirs of Illustrious Men*, speaks of Et-Ṭabary as follows: "Abû Ja'far Muḥammed Ibn Jarîr Ibn Yezîd Ibn Khâlid Et-Ṭabary, who bore also the name Yezid Ibn Kethîr Ibn Ghâlib, master of the interpretation of the Ḳurân, and of the history of important events, was a teacher of many branches of learning, including interpretation, tradition, logic, history, and others; and he was the author of elaborate works relating to various departments of knowledge, which give proof of the extent of his learning and the greatness of his merit; and he was one of those teachers who labor to perfect, not conceding to the authority of any person; . . . . and his narration of events was relied upon, and his Annals are the most perfect of annals, and the best grounded;"* and the erudite Quatremère of Paris asserts, that from an historical encyclopedia of Et-Ṭabary "later writers, Arab, Persian, and others, have drawn the materials of their narratives, not thinking it possible to find a guide more enlightened, more judicious, and more faithful."†

* Ibn Khallikân, ed. De Slane, pp. 639–40.
† Journal des Savants for 1845, p. 513.

The work, here translated from, was originally composed in the Arabic, although only a portion of it is known to be extant at the present day in that language. But about the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah it was translated into the Persian, being at the same time abridged, by order of one of the Sâmânides. The Persian version no where gives the line of tradition in support of statements respecting post-Muhammedan times, which in the original is always to be found and is sometimes drawn out to a great length; and where the original states a fact in several different ways, the Persian version adopts one account, and passes by the others. In this version, also, there is less than in the original of that minute circumstantiality in the narrative of the conquests of the Arabs, which shows that Et-Ṭabary must have written from the reports of eye-witnesses, or of those immediately concerned in the events related. On the other hand, with respect to the ancient history of Persia, the Persian translator has added to Et-Ṭabary's work information derived from the historical records of his own nation. Notwithstanding these modifications, however, the Annals of Et-Ṭabary, in their Persian form, acquired so high a reputation, that while the original was neglected, the version itself was translated, at different times, into other languages, and even back into the Arabic. Among these secondary versions is the Turkish, of an uncertain date, of which Mr. Brown has rendered a portion into English. As to the question when this Turkish version was made, Mr. Brown assures us, that "its style and phraseology show the writer to have lived at a period when Ottoman literature had not attained its present degree of refinement;" and he adds to the conjectures hitherto entertained upon this point, that "the late Es'ad Effendy, Ottoman historiographer, of whom he made inquiry on the subject, informed him that, in a work which he had recently read, he found it mentioned, that a daughter of Muhammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, had read the Turkish translation of Et-Ṭabary, which places its composition prior to the reign of that sovereign; and that this most erudite Ottoman was of opinion, that the Turkish translation was made at Kûnîyeh in Asia Minor, under one of the Seljukides, and has an indistinct recollec-

tion of having seen the name Elias given as that of the translator." But whatever may be thought of this, the Turkish version of Et-Ṭabary's Annals is acknowledged, by so competent a judge as Quatremère, to be a very faithful rendering of the Persian; and we have the same authority for the correctness of the edition of it, published in 1844, at Constantinople, by order of the present Sultân, 'Abd-ul-Mejid, which Mr. Brown has made the text of his translation.*

This production of our associate must commend itself the more to the favorable regard of oriental scholars, as the publication of that part of the original Arabic text, which relates to the same events, is but just begun,† and it is as yet uncertain whether the continuation of it is extant; while as to the Persian version, no part of it has been edited, and only a small fragment translated,‡ which does not embrace even the whole of Et-Ṭabary's pre-Muhammedan history. The general reader, also, can not but feel some interest in that portion of history which is here brought before us, especially as it has been so imperfectly treated of, in all occidental historical works hitherto published. Indeed, the entire period of the Sâsânides, who yielded the scepter of Persia to the Arabs, is of much importance in the history of the East. On the establishment of this dynasty, about the middle of the second century of our era, the ancient Persian nationality was revived, and the old religion of Zaradûsht or Zoroaster reinstated; and many of the Sâsânides were distinguished, either for their zealous cultivation of the arts of peace, and patronage of literary men, or for the boldness and vigor of their military enterprizes. Besides, during the supremacy of these princes, Persia sustained important relations to kingdoms westward, especially to the Empire of Constantinople, and to the principalities of Arabia before the time of Muḥammed. The sculptured monuments of the Sâsânides, too, deciphered by the genius of De Sacy, naturally inspire curiosity to know more of this race of royal fire-worshippers. Yet, up to the present time, the principal

* Journal des Savants for 1845, p. 515.

† Taberistanensis Annales ed. J. G. L. Kosegarten. Gryphisvaldiæ: 1831–38.

‡ Chronique d'Abou-Djafar Mohammed Tabari traduite sur la version Persane par Louis Dubeux. Tome I. Paris: 1836.

sources to be consulted respecting their history have been the *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, published by De Sacy in 1793, with the additions and corrections of his *Mémoire sur les monumens et les inscriptions de Kirmanschah et de Bisutoun, et sur diverses autres monumens Sassanides*, published in 1815; some notes by St. Martin, in his edition of Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire;* and some extracts from a Persian work entitled *Mojmel et-Tewârikh*, translated by Quatremère and Mohl, in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1839–43.

We learn however from Mr. Brown, that "Mr. Mordtmann, a gentleman now resident in Constantinople as Consul for the Hanseatic towns, who in his own country had acquired an extensive knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish," has in hand a complete history of the Sâsânides, for which all accessible authorities, both of the East and West, are to be brought under contribution.

It may be added farther, that Professor Dorn of St. Petersburg has announced the publication of a work by himself on the coins of the Sâsânides, materials for the history of this dynasty which have assumed new importance since De Sacy wrote his *Mémoires*. Some of the most recent works already published, relating to these coins, are Longpérier's *Essai sur les médailles des rois Perses de la dynastie Sasanide*. Paris: 1840; two papers by Dorn in the *Bulletin de la Classe historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourgh*. Tome I. 1844; and *Die Pehlewi-Legenden auf den Münzen der letzten Sâsâniden*, etc. von D. Justus Olshausen. Kopenhagen: 1843.

To these introductory remarks we will now append some notes relative to the Sâsânide dynasty and its downfall, drawn chiefly from Et-Ṭabary, which Mr. Brown has sent to us with his translation.

Ardeshîr, the first of the Sâsânides who attained to sovereign power, was a grandson of Sâsân El-Aṣghar, or Sâsân the Younger, of whom Et-Ṭabary relates that he would fight with eighty men at once, and who was appointed by his king to be Kedkhodâ and Emir, or Intendant, over the villages adjacent to Istakhr, the ancient Persepolis, and was

also put in charge of the Atesh-kadah, or fire-temple, of that city, where the Magian worship was set up. The wife of this Sâsân, a superior woman named Malahshat, bore him a son to whom, on account of his hair being a span long, his father gave the name of Bâbek, while his mother, for the same reason, predicted that he would be a man of distinction." On the death of Sâsân, the king appointed his son Bâbek to succeed him in the charge of the villages and of the fire-temple.

Et-Ṭabary does not give to Ardeshîr the humble descent ascribed to him by Gibbon, namely, from Bâbek a tanner. It is probable the latter drew his note from Agathias, who says that Bâbek was a shoemaker, or tanner, (the Greek word used by Agathias means both;) but the oriental tradition is quite consistent with the inscriptions of Nakshi-Rustam, near Persepolis, in which the title of Mâlik, or king, is given to Bâbek.

Our author states, that five hundred and fourteen years after the death of Alexander the Great, or, as he adds, according to the calculations of the Christians, five hundred and fifty-three years, Ardeshîr Ibn Bâbek made his appearance in a village of Persia called Fîrûz, after the name of the king of Istakhr, near which city it lies, in the province of Fârs. This Ardeshîr, he says, was descended from Bahman of the Isfendiyâr dynasty of Persia, and his pedigree runs thus: "Ardeshîr, son of Bâbek, son of Sâsân, son of Mûhar, son of Sâsân, son of Sâsân, son of Bahman." He claimed the throne of his ancestors, on the ground that Alexander the Great had wrongfully killed Dârâ Ibn Dârâ; and on becoming king he declared, that he intended to avenge the blood of Dârâ, shed by Alexander, and to regain the empire which the latter had given to his generals. "I will rescue my country," said he, "from these usurpers, drive away the Arabs, and restore the throne once more to my family."

It may not be amiss here to remark, that the Seleucide Antiochus was driven from Persia about B. C. 257, by a chieftain named Ashak, (Arsaces,) who having gained the submission of other chieftains in Persia, Media, Armenia, Assyria, etc., became the founder of a new dynasty, known as the Ashkânian, Arsacidan, or Parthian. Ashak and his successors bore the title Shâhinshâh, or king of kings, being

sovereigns of subject kings. They and all the chieftains under them are collectively called, by Persian authors, Molûki-Tawâif. Though not foreign usurpers, the Ashkânian or Parthian kings neglected the religion of Zaradûsht; and in order to conciliate the numberless Greeks who had settled in Persia since the time of Alexander, so as to have their aid in case of need against any rebellious chieftain, they pretended a strong partiality for them. For these reasons they were disliked by the genuine Persians of Fârs, and were regarded as barbarians and foreigners. They were, to them, just what the present Turkish dynasty in Persia is to the native population.

At the age of seven years, Ardeshîr was placed, by his father Bâbek, at the service of the king, who sent him for education and adoption to one of his eunuchs named Tânû, the governor of the town of Dârâbjird in Fârs. This governor dying, he was succeeded by Ardeshîr, who by his justice and equality gained for himself a high degree of popularity. Et-Tabary says that Ardeshîr was told by astrologers, and had learnt also by a dream, that he would one day become a king. Soon after this, he attacked Parwîz, prince of the city of Rûz, and killed him, and assumed the government of that place. He then wrote an account of his success to his father, who was still living, and urged him to do the same to the king of Istakhr, and to take possession of Fârs in his name. The father forthwith did accordingly, but put his second son Shâpûr on the vacant throne. Shâpûr addressed a letter to Ardeshîr, in which he reminded him of his own seniority and called upon him to regard him as his sovereign. Ardeshîr taking no notice of this letter, Shâpûr, to compel him to submission, collected a large force, and accompanied by his younger brothers marched against him. The brothers, however, had more affection for Ardeshîr than for Shâpûr, and therefore, as soon as they had left Istakhr, put the latter to death, gave the crown and throne to Ardeshîr, and paid homage to him as their sovereign. After this, Ardeshîr made Istakhr his place of residence, subdued the whole of Fârs, and, as Et-Tabary expresses it, "was a very just and formidable king." He appointed Sâm Ibn Rejy to be his Wezîr, and a learned person named Mâher to be the Môbedi-Môbedân, or high-priest, of his religion, the worship of fire.

As the succession of the Sâsânide kings, after Ardeshîr, is still a subject of historical controversy, the following chronological arrangement of the series, according to Et-Ṭabary, accompanied with a statement of the length of most of the reigns, and of some of the events which mark the history of the dynasty, on the authority of this writer, may prove not uninteresting.

1. *Ardeshîr I*, son of Bâbek, son of Sâsân, who was born at Fîrûz, near Istakhr, and reigned about forty-four years, or thirty in a state of war, and fourteen in peace. He died at Medâin.

2. *Shâpûr I*, the king's son, as his name signifies, who was a more just king than his father. He reigned thirty-one years, at Medâin.

3. *Hormuz I*, a just king, who reigned only one year.

4. *Bahrâm I*, who lost Yemen. He was a just king. During his reign Mâny-Zindîk, or Mâny the Impious, made his appearance and had many followers. The religion of Mâny-Zindîk is thus stated by Et-Ṭabary:

"That he himself was a prophet of God; that the Môghdîny and the Magian rites must be observed; that fire should be adored; that the taking to wife of one's own mother, daughter, or sister is lawful; that in this world no one owns any thing, for all belongs to God; that there is no such thing as marriage; that God created the world for all the sons of Adam, so that all is to be enjoyed in common, and all have an equal right in every thing. No one should say, this is *my* property, or this is *my* wife, *my* daughter, *my* son, etc., for no one has an exclusive right to any thing; no one must possess too much of any thing, nor any one be in want of any thing, for all should enjoy all things in moderation."

Bahrâm, having a bad opinion of the religion of Mâny-Zindîk, put him to death, and filling his skin with straw hung it up at the gates of the town of Shâpûr; he also made an end of all his disciples. This king reigned three years and three months.

5. *Bahnâm II*, who reigned eighteen years, and having no sons was succeeded by his brother, named Narsy. He was much beloved by the people.

6. *Narsy*, who reigned seven years.

7. *Hormuz II*, who reigned seven years, and left the throne to his child yet unborn. On his decease the throne remained vacant six months.

8. *Shâpûr II*, or Shâpûr Dhu-l-aktâf, as he was named by the Arabs, because he had his Arab prisoners tied by a string passing through their shoulders, who reigned thirty years. He lived seventy-two years, and left the throne to his son Shâpûr; but it was seized upon by his brother Ardeshîr.

9. *Ardeshîr II*, who reigned fourteen years, and was then dethroned by the rightful heir to the crown.

10. *Shâpûr III*, who reigned five years, and was killed by the fall of a tent-pole.

11. *Bahrâm III*, brother of the preceding, who, after reigning eleven years, was killed by his own troops.

12. *Yezdejird I*, who reigned twenty years.

13. *Bahrâm-Gûr*, who reigned twenty-three years, and made himself very distinguished.

14. *Yezdejird II*, who reigned eighteen years and four months.

15. *Fîrûz I*, who reigned twenty-six years.

16. *Balâsh*, who reigned four years.

17. *Kobâd.*

18. *Nûshirwân* the Great, who reigned forty-eight years. In the fortieth year of his reign the prophet Muḥammed was born.

19. *Hormuz III*, who was born of a daughter of the Khâkhân of Turkistân.

20. *Parwîz*, who reigned thirty-eight years. In the twentieth year of his reign Muḥammed made the Hijrah. Muḥammed wrote a letter to Parwîz, inviting him to embrace islamism, which is quoted by Et-Ṭabary in the chapter relating to his reign; and this is so characteristic of the Arab prophet, that I shall introduce it here, entire, as given by our author:

"In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Muḥammed, the prophet of Allah, to Parwîz son of Hormuz, etc. As for me, I render praise to Allah, beside whom there is no God, the Living, the Eternal, who has sent me with the truth, as a messenger of glad tidings and a bearer of warning to those who are overcome by madness and whose

reason has been carried away. He whom Allah directs cannot be led astray, and he whom Allah leads astray has no one to direct him. Assuredly Allah sees His servants, He has not His like, and He also hears as well as sees. So then, embrace the faith of islamism and thou shalt be saved from being punished by Allah."*

Et-Ṭabary adds, that Parwîz, on the receipt of this letter, enraged at the presumption of the writer in placing his own name before that of the king whom he addressed, tore it to pieces, and ordered the governor of Yemen, Bâzân, who held his office under him, to take troops and march in quest of the writer, and to send him to him a prisoner. Bâzân, who, it would appear, was favorably disposed towards the prophet, sent the bearers of the orders of Parwîz directly to him. The prophet retained them some time near him, and at length, on their desiring to leave, informed them that the angel Gabriel had brought him intelligence that Parwîz had been put to death by his son Shîrûyeh, and that the son had acceded to the throne of Persia. Et-Ṭabary informs us also, that Bâzân was the last governor of Yemen ever appointed by the kings of Persia. Parwîz left two sisters, Tûrân-Dokht and Azermy-Dokht.

21. *Shîrûyeh*, son of Parwîz, who reigned only seven months, on account, as was said, of his having killed his father.

It may be added, that the throne had been usurped by Bahrâm-Tshûpîn, a general of Hormuz the son of Nûshirwân, whom Parwîz the father of Shîrûyeh, aided by Mauritius the Byzantine Emperor, succeeded in driving away to Turkistân.

22. *Shehriyâr*, not of the Sâsânide family. He was assassinated by one Farûkhdy.

23. *Tûrân-Dokht*, who reigned but one year and four months. It was in her reign that the prophet Muḥammed died.

24. *Azermy-Dokht*, celebrated for her beauty. One of her nobles, named Farâkh-Zâd, who had been Wezîr under Parwîz, falling in love with her, she had him put to death; on account of which his son Rustam, commander of Khorâsân, soon afterwards killed her.

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* Compare Weil's *Mohammed der Prophet*, pp. 197–98.

25. *Ardeshîr III*, not of the Sâsânide family, who being found incompetent was soon dethroned.

26. *Fîrûz II*, of the family of Nûshirwân, who was also dethroned.

Another individual, named Farâkh-Zâd, was brought from the West, (Maghrab,) and placed upon the throne, who reigned six months, after which he was put to death. Yezdejird, Et-Ṭabary says, on learning this fled to Fârs, from whence he was forced away, to ascend the throne.

27. *Yezdejird III*, of the family of Shehriyâr the twenty-second king, who reigned fourteen years. He was brought from Fârs and placed upon the throne at the age of fifteen years, and after a series of vicissitudes was driven from his kingdom by the troops of the Muslim Khalîfeh 'Omar Ibn El-Khaṭṭâb, in A. H. 23 or A. D. 643–44, when the Muslims became masters of Persia.

It may be questioned, to whom islamism is most indebted for its conquests, whether to Muḥammed who devised it, or to the Khalîfeh 'Omar who, by his well-directed and triumphant arms, spread it over Syria, Persia, a part of Georgia and Egypt. For frugality of living, for humility of spirit, and greatness of mind, for profound reflection, discretion, and prudence, for sharpness of intellect, and for mature thought, the history of Et-Ṭabary shows that 'Omar has had but few equals. One is also struck with the excellence of the policy which governed him through his whole reign, that most important period for the successors of the prophet, and with the great talents which he showed in directing the movements of his distant and numerous armies. It does not appear, from Et-Ṭabary's narrative, that 'Omar treated the vanquished with cruelty. They were never compelled to adopt his religion, if the case of Hormuzân is not an exception. Two conditions of peace were generally offered, namely, to become Muslims and be equals, or to retain their own faith and be tributary to the khalîfate; and 'Omar was at last assassinated by Fîrûz, a fire-worshipper from Persia, who, although a slave, enjoyed the free profession of his own religion in Mekkeh.

We may here mention also the circumstances in which the enterprize of the conquest of Persia was undertaken

by the Arabs. The Khalîfeh 'Omar, in compliance with a request of his predecessor Abû Bekr, appointed Muthenna Ibn Ḥârith' to the lieutenantship of the Persian province 'Irâk-'Araby, called also Sawâd, which was watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris, and directed him to make war with the Persians who held it. On the side of Persia, Tûrân-Dokht appointed Rustam to the command of forces to be opposed to the Arabs. Rustam remained on the frontier of 'Irâk, and sent his deputy with the forces, who, after some unimportant successes, was eventually defeated near the city of Nemârik, where, as Et-Ṭabary states, "the Muslims made great booty of jewels and captives." The fall of Nemârik was followed by that of the town and fortress of Kaskar, and by the severe battle known as "the battle of El-Jisr" or "the battle of the bridge." During this conflict Tûrân ordered her general to display, for the last time, the great standard of the kingdom, called Dirafash-Gâwahy, and to make an imposing exhibition of the elephants, among which was one which had always brought victory. The Arabs were commanded on this occasion by Abû 'Obeid, who there fell a martyr. Soon after this, news reached Muthenna that the Persians were holding a great fair at Baghdâd, on the banks of the Euphrates, where valuables to an immense amount were accumulated. So he made a rapid march upon that place, killed many Persians, and carried off very great spoil. The Persians, throwing the blame of this loss upon their queen Tûrân, accused her of being incompetent, from her sex, properly to govern the kingdom; and having removed her they raised to the throne, in her place, Yezdejird son of Shehriyâr, who was then in Sawâd.* It is at this period that the following narrative of Et-Ṭabary commences.

E. E. S.

* The statement that Tûrân-Dokht directed the Persians in the defence of their country at this time, and the account here given of the accession of Yezdejird, may be reconciled with the series of the Sâsânides which Mr. Brown has drawn out from Et-Ṭabary, provided Tûrân was at the head of a party who recognized her right to the throne, during the reign of Farâkh-Zâd, the successor of Firûz II; or provided Tûrân and he ruled contemporaneously, over different provinces of the kingdom. This princess probably sought to strengthen her cause by acting a patriotic part.

E. E. S.

TRANSLATION.

YEZDEJIRD was fifteen years old when he ascended the throne of his ancestors. The people of Persia submitted themselves to his rule, but the country was in a feeble condition, and enemies surrounded it on all sides. The Khalîfeh 'Omar Ibn El-Khaṭṭâb sent troops to Medâin, and made open war against the kingdom. Yezdejird appointed an individual named Rustam to command his army, and invested him with a dress of honor, and gave him an order on the royal treasury for whatever money he might need, to carry on the war with the Arabs. Rustam assembled an army, and writing to the chiefs of Sawâd directed them to kill all the Arabs they might fall in with. The people of Sawâd were sincere friends of the Persians; so, in obedience to Rustam's injunctions, wherever there was an Arab in any of their houses, they killed him, and threw his body into a well.

Muthenna now informed the Khalîfeh that the Persians were gaining strength, that they had placed a new king upon the throne, and that an army had marched against the Arabs. To this 'Omar replied: "Advance a little beyond Sawâd, and watch my movements till I send you aid." He then despatched messages to all the Arab commanders to collect their forces, and leaving the city of Medîneh where he resided, and pitching his camp beyond it, he invited 'Aly and 'Othmân,—on whom be the Divine benediction!—to meet him in council. "The Persians," said he to them, "have placed a new king upon the throne, who has appointed Rustam to the command of his forces; and they have killed a great many Muslims. I therefore propose to march against them in person; what do you think of it?"

'Abbâs was the first to speak, and replied: "O Prince of the believers! if indeed you have resolved to go, we will act under your orders, but, should you be pleased to confide the command to us, we should think well of it. It seems better for you to substitute some one in your place, to command the army, than to go in person. You could then

send him aid, in case of need; and he, if defeated, could fall back upon you." All the most eminent of the persons present having declared that this was the best plan to pursue, the Khalîfeh asked whom he should appoint to the command, and with the approval of all sent for Sa'ad Ibn Abû Wakkâs, and made him commander in chief, and directed Muthenna to submit to him, and to do every thing which he should give him in charge. Sa'ad set out immediately with an army, and 'Omar sent more troops after him. Muthenna died three days after Sa'ad's arrival, leaving a beautiful wife whom the latter married.

Sa'ad had thirty-five thousand men with him, and prepared for battle. Rustam lay encamped near the Sawâd frontier, at the town of Kâdisîyah. Sa'ad now heard that fifty thousand men had marched to the aid of Rustam, making his army amount to a hundred thousand, and on his informing the Khalîfeh of this he received a reply not to fear, for he would send him reinforcements. The first thing with Sa'ad was to send an embassy to Yezdejird, composed of fourteen of the chief personages about him, such as Nu'mân Ibn Mukry, Beshîr Ibn Abû Harmeleh, and Hanzaleh Ibn Rabî'ah, who on reaching the king found him with his soldiers assembled around him. When he had ordered his interpreter to inquire what they came for, Nu'mân said: "We were a people in darkness, when the Most High sent us a prophet from among ourselves, and out of a city which is the chief of cities, who drew us out of the darkness of infidelity into the pure light of islamism. That prophet,—on whom be the Divine benediction and peace!—has now left the world, and given us a testament in which he commands us, saying: make war with them who leave your religion, until they return to it, or pay you a capitation-tax as tributaries. Being now engaged in this work, we have come to you; if you receive our religion, we will retire; if not, then pay us that tax; but if you refuse both offers, then prepare for battle." To this Yezdejird replied: "I have seen all the different people of the world, Turks, Dailams,* Siklâbs* and

* By the Dailams are intended a people on the southern shore of the Caspian sea, whom the Sâsânides brought under Persian dominion.—The name Siklâbs indicates a Slavic people.

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the inhabitants of Sind and Hind, but none so great fools as you are. You have nothing to eat, in your own country, but dates; your only garments are of camel's hair; and pray how many are you, that you dare thus to come against us? Away then, return whence you came! I will direct my people to supply you with all you want for food, and will appoint one from among yourselves to be your chief." When Yezdejird had finished speaking, one of the embassy, named Mukair Ibn Zarrârah, answered thus: "The Prince speaks truly; we were formerly a hungry, naked people, but the Most High sent us a prophet who made us illustrious. Now the Arabs have sent us to you Persians, to ask you either to adopt our religion, or to become tributary to us, or to fight with us." Yezdejird replied: "From me you will get nothing, unless you carry away some earth, as porters." Then giving orders to his people he caused fourteen sacks to be filled with earth, and laying them upon the backs of the members of the embassy he made them carry them out of the city. Once beyond the limits of the city, the ambassadors put the sacks upon their camels, and thus returning to Sa'ad Ibn Abû Wakkâs, "See!" exclaimed they to him, "we have brought you some Persian earth, which is a good omen, for earth is the key to empire; and this shows that the Persian empire will come into the hands of the Arabs."

Rustam selected an individual named Azâdmerd to go and give battle to Sa'ad, or, by remaining on the frontier, prevent his moving. Sa'ad's soldiers having no meat, though plentifully supplied with other provisions which they had taken from Sawâd, he sent one 'Othmân Ibn Hafsa to seek for some, who, finding some fishermen, took two hundred loads of fish from them, and meat soon became abundant. Rustam was encamped with a hundred and fifty thousand men at Kâdisîyah, on the borders of Sawâd. The soldiers of Sa'ad now pillaged the country around, so that the people of Sawâd complained to Yezdejird that, as Rustam did not offer battle to the Arabs, they were bringing ruin upon them. So Yezdejird addressed a letter to Rustam, commanding him to give battle; but he replied that he must not be pressed, for being well versed in astrology he foresaw the decline of the Persian empire, and therefore sought peace. That same night Rustam also had a dream, in which he saw an angel descending from heaven with arms of iron so weighty that he

could not raise them. On the following day he sent an embassy to Sa'ad, asking that he might be informed if he wished for any thing in particular, and promising to furnish it. To this Sa'ad answered as before, that he only asked of the Persians, either to become Muslims, or to pay the capitation-tax, or to fight with the Arabs; from which Rustam saw that he was not at all inclined for peace, and accordingly, preparing for action, he drew up his own forces, with the elephants in front. Sa'ad was ill, and sat on his horse with difficulty; but addressing his soldiers he told them to wait until they heard his *tekbîr*,* and then, at the sound of his voice, to fall upon the enemy at once. Soon after this he was heard to give the signal, when the whole body of the Muslims fell upon the Persians, whose elephants, though they were in front, did them no good; for the Arabs, who were on foot, struck these animals with their swords and turned them about. Among the Persians was a brave man named Khâlid Ibn 'Otbet, who marching out in front of the ranks called for some one to fight with him, and was soon met by 'Aṣim, a son of the Khalîfeh 'Omar,—on whom be peace! 'Aṣim killed him; and another of the Persians named Kurret Ibn 'Asim, seeking to engage in single combat, and being met by 'Amrû Ibn Ma'dy-Kerb, was likewise slain. Still another Persian then came out to offer combat, whose name was Ghâlib; his dress was richly wrought with gold, and his belt of the same costly workmanship. 'Amrû Ibn Ma'dy-Kerb advanced to meet him, and seizing him by his rich belt bore him off to his fellow-soldiers. Rustam now saw that something must be done, and ordered the elephants to be driven forward. These so frightened the horses of the Muslim cavalry, that one thousand riders dismounted and killed the elephants. Night coming on, however, the troops became scattered, and thus ended this battle, to which was given the name of "the battle of Armâth." But the contest with the Persians was continued at Aghwâth and Aghmâs.

The affair of Aghwâth.

On the day following the two armies met in battle-array before a place called Aghwâth, and recommenced fighting.

* i. e. The battle-cry *Allah akbar*.

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Many brave warriors went out upon the field from either side, and fought singly; and this was continued till night-fall. On the side of the Muslims many persons became martyrs. Sa'ad,—on whom be the Divine benediction!—sat with his wife at dinner, looking on, when the latter, witnessing the death of so many Muslims, exclaimed: "Alas! Muthenna Ibn Hârith, where art thou?" which displeased her husband, and he struck her in the face with his dagger, saying to himself: "This woman knows, that the Muslims are feeble, and that is the reason she speaks so; but to-morrow I will mount my horse." Many Muslims having fallen on that day, Rustam sent a man to the Persian king to tell him that there was hope of crushing the Arab host. The king consequently sent one named Bahrâm, with thirty thousand men, to join Rustam. When the news of this reinforcement reached Sa'ad, a very superior person, Ḳa'ḳâ'a Ibn 'Amrû by name, was seated before him, who addressing him said: "It seems to me you will not be able to sit upon your horse to-morrow; give, therefore, the command to me." Sa'ad consented, and the soldiers remained quiet until morning.

The affair of Aghmâs.

Sa'ad having entrusted the direction of the battle the following day to Ḳa'ḳâ'a, the latter, aware that Yezdejird had sent a reinforcement of twenty thousand men to Rustam, selected this same number from among the Arabs, and ordered them to go a parasang off, towards Damascus, and remain there. "To-morrow," said he to them, "when the two armies engage, display your banners, beat your drums, and come on; this will make the infidels believe that the Arabs have a reinforcement. If you fail to do so, I fear our troops will be beaten to-morrow."

Now, at midnight, the men whom Ḳa'ḳâ'a had selected, twenty thousand in number, left the city and marched off. At day-break the two armies met in battle, and Ḳa'ḳâ'a going in front of his men said: "Be not down-hearted, for aid will come to you also, to-day;" and, sure enough, those twenty thousand men appeared soon afterwards, when he hastened to direct them to a position, and his troops cried the *tekbîr*, greatly rejoiced. Rustam had ordered his elephants to be

placed in the van. So, while Ḳa'ḳâ'a was yet in front of his troops, 'Omar Ibn Ma'dy-Kerb fell upon the elephants, and was soon lost to the eyes of the Muslims. The two armies now rushing together, the Persians were driven back, and 'Omar was observed on foot, his horse having been wounded, still fighting the enemy sword in hand. At the sight of the Muslims he became encouraged, and, as one of the Persian cavaliers happened to pass before him, he cut him down from his horse and sprang upon it. This person was a Persian of distinction, and was dressed in garments wrought with gold, with a golden belt around his waist. One of the Arabs, named 'Amir Ibn Ya'ḳût, cut off his head, and carried his golden belt to Sa'ad, by whom it was bestowed upon him. The battle now became severe. The elephants of the Persians were pushed forward, and Ḳa'ḳâ'a with five thousand men made an attack upon them with swords and arrows, and cut their proboscides, so that they turned about and ran away. Much as the Persians endeavored to bring them back, they failed, and the animals did not halt till they reached Medâin. When Rustam saw the backs of the Persians turned, he feared they were beaten; so, leaving his seat, he mounted his horse, and in an address to them urged them to take courage. Upon this they continued fighting until night-fall, when he again collected them in battle-array, and said: "Let us fight still from night till morning, and we may have success." The battle was thus renewed with vigor, and that night was called Leilet el-hedhr, or the night of delirium, because each one caught at the other's beard. Never had either Persians or Arabs been in so severe a conflict before, and it continued until day-break. Six thousand of the Muslims had become martyrs, and Sa'ad, —on whom be the Divine peace!—thought that, if the battle was then arrested, the Persians could be defeated on the following day.

The death of Rustam, and the victory of Kâdisîyah.

Aghmâs had now been captured, but the two armies did not leave off fighting till it was the heat of the day, and a wind, blowing from the west towards Persia, prevented them from seeing each other. Rustam had his seat near the wa-

ter's edge, and around him stood a thousand camels, all laden with gold and silver. A tent had been pitched for his protection from the heat, but the wind carried it into the water, after which he sat in the shade of the camels. The Muslims made booths for themselves. Now Hellâl Ibn 'Alḳameh, approaching the camels, remarked the nature of their burthens, and cut the cords which bound one of them, causing a package to fall upon Rustam's head, which broke his back-bone. Rustam in the agonies of death threw himself into the water, but Hellâl, seeing who he was, caught him by the feet and drew him out; then cutting off his head he stuck it on the point of a lance, and mounting upon the seat of the fallen commander cried out: "O all ye Arabs! see, I have slain Rustam!" on which they all cried the *tekbîr;* and when the Persian troops saw their leader's head they fled. Hellâl brought the head to Sa'ad, and requested him to give him whatever was on the body; which having been granted, there were found on the body a shirt and trowsers richly wrought with gold, with a belt about the waist of the value of a thousand gold-pieces, also another belt, ornamented with jewels, worth seventy thousand dirhems of silver. Ḳa'ḳâ'a pursued the flying Persians, and put the greater part of them to the sword, and returned.

Sa'ad wrote a letter to the Khalîfeh, to inform him of this victory, and sent it with one-fifth of the booty. No victory like this had ever before been gained by the Muslims, for they took the spoil of one hundred thousand infidels. The people complained that Sa'ad Ibn Abû-Waḳḳâṣ had never left his kioshk until the battle was over; on hearing which he assembled several of the old men, stript himself, and showed them a great number of boils on his reins; this was accepted by all as an apology.

'Omar wrote to Sa'ad, commanding him to remain where he was, to collect the capitation-tax from the Persians, and to repose his soldiers; all which he did. The Arab troops suffered greatly from a disease which broke out among them. Sa'ad remained there one year, dispensing justice and giving every one his due. He erected mosques every where, and established a regular capitation-tax to be paid by the subdued Persians.

The victory of Baṣrah.

The Arabs use *baṣrah* for *tash*.* Baṣrah was a plain of white stone, on the banks of the Tigris, within the circuit of which were ten villages. It was joined to Ammân, where was a governor whose command extended to Ahwâz. When the Muslims had done to the Persians what has been related, and had destroyed so many of them, the Khalîfeh was apprehensive lest this governor should call for aid from Ammân and Ahwâz; he therefore desired to send troops to those places, and to keep guards on the roads. So, having summoned 'Orweh Ibn 'Otbeh, he said to him: "Since the Most High has given us victory, I wish to be master of the road between Ammân and Ahwâz, that no aid may reach the Persians from thence. You must therefore take soldiers and proceed thither, and build a town large enough for you and all the Muslims with you." Ibn 'Otbeh took one hundred and sixteen persons with him, and set off to go to the place pointed out by the Khalîfeh; before reaching it, the number of his men amounted to three hundred. On his arrival, having asked for information about the place, he was told that in the vicinity was a town called Ubullah, with a population of four thousand, and a dihkân who suffered no one without his permission to pass there for this place. Ibn 'Otbeh sent three persons to ask him to come to him, saying that he had a word for him. The dihkân went to see Ibn 'Otbeh; but, as he approached him, perceiving so many people, he stopped, and asked who with such a retinue had called him to speak with him. Then, despatching two hundred men, "Go," said he to them, "tie their hands, and bring them to me." Thus the two parties met and fought, and a great number of persons were killed. During the battle, the Arabs approached the dihkân, and beat him, and took him prisoner, and carried him to Ibn 'Otbeh, who, having invited the inhabitants of the ten villages to embrace islamism, received their assent, and they all became Muslims. Ibn 'Otbeh told them he wished to build a city there, to which they answered that there was no better place for the purpose. After this he remained

* *Tash* is a Turkish word signifying "stone." The word *baṣrah* in Arabic signifies "whitish stone."

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some time, and built a city which he called Baṣrah. He then wrote a letter to the Khalîfeh, informing him of what he had done; and the Khalîfeh replied by directing him to leave some one in his place, and return to him with a few troops. So Ibn 'Otbeh appointed a person to take his place, and departed. In that vicinity there was a strong hold, the people of which had relations with the dihkân. When these heard of Ibn 'Otbeh's departure, they formed the design of going to Baṣrah to destroy it, and to kill the person whom Ibn 'Otbeh had left in his place. Accordingly, two thousand men went from the fortress, and marched against Baṣrah; but the Khalîfeh had a commissioner in Syria, collecting alms from the Muslims, who went to his relief, and attacking the two thousand men beat them, and wrote an account of his proceeding to the Khalîfeh. Ibn 'Otbeh also went to the Khalîfeh, and related to him all that had occurred. The Khalîfeh gave Ibn 'Otbeh a large sum for the house of refuge in Baṣrah, and directed him to return there, and complete what was yet unfinished. Ibn 'Otbeh set off from Medîneh, but died on the way to his place of destination. News of his decease having reached the Khalîfeh, he gave Baṣrah to Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh, and it subsequently became a large place, and all the people round about went and made it their residence. Mughairah remained there as governor for some time, when at length the Khalîfeh removed him, and appointed Abû Mûsâ El-'Ashâry to succeed him.

The building of the city of Baṣrah occurred A. H. 14. The same year, the son of the Prince of the believers having drank some wine, his father punished him most severely. A. H. 15 a great many places were captured.

The taking of Medâin, the capital of the Sâsânide kingdom and the residence of Yezdejird.

A. H. 15 the Khalîfeh 'Omar sent Sa'ad Ibn Abû Waḳkâṣ with troops to Kûfeh. At the beginning of the year of the Hijrah 16 he sent a letter to Sa'ad, saying: "Your soldiers have now rested, and the Most High requires that Muslims should go into all parts of the world. Now, however quiet may be the easy livers in the Persian cities, be not you at ease, but resolve to conquer them, and if the Most High gives you victory, remain." Sa'ad therefore collected his

men, and set off with an army of twenty thousand. From many cities through which he passed people joined him, so that on his arrival before Medâin his forces amounted to sixty thousand men. On Sa'ad's reaching Anbâr, intelligence of it was brought to Yezdejird, who assembled his army, and sought for a proper person to place at its head. No one accepting the command, a council was held in which it was determined to leave Medâin. "Khorâsân and Kermân are yours," said one, "let us therefore depart, or we shall here be taken captive." Although this advice appeared hasty and unwise to Yezdejird, he was unable to resist; so he made up his mind to go. Sa'ad had reached Shabât, one day's journey from Medâin, when Yezdejird collecting all his valuables put them upon beasts of burthen, and with his retinue, male and female, left Medâin defenceless. No one cared for his property, but to save his life was the sole concern of every one; all took what they could with them, and leaving behind what they could not carry away, departed. Sa'ad on hearing of this forthwith sent Ḳa'ḳâ'a Ibn 'Amrû to pursue the fugitives, who overtook them beyond Medâin, slew all the soldiers he found among them, and secured all the spoil which he fell upon.

Arriving at Medâin, Sa'ad found it deserted, and beholding its beautiful dwellings, vineyards, and gardens, he repeated the following verses from the Ḳurân:* "How many gardens, and fountains, and standing crops, and fine dwellings, and how much opulence in which they delighted, did they leave behind them! Thus it was, and we caused others to inherit these things, neither did heaven and earth weep over them, nor were they regarded," all which relates to Pharaoh when he pursued after the prophet Moses. The people who went with Moses numbered six hundred thousand, and Pharaoh's troops seven hundred thousand; whether more or not, God only knows. All the latter were drowned, and their women were left to the survivors. The verses of the Ḳurân mean that they left their gardens, their fountains, their fields, and many other sources of enjoyment, and fled, and that another people took possession of their seats, and another race came in their room;

* Sûrah XLIV, verses 24 and ff.

heaven and earth did not weep over them, and the destruction of their glory and name became proverbial. It is said that, whenever a faithful Muslim dies, heaven and earth weep over him forty days.

Sa'ad did not encamp in Medâin, but went directly to the palace. This measured three hundred 'arshens in length, a hundred and twenty in width, and a hundred in height. In place of lime, polished stones were spread over its walls, and its portal was sustained by twelve columns, each a hundred 'arshens high. The building of this great palace was begun by Kobâd Ibn Fîrûz, and his son Nûshirwân finished it. In the center of it was a silver throne, from which this latter sovereign was wont to administer justice. Having sent troops in pursuit of the flying Yezdejird, Sa'ad performed his devotions in the hall of the deserted palace, making one salâm, and eight prostrations, and between each two of these pronouncing the confession of faith. When his devotions were ended, he appointed 'Omar Ibn Mukry to take charge of the booty, and, in order to collect all the riches of the place for distribution among his soldiers, he caused criers to proclaim, that whatever was found should be brought to that person. After this he examined the city, and saw so many houses in it that God only knows their number; there were also innumerable objects of gold and silver, jewels, robes, armor, and beds. The Muslim soldiers set themselves to collecting all the valuables, and brought them to 'Omar Ibn Mukry. Ḳa'ḳâ'a went as far as the bridge of Nahrowân, and brought in every thing he found. So much booty was taken that, after one-fifth had been sent to the Prince of the believers, the remainder was divided among sixty thousand men, to each of whom twelve hundred dirhems of silver were allotted. In the portion assigned to the Khalîfeh was a mule, captured by Ḳa'ḳâ'a near the bridge of Nahrowân, on which was found a box containing a cloak of the Kesra, (so the Arabs call the Sâsânide kings,) worked with pearls, and between each two pearls a red ruby. In the same box there were also ten suits of garments, all wrought with gold, the crown and ring of the Kesra, a case for armor containing swords, the Kesra's golden coat of mail, and a casque. There were found also some golden gum ammoniac, six coats of mail

set with onyx stones, nine other swords, a horse of gold bearing a saddle richly wrought with jewels, and a camel of gold with a young one in gold by her side. Among the many articles sent to the Khalîfeh was a carpet, found in the store-room of the palace, of which the entire length was three hundred 'arshens, and the breadth sixty 'arshens. This was called the zamistâny, or winter-carpet, of the Kesra, who usually passed the winter in that place. Its border was worked with green emeralds, and all over it were precious stones of different sorts, so that it had all the colors in the world. In a case for perfumes were found rose-water stands, and also camphor, musk, amber, and many other kinds of incense. When these valuables reached Medîneh, the Prince of the believers ordered a mosque to be erected from the proceeds. The people of the city were surprised at the amount of wealth brought among them. 'Omar had it distributed, and by the rule he followed 'Aly received from him a bed which he sold for eight thousand dirhems of silver. All the world went from the West, from Yemen, and from Egypt, to the East, to purchase the costly stuffs captured from the Persians. The city of Medâin was taken in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 16.

The taking of Hulwân and Jelûlâ.

Yezdejird now fled to Hulwân, and Sa'ad wrote to the Khalîfeh for permission to follow him, but received for reply: "Go not yourself, but send others in your place; let your brother Hâshim and Ḳa'ḳâ'a Ibn 'Amrû go forward with the first body of troops, while you remain in Medâin; and should they require aid, send it to them." So Sa'ad sent Hâshim with twelve thousand men, and made Ḳa'ḳâ'a one of the foremost in command. The former marched upon Jelûlâ, a place near Hulwân, where he found the Persian troops assembled with Bahrâm at their head. Hâshim waited six months, and then made battle with them, and gained the victory. He killed Bahrâm, and took much booty, of which he reserved one-fifth and had the remainder distributed, giving to each man ten thousand dirhems of silver. The taking of Jelûlâ occurred in the month of Dhu-l-ḳa'deh, A. H. 16.

When the news of Bahrâm's defeat and of the loss of his army reached Yezdejird, he fled from Hulwân to Rei, leaving his forces in charge of one named Habesh, with orders that, in case the Arabs should make an attack on Hulwân, he should endeavor to check them, and prevent their coming against him. Hâshim having heard this informed Sa'ad of it, who ordered him to remain in Jelûlâ, while Ḳa'ḳâ'a should go to Hulwân. This was done; when Hâbesh, hearing that Ḳa'ḳâ'a was marching against him, collected all his forces, and proceeding as far as the town of Kasr attacked him. The army of Habesh was defeated, and he followed Yezdejird in his flight. As to Ḳa'ḳâ'a, he entered Hulwân, and writing to Hâshim asked permission to continue on to Rei, which place lay behind Hulwân. "Yezdejird is there," said he, "and I wish to reach him before he can collect an army." Hâshim on his part wrote for instructions to Sa'ad, and Sa'ad laid the matter before the Khalîfeh, together with the news of the taking of Hulwân, and asked permission to march on to Hamadân, or to send troops there. 'Omar did not grant his request, but replied: "Hulwân is at the extremity of 'Irâk. You have this year taken Sawâd-'Irâk; that is enough, for the welfare of the believers is of more value than booty.

The taking of Mâsizân and Shîrwân.

Not far from Hulwân there were two towns, one called Mâsizân, and the other Shîrwân. While Yezdejird was in Hulwân, he sent one Hormuz with a few soldiers to the castle of Mâsizân, and Sa'ad reported this to the Khalîfeh, who directed that Ḍharrâr Ibn Khaṭṭâb should be sent against him. Sa'ad accordingly gave this person troops, and despatched him. Ḍharrâr advanced, and Hormuz on hearing of his approach assembled all the troops of the towns just mentioned, to meet him. The two parties fought with each other for three days, at the end of which time Ḍharrâr gained the victory, having killed some of the Persian soldiers, and taken some of them prisoners; so that both those places were captured, and the Muslims now held the whole country extending from the frontier of 'Irâk to the rear of Hulwân, and from Kermân to the territory of Damascus. Môsul also becoming theirs, no single place was left untaken.

The year of the Hijrah 16 had now expired. The air of Medâin did not suit the Muslims; there were many flies and mosquitoes there, and all the troops fell ill. At the beginning of the year 17, Sa'ad wrote to the Khalîfeh that the place was not agreeable to his soldiers, and that they were ill; to which 'Omar replied: "The Arabs always require good air, a plain well-watered, and plenty of grass for their camels; therefore ask them to select a site, and encamp your soldiers upon it." Sa'ad selected Kûfeh, and so, leaving Medâin, all removed thither, taking with them all the houses which were in Sawâd. From thence he addressed letters to the princes of that vicinity, inviting them to come to him; and he assigned them different spots where they should build, within limits which he marked out. He erected for himself a kioshk, or summer-dwelling, similar to that of the Kesra at Medâin, and taking down the portal from the entrance of the Kesra's palace he carried it to Kûfeh, to be put up for his own gateway. When accounts of this kioshk reached the Khalîfeh, he was displeased, and sent Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh to Kûfeh, with orders to have wood piled up against Sa'ad's kioshk, and fire set to it, so as to burn it down with all it contained. "Mention my name," said he, "to Sa'ad, but say nothing more." Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh set off for Kûfeh, without any one's knowing the object of his journey. He executed the commands of the Khalîfeh, and having had wood piled up against the portal of the kioshk, set fire to it. Sa'ad on this came out of the kioshk, when a letter from the Khalîfeh was put into his hands, in which he read as follows: "I am informed that you have built a kioshk in imitation of the palace of the Kesra, and erected for its gateway the portal of the latter, with a view to placing door-keepers and guards before your dwelling, whose business it will be to prevent the free entrance of those who may have need of you, as was the custom of the Kesra himself. You have forsaken the way of the prophet,—on whom be peace and benediction!—and adopted the way of the Kesras, who quitted their palace only for their tomb. Your own proper dwelling did not content you; so I have sent Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh, that the public might not be alarmed at the appearance of the edifice you have erected. Two houses are enough for you,

one in which to reside, and the other, the treasury of the believers." Sa'ad therefore said nothing to Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh, but offered him presents, which he however declined, returning to the Khalîfeh as he came. Sa'ad removed to another quarter of the city where were two houses, and left the kioshk to decay; in which condition it remained until Mu'awiyeh Ibn Sufyân sent Ziyâd to 'Irâk, when Sa'ad rebuilt it, and made it into a house of refuge. It was in the year of the Hijrah 17 that Sa'ad established the first house of refuge in Kûfeh.

There was now no war in 'Irâk, but hostilities had broken out at Hims in Rûm, and the Greeks having attacked 'Obeideh Ibn Jarrah, Hims was taken. The former event received the name of the first affair, and the latter that of the last affair, of Hims.

The Khalîfeh goes into Syria; he takes some of the cities of Ahwâz.

Be it known that 'Omar Ibn El-Khaṭṭâb, before the year of the Hijrah 18, went into Syria, and also took some of the cities of Ahwâz. Ahwâz had a king named Hormuzân, whose ancestors were kings of Persia. It comprised seventy cities, over all of which this person was king. The sons of Hormuzân also had permission to wear crowns on their heads, and, as they were of the blood royal, the Persians regarded them the same as their sovereign. Their crowns were smaller, however, than those of the kings. Hormuzân had been called by Yezdejird to take part in the conflict of Kâdisîyah; from thence he fled, and returned to his own country.

Ahwâz and Baṣrah were so near together that their extreme limits almost touched. It has been previously mentioned that Ibn 'Otbeh built the city of Baṣrah A. H. 14, and that, on his decease, Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh was appointed to be its governor. Ibn 'Otbeh had governed Baṣrah six months. We are also informed that the latter, after he had been two years at Baṣrah, began the attack upon Ahwâz.

When Hormuzân was routed at Kâdisîyah, he returned to his own kingdom, and remained there. The city of Ahwâz and the cities of the territory surrounding it, stood like a cluster of stars; and all were in the neighborhood of

Baṣrah, of which the inhabitants were Muslims. Now Hormuzân made an expedition thither, whereupon Ibn 'Otbeh wrote to the Khalîfeh 'Omar, who addressed a letter to Sa'ad, directing him to go to the aid of that governor. Sa'ad sent from Kûfeh a thousand men, under Nu'mân Ibn Muḳry and 'Abdallâh Ibn Mes'ud; and Ibn 'Otbeh sent out Selmân Ibn 'Anîn and Ḥarmeleh Ibn Metrabeh, who were of the army of Baṣrah, and companions of the flight of the prophet. When the troops of Baṣrah and Kûfeh had united, they marched in company among the cities of the territory of Ahwâz, with their faces set towards Ahwâz. Hormuzân was in a city called Nahrotîra, where a number of Arabs were assembled, whose chief was Kuleib Ibn Wâil. Their home was near to Ahwâz, and they disagreed with Hormuzân respecting their boundaries, for they dwelt between two frontiers. Selmân arriving from Baṣrah asked the aid of these Arabs, which they promised to give, requesting him to attack Hormuzân on a certain day, and to count upon their coming to his assistance. In the mean time Hormuzân prepared his troops, and made ready to fight. On the appointed day the Muslim force divided itself into two bodies, the troops of Kûfeh under Selmân taking one direction, and those of Baṣrah another, which afterwards met. Hormuzân began to take alarm. The fighting had continued one hour, when, Kuleib Ibn Wâil coming up with his men, it became a very hot battle. Hormuzân was defeated, and the Muslims had the victory. They killed a great number of persons, and took many captives and much booty. Hormuzân escaped, and took refuge in Sûk El-Ahwâz, the proper royal residence, which had a strong fortress, and a river running through the midst of it, called the Dojeil, over which there was a good bridge. This bridge was fortified by Hormuzân. Of the great booty taken by the Muslims they sent one fifth to the Khalîfeh, with the news of their victory, under the charge of twelve of the most prominent inhabitants of Baṣrah. Aḥnef Ibn Ḳais went also. This person was a slave, but nevertheless the sheikh of the tribe of Temîm, and Kuleib Ibn Wâil, who had gone to the aid of the Muslims during the battle, accompanied him. They were well received by the Khalîfeh, who was much rejoiced on being informed of the success of his arms,

and bade them speak their minds. Aḥnef Ibn Ḳais said: "The duty of envoys and ambassadors, when in the presence of a sovereign, depends upon the interests of that sovereign and of his people; but we need not take this duty upon ourselves, for your care extends over all Muslims, you neglect none; it remains, therefore, for us only to speak of what concerns us personally." The Khalîfeh was much pleased with these words, and granted Aḥnef and his companions all they desired, either for themselves or for their people. He wrote a letter to Ibn 'Otbeh, in which he directed him to heed the words of that slave, to act according to his recommendations, and to do him justice. He also granted a request of one of the envoys.

Having dismissed these envoys, the Khalîfeh sent more troops under the charge of Ḥarḳûs Ibn Zuhair, who had been one of the friends of the blessed prophet, directing him not to return till the whole of Ahwâz was conquered. This person presented himself before Ibn 'Otbeh, who sent him to the gates of Ahwâz. When Hormuzân heard that troops had arrived there, he went out of his fortress to fight with them. The Muslims sent him a message, asking whether he would pass over the river to them, or whether they should pass over to him. To this he replied that they might cross, and they all did so forthwith. Ibn 'Otbeh had placed Ḥarḳûs over this force, and confided the battle to him; who, having crossed the river, came face to face with Hormuzân. The battle now began with great vigor, so much so that in all Ahwâz there never had been such a battle before. Hormuzân fled to a city of Ahwâz called Râm; the Muslim troops under Ḥarḳûs entered Sûk El-Ahwâz, and Ḥarḳûs despatched, with a large force, an individual named Hirr Ibn Mu'awiyeh, who had come with him from Mekkeh, in pursuit of the king. The Khalîfeh commanded Sa'ad to send soldiers to this person's aid, which he did. At the time when Hormuzân saw himself thus surrounded by hostile troops, only four of the cities of Ahwâz remained in his possession, namely, Râm, where he then was, Toster, Sûs, and Jend, the others having been taken by the Muslims, of all which Sûk El-Ahwâz was the largest. Consequently he was much weakened, and sent to Hirr Ibn Mu'awiyeh and Ḥarḳûs Ibn Zuhair to sue for

peace, stipulating that Ahwâz should be his. Ḥarḳûs submitted his answer to Ibn 'Otbeh, who directed him to make peace, on condition, however, that the Muslims should retain the cities then in their possession, while those which Hormuzân still held should remain his, Sûk El-Ahwâz thus falling into the hands of the Muslims. Hormuzân having acceded to this proposition, peace was concluded, and he remained in Râm, while Ḥarḳûs occupied Sûk El-Ahwâz. The latter place commanded the whole of Ahwâz. But on the frontiers of the territory was a town which it was a higher dignity to hold, than to have the command of Ahwâz itself. All the country about this town was under the charge of an Arab, who still paid allegiance to Yezdejird.

Yezdejird was now at Rei. When Ḥarḳûs made peace in Ahwâz, he wrote to the Khalîfeh for permission to go with troops against that place; but the Khalîfeh replied: "Rei is of no value; it is sufficient to have Ahwâz. Send not the troops far away from me, where I can not hear from them, nor they from me; then I can reach them with reinforcements." The Muslims had now spread themselves from Baṣrah to Ahwâz, and from 'Irâk to Ḥulwân. The Khalîfeh would not allow his forces to go beyond Ahwâz and Ḥulwân.

The expedition of the Muslims from Baḥrein to Fârs.

The Khalîfeh 'Omar had in Baḥrein a governor named 'Alâ El-Ḥaḍhramy, who had been sent there by the prophet, —on whom be peace!—and was not removed by the Khalîfeh Abû Bekr Eṣ-Ṣiddîḳ. During the hostilities at Kâdisîyah, 'Omar wrote him a letter, directing him to go to Sa'ad Ibn Abû Waḳḳâṣ, from which service he begged to be excused; and the Khalîfeh excused him. When 'Alâ saw the great conquests of Sa'ad, extending even as far as Ḥulwân, and the success of the troops of Baṣrah in Ahwâz, he became desirous of engaging in holy warfare, and to capture some place. Now between Baḥrein and Fârs there is a sea; so, embarking his forces, without having obtained the permission of the Khalîfeh, he crossed over to Fârs, to a city called Istakhr, an expedition to which the Khalîfeh would not have given his consent, on account of the dangers of the

sea, beside that the prophet himself had never made any expedition over seas, nor Abû Bekr, nor any of the friends of the prophet. 'Omar, hearing of 'Alâ's expedition across the sea, was greatly displeased.

There was then a king in Istakhr named Mazîd, who, when 'Alâ reached his city, collected his forces, and opposed him. The Muslims, however, were victorious, and killed a great number of the infidels, and among the rest Mazîd. At that time Shahrek resided in Shîrâz; he, on hearing of this affair, gathered together the forces of Fârs, and marched against 'Alâ, who knowing that his soldiers could not withstand the attack returned to his vessels, but was unable to embark his men, on account of the waves, and saw all the vessels destroyed upon the rocks. The Muslims became greatly alarmed, and set off on foot by the way of Ahwâz, in the expectation of reaching Baṣrah. But Shahrek, being informed of this, sent soldiers upon the Ahwâz road, and cut off their retreat. The Muslims were five thousand in number, and in consequence of what had happened could now neither return home by sea, nor reach Ahwâz. The forces of Shahrek were without number, and the Muslims were reduced to despair; when, news of their situation having unexpectedly reached the Khalîfeh, he wrote to Ibn 'Otbeh how 'Alâ, without any authority had crossed over to Fârs with the Baḥrein troops, had taken Istakhr, and was now surrounded by enemies. "Send men," said he, "to his aid into Fârs from Baṣrah, by the way of Ahwâz, and relieve the Muslims. It matters not, if we can not now take Fârs." He also wrote to 'Alâ in these words: "The Most High has appointed Princes that others may submit to their orders, and not undertake any thing without their permission. Insubordination is wicked, and no good comes from repentance. You, not having consulted my wishes, have placed the troops of Baḥrein at the mercy of their enemies. On this account have I ordered troops to go from Baṣrah to your relief. Endeavor to save your men; go not to Baḥrein, but proceed directly to Sa'ad Ibn Abû Waḳḳâṣ. Had I known of a nobler service than that under Sa'ad, I would have given it to you."

When Ibn 'Otbeh had read the Khalîfeh's letter, he ordered five thousand of the troops of Baṣrah to pass, by the way of

Ahwâz, into Fârs, and to reach the place where the army of Shahrek was posted. This was a place called Tâs, between Fârs and Ahwâz. The two armies met. The troops of the Khalîfeh drove those of Shahrek from the road they had occupied, and having relieved the forces of 'Alâ El-Ḥadhramy in Istakhr, these joined them. Abû Sebrah Ibn Adhem presented the Khalîfeh's letter to 'Alâ, who accordingly conducted his men, by the way of Ahwâz, to Baṣrah. Ibn 'Otbeh placed 'Alâ under the orders of Sa'ad, and sent back the soldiers of Baḥrein to their own country; and those of them who belonged to Arab tribes went each man among his own people.

Ibn 'Otbeh himself remained in Baṣrah, and Hormuzân was still in the territory of Ahwâz. Ibn 'Otbeh now asked permission of the Khalîfeh to perform the pilgrimage; which being granted, he made Abû Sebrah governor of Baṣrah, and departed for the Ḥijâz. On his return he reached Beṭn-Nakhleh, and there died. The Khalîfeh allowed the person whom he had left in his place to fill it for a year, after which he appointed Mughaïrah Ibn Shu'beh to that station, who in his turn, being succeeded by Abû Mûsâ El-'Ashâry, went back to the Khalîfeh.

The taking of the rest of the cities of Ahwâz, and the conversion of Hormuzân to islamism.

When Yezdejird heard the news from Ahwâz, and how the troops of Baḥrein had come and gone, and also the news from Fârs, he sent a message to the people of this province, from Rei, saying: "You have shown contempt for your own religion, and have facilitated the operations of the Arabs, by letting them take Medâin, Sawâd-'Irâk and Hulwân, and go into Ahwâz. You have not aided Hormuzân; on this account he was helpless, and made peace, retaining only half of Ahwâz. Moreover, the Arab troops came against you, and returned unharmed. It is therefore incumbent upon you now to join with Hormuzân, and aid him to keep Ahwâz." He also wrote after the same manner to Hormuzân, who on the receipt of the letter was greatly rejoiced, and went to Fârs. The intelligence was now communicated to the Khalîfeh 'Omar, that Hormuzân had formed a union with the troops of Fârs, thus violating his

faith. 'Omar sent directions to Abû Mûsâ to march his forces out of Baṣrah, and to send them to Abû Sebrah, to fight against Hormuzân and take the rest of the cities of Ahwâz. "Drive Hormuzân from thence," was the order of the Khalîfeh, "that the troops of Fârs may cease to be eager to contend with us." When Abû Mûsâ had read this letter, he forthwith led his forces out of Baṣrah, and sent them to Ahwâz. 'Omar wrote also to Sa'ad, directing him to send troops from 'Irâk, to unite with those from Baṣrah, and thus attack Hormuzân in one body. Sa'ad did as he was directed. Nu'mân Ibn Muḳry also sent soldiers from Kûfeh to Ahwâz, for the same purpose. 'Omar, by letter, gave the command of the united forces of Baṣrah and Kûfeh to Abû Sebrah, and ordered him to attack Ahwâz. Abû Sebrah, on his way to Ahwâz, awaited Hormuzân at Râm, and the latter thought that Abû Sebrah's troops were those which he expected to come to his own aid; for he had writted to Fârs for a reinforcement, and it had been sent off, but had proceeded only as far as the city of Toster, and there encamped, for its fortress was stronger than that of Râm-Hormuz. Hormuzân, having ascertained that the troops approaching were Muslims, left Râm-Hormuz, abandoned its fortress, and betaking himself to Toster joined the troops from Fârs. Abû Sebrah then took possession of the fortress of Râm-Hormuz, and putting some soldiers into it marched against Toster. He next wrote to the Khalîfeh 'Omar, that no aid had been sent to Hormuzân from Fârs, and requesting that he himself might be reinforced. So 'Omar directed Abû Mûsâ to go with a reinforcement from Baṣrah to Abû Sebrah, and wrote: "We have given to him the command of the troops; be ye therefore obedient to him, for he is a man of experience, and knows well the usages of battle."

Abû Mûsâ did as he was directed, and marched with his troops to Ahwâz, the fortress of which they besieged during six months, fighting eighty days before it. Many men on both sides were slain, and the force on each side became much enfeebled. Now, among the Muslims was a man who had been a companion and friend of the prophet,—on whom be peace!—whose name was Barâ Ibn Mâlik, brother of Anes

Ibn Mâlik, whose prayers were acceptable, and of whom the prophet said: "There are many persons whose hair is matted, whose color is a mixture of salt and earth, whose form is crooked and awry; no one recognizes these persons, but if they swear by the All-Just, He will not make them out liars. One of these is Barâ Ibn Mâlik." 'Omar, it is related, wrote a letter ordering that the command of the army should be given to this person. "For," said he, "he is indifferent to life or death, and always presses forward, and every army in which he serves is sure to be victorious." So all the troops gathered around Barâ, exclaiming: "O Barâ! the most revered prophet has declared so and so of you; come, overthrow these infidels; swear that it shall be done, and the Most High will favor us." Accordingly, Barâ swore to the discomfiture of the infidels, their flight, and his own martyrdom.

On the following day, the fighting recommenced, and in the heat of the battle a missile struck Barâ, and made him a martyr. It was shot by Hormuzân. Then the whole army was confident of victory, for, as one part of Barâ's oath had been verified, the other also would certainly be fulfilled. Soon afterwards an individual came to Abû Sebrah, and said: "Spare me, and I will show you a way to enter this fortress." His request being granted, the man continued: "Under the castle is a conduit to bring water into it; let one hundred men be ready there at night-fall, when I will come out, and lead them through it into the fortress." Abû Sebrah had the desired number in readiness, while the rest of his army remained before the gateway. The time having come, the man went out, and led the soldiers into the conduit. He himself went first, and they followed, till they came quite into the fortress; when they opened its gates, and admitted their companions. Within the fortress was a strong tower where Hormuzân slept each night with a thousand men about him, who every morning, fastening well the entrance, returned to the main body of the army. From this tower Hormuzân saw Abû Sebrah's men enter the fortress, while he and those with him were in safety. The Muslims took possession of the surrounding part of the fortress, and then halted; and Abû Sebrah, seeing Hormuzân in the tower, addressed his men thus: "O friends! this fortress

is all that remains for us to take, in order to complete our work." At this moment, Hormuzân's head suddenly appeared above the ramparts, and addressing himself to Abû Sebrah he said: "O Abû Sebrah! you have done your work, thus far, not without trouble; but, since the time when Shâpûr-Shâh entered this tower, no other has ever been able to take it, and no one can take it now. I have with me a thousand archers whose arrows never fall to the ground; each one has a thousand arrows, and I shall cause devastation before they are expended. For every arrow a man shall expire, except that there is not that number of Muslims. Since therefore I have people enough with me to oppose to so many thousands, and to preserve me against them, what have I to fear from you?" To this Abû Sebrah replied: "What does your heart desire, what shall we do?" Hormuzân answered: "Let me leave this fortress with the Khalîfeh 'Omar's permission, not your's. Send me to the Khalîfeh, and let him do with me as he pleases." Abû Sebrah agreed to this, and peace was concluded between them on the terms demanded. Hormuzân then left the fortress, and a letter was written to the Khalîfeh, to the effect above mentioned, to which a reply was returned to Abû Sebrah, directing that Hormuzân should be sent to him, that Abû Mûsâ should be sent with troops to Baṣrah, and that he himself should remain in Ahwâz, till a governor should be placed in each of its cities, after which he should return to 'Irâk with his forces. Abû Sebrah,—on whom be the Divine benediction! —did all that the Khalîfeh commanded, and confided Hormuzân to Abû Mûsâ, to be sent on from Baṣrah to Medîneh.

In due time, Hormuzân, in customary state, and richly apparelled, reached Baṣrah, and Abû Mûsâ sent him on beyond, under the charge of Anes Ibn Mâlik and Aḥnef Ibn Ḳais. On their arrival at Medîneh, before entering the city, Hormuzân asked if they were taking him before the Khalîfeh, the Arab king, adding: "Though he is the Arab king, I am a Persian king; and though I am a prisoner, you have no control over me, nor any right to direct me, for that is for the Khalîfeh alone; leave me therefore to present myself before him in my accustomed royal state and attire." They having answered that he should do as he pleased, he ordered

his costly dress, wrought with gold, to be brought to him, and putting this on, with a crown on his head, and a jewelled belt around his waist, he entered the city of Medineh. The inhabitants went out to see him pass by, and were astonished at his luxury. On reaching 'Omar's door, they did not find him at home, and inquiring after him were told that he had gone to the mosque; there, having followed him, they found his cloak hanging against the wall, his cane under his head, and him asleep. The Khalîfeh wore, at the time, a shirt with many patches. Anes and Aḥnef seated themselves at a respectful distance from him, and Hormuzân also took a seat till the Khalîfeh should awake. Hormuzân, pointing to the Khalîfeh, asked who that was, and Anes having replied that it was the Prince of the believers, he said: "Is he indeed the Arab king, and does he go to the mosque in this style?" to which they answered in the affirmative, and added: "He comes and goes and sleeps alone." Hormuzân then inquired: "Does not he who administers justice to so many people, require messengers about him? and how can he lie down here in safety? and are these really his only clothes?" Again the answer was in the affirmative, and Hormuzân rejoined: "This is the condition of a prophet alone, and not that of a king;" but Anes replied: "He is not a prophet, yet he acts like one."

The Khalîfeh now awoke from his repose, and sitting erect saw Anes and Aḥnef before him, who saluted him. Returning their salutation he asked what news they brought, and his eye falling on Hormuzân with his jewelled crown and attire of gold, he inquired who that was, thus richly apparelled. They informed him that it was Hormuzân, king of Ahwâz. 'Omar then rubbed his eyes, and turned his head away, exclaiming: "Take the infidel's riches away out of this place, and put on him the riches of islamism." So they took off Hormuzân's dress, and put on him a simple stuff shirt, and then brought him again before the Khalîfeh. 'Omar next gave directions that some one should be sought for who could speak his language, and Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh was brought before him. The Khalîfeh having commanded Mughairah to tell Hormuzân to speak for himself, he said: "Shall I speak the words of the dead, or of

the living?" 'Omar replied: "Speak the words of the living." Hormuzân then said: "Your words have saved me from death, and you can not now kill me." The Khalîfeh inquired what he meant, and Hormuzân replied: "It is because you told me to speak the words of the living;" upon which the Khalîfeh exclaimed: "God preserve me! my words were nought; I meant you should speak in the manner in which the living speak, and not that I should not put you to death. You can not deceive me, and shall I let live the man who killed Barâ Ibn Mâlik?" From these words Hormuzân understood that the Khalîfeh intended to put him to death; so, addressing him he said: "I have experienced kindness and justice at your hands. I am thirsty, put me not to death thirsty; order a vessel of water to be brought for me to drink, and after that do as you please." 'Omar exclaimed: "I respite him; bring him some water." This having been brought, Hormuzân addressed the Khalîfeh thus: "Did you say, you would not kill me till I had drank this water?" The Khalîfeh answered him in the affirmative, when he immediately poured the water upon the ground, and said: "Now you can not put me to death at all." 'Omar asked him the reason, to which Hormuzân replied: "Because you promised not to kill me until I had drank this water. I have poured it upon the ground; and from thence it can not again be gathered for me to drink, in order that you may afterwards put me to death." Anes Ibn Mâlik then exclaimed: "He has spoken truly, O Prince of the believers!" But 'Omar said: "Your cunning will do you no good, for I must put you to death," then, on Hormuzân's asking what might save him, he said: "Nothing but to embrace islamism, and say: There is no God but Allah, and Muhammed is the prophet of Allah." Hormuzân acceding to this at once became a Muslim.

The Khalîfeh was much pleased with Hormuzân's conversion; he gave him whatever he asked for and presented him all the money he had by him. After this Hormuzân always resided at Medîneh.

Ahwâz was conquered A. H. 19. There was at that time a man in Medîneh, a learned jurisconsult, and devoutly submissive to the Divine decrees, who had seen

the prophet, and studied the science of jurisprudence under Abû Bekr, whose name was Shuraih Ibn Ḥârith. To this person 'Omar gave the government of Kûfeh and 'Irak, and he was sent by the Khalîfeh to take command in that city. Before him there had been another person at Kûfeh named Ka'ab Ibn Ṣûr El-Azdy, whom 'Omar dismissed for the purpose of appointing the other in his room.

Now began the year of the Hijrah 20, and the Khalîfeh wrote to 'Amrû Ibn El-'Aṣ to leave Syria and commence the reduction of Cairo and Alexandria, which he did.

The taking of Nehâwend.

When the Khalîfeh 'Omar dismissed Sa'ad from the government of Kûfeh, and appointed 'Abdallah Ibn Ghaṭfân, a friend of the prophet,—on whom be peace!—and one of his defenders, to be lieutenant of Kûfeh and 'Irak, news was carried to Yezdejird, that the person who took Kâdisîyah, and killed Rustam, and by whom he himself was driven out of Medâin, had been removed from the chief command of the troops by the Arab king. Yezdejird was in Rei when this intelligence reached him. It roused him to make another effort against the Khalîfeh. He therefore sent letters, with reference to this object, to Isfahân, Fârs, Khorâsân, and even to the borders of Turkistân, in which he wrote: "The events of this world are inconstant and fluctuating; now kings are elevated, and now they are brought down; and the affairs of religion also now prosper, and now decline. I have established myself at Rei, and until this time have patiently submitted to my lot. But the Arab king has now become much enfeebled, and this is therefore the time to unite, to attack him, and to take revenge for his deeds. Let your purpose be good, and victory shall descend upon you from above, according to the strength of your good intentions." He also asked for troops from every city of all Khorâsân, from Nishâpûr and Balkh, from Fârs, from Isfahân, and from Kôhistân and Azerbîjân; and all Persia responded favorably to his call. Each city assembled from ten to twenty thousand men, and sent them off. But Yezdejird had no longer any person of talent and capacity near him, whom he could appoint to the

command of his army; for all such had fallen in battle. One only of his brave men, named Fîrûzân, who was also called Dhu-l-Hâjib, remained, and, though he was aged, all Persia looked to him for aid. So it was told to Yezdejird, that there was no one left, capable of commanding his army, but Fîrûzân; to which he said, that, as Fîrûzân was an old and infirm man, it would be impossible to bring him from Nehâwend, and that it would be better for the army to march to him. He consequently wrote to all his troops to proceed to Fîrûzân at Nehâwend, and one hundred and fifty thousand men obeyed the summons, and assembled there.

When 'Abdallah Ibn Ghaṭfân was informed of what had occurred, he wrote to the Khalîfeh, and sent his letter by Ḳârib Ibn Zafar, saying: "So large a body of men has assembled at Nehâwend, that never before have the Persians presented such a formidable array. If the opportunity offers, they will go to Hulwân; and should they succeed in reaching 'Irâk, the position of the Muslims would become hazardous. It seems therefore advisable for the Muslims to make an effort to pass behind Hulwân, and fight them there." When 'Omar had read this letter, he remained for some minutes absorbed in reflection; then, on inquiring of the messenger what his name was, he was told it was Ḳârib; "Whose son art thou?" added the Khalîfeh; the man replied: "I am the son of Ẓafar," on which the Khalîfeh exclaimed: "Ẓafar Ḳârib," or "victory is nigh." He then assembled the believers at the mosque of Medîneh, and read to them the letter which he had just received. They all listened to it attentively, and he went on to say: "I hope this is the last time the Persians will ever assemble to attack us. If you disperse them only this once, they can never unite again; but if you are unable to disperse them, they can not be destroyed. I desire to go with the army myself; what do you wish me to do? Should I not go, these Arabs will not." The friends of the prophet approved of his going; but, while some recommended it, others objected. 'Othmân said: "O Prince of the believers! forget not that the Most High has elevated the Muslims by your hand, lest, if you forget, he should humble them, withhold from them victory, and weaken the power of their arms. You have many

troops in every city. Assemble your troops from Syria, Baṣrah, Yemen, and all other places; then go to Kûfeh, and collect your troops there also; remain yourself either at Medâin, Kûfeh, or Hulwân, and send your troops against the enemy. Be in the rear, that, if aid becomes needful, you may render it; or, if your army gains the victory, you will be near at hand to hear of it. If the Muslims retreat, they will all gather around you, and when they see you, let the number of their enemies be what it may, your presence will make it seem small to them." 'Aly Ibn Abû Ṭâlib also addressed the Khalîfeh thus: "O Prince of the believers! it is not well for you to go in person. If you should lead the troops of Syria away from there, the people of the Desert will go and take possession of Syria; and should you leave Medîneh, the Desert-Arabs will come and devastate this city; so your troubles would be multiplied. Were it not better for you to let the troops of Syria and Yemen remain where they are, and to send word to the army of Baṣrah, that, while one third of it stays there to protect that place and Ahwâz, the remainder must march out to battle? Appoint a courageous and manly person to be their commander, that they may fight effectively. Should these Persians hear of your leaving this place, every man who has not already gone forth to battle, would then go, and every man who would not otherwise fight at all, seeing you, would behave himself with credit; for one would say to another: This is the Prince of the Arabs; let us therefore exert ourselves to get rid of him, and then the Arabs can not long resist us." The Khalîfeh was surprised at this opposition, and said: "Let us take the abvice of 'Abbâs Ibn 'Abd El-Muṭṭalib; a blessing is on his counsel, and no one of the Ḳoreish can give so good counsel as he." So they went to 'Abbâs, and on their asking his opinion he said: "It is best for you to remain where you are, and to send your troops." The Khalîfeh consenting inquired who should be appointed to command the army; 'Abbâs answered: "O Prince of the believers! you perfectly well know the soldiers of 'Irâk." To this 'Omar replied: "My heart inclines towards Nu'mân Ibn Muḳry." 'Abbâs Ibn 'Abd El-Muṭṭalib exclaimed: "You have well spoken, he is a good person!" Accordingly, 'Omar assem-

bled the troops of Medîneh, and wrote to Nu'mân Ibn Mukry in Ahwâz, where he had been ever since. Sa'ad sent him thither from 'Irâk, and in his letter directed him to go to Nehâwend with the army. "I have written also," said he, "to Abû Mûsâ El-'Ashâry, to give you as many soldiers as he can spare from Baṣrah and Ahwâz; the troops of Medîneh will likewise be sent to you; and I have made you commander in chief over all." This letter he gave in charge to his own son 'Abdallah, whom he sent off with five thousand men from among the companions of the prophet's flight and his defenders. He also sent Mughairah, and Sâib Ibn Aḳra'a, who was a freedman of the tribe of Thaḳîf, and a good accountant, to attend the army for the purpose of dividing the booty, in the event of success.

Now these troops left Medîneh, and 'Omar wrote to Abû Mûsâ to reserve one company out of three of the troops of Ahwâz and Baṣrah, and to give up the other two to Nu'mân, which accordingly went from Baṣrah to Ahwâz. Abû Mûsâ sent him a thousand men, and now Nu'mân proceeded to Kûfeh, where 'Abdallah Ibn Ghaṭfân gave him five thousand more. All the friends of the prophet,—on whom be peace and benediction!—all the chief men of the Arabs, and the bravest, such as Hadhîfeh Ibn El-Ma'ny, Jarîr Ibn 'Abdallah, 'Amrû Ibn Ma'dy-Kerb, Ṭalḥah Ibn Khâlid, and similar men, together with 'Abdallah Ibn 'Omar, joined him with five thousand. Now when Nu'mân had already set off with his united forces, he was joined by ten thousand men from Sawâd, from Hulwân, from among the Arabs, and tributaries. On their arrival at Hulwân, seeing no signs of the enemy, they passed behind that place, and came first to Merj, and then to Tûr. The Persian troops were in Nehâwend, when, hearing of the approach of the Arab forces, they decided that a battle should take place there. One hundred thousand men were assembled, and encamped before the town of Hesk. Nu'mân had his encampment twenty-five parasangs distant from Nehâwend, at Tûr, and supposing the Persian forces to be marching against him he was suddenly informed of their being encamped at Hesk. So he left Tûr with thirty thousand men, and proceeding to Nehâwend pitched his tent before it, and wrote an account

of his movements to the Khalîfeh. There he remained two whole months without being attacked by the Persians, and without attacking them; which was discouraging to the Muslims, and troubled the Khalîfeh, because he daily expected some news of the operations of his army.

In this state of things, a man of the tribe of Asad, whose name was Jarrah Ibn Sinân, came from Kûfeh, with three others, to complain to the Khalîfeh against Sa'ad, saying: "He oppresses us at Kûfeh, and has violently deprived us of what is ours, and his division of spoil among the Muslims has not been equitable." 'Omar's mind was much occupied with his army, and he replied to the man and his companions: "You come at a time when my heart is much troubled; could you not wait till this is past? It has been assured me that you come only for revenge. True, I am in trouble, yet I will have your charges verified." Now he had appointed Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh El-Ansâry to be superintendent of the receivers of the fisc, and whoever complained against one of them was sent to this person, by whom the matter was examined, and laid before the Khalîfeh, who acted according to the circumstances. The Khalîfeh, therefore, sent these persons to Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh, at Kûfeh, for the purpose of having their charges against Sa'ad investigated. Sa'ad also was sent with them, and Muḥammed led him from mosque to mosque, and from one place to another, inquiring into his conduct, in order to do justice. All those of whom Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh made inquiries, replied that they had never seen any thing wrong in his conduct, and that no one could so well discharge the duties of his office as he. The friends of Jarrah said nothing; but one day Muḥammed and Sa'ad came to a mosque called the mosque of the tribe of Ḳais, and this people were inquired of, but they remained silent; on which Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh exclaimed: "O people! your silence leaves me in suspense; if you know aught of him, either good or evil, I pray you speak it out." When Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh had said this, the sheikh of the tribe, whose name was Asâmeh, replied: "Since you ask it, I will speak plainly and truly. He does not deal with the people justly, and does not divide the booty fairly; nor does he march to the holy war,

but he dallies, and assumes the grandeur of a Khalîfeh." On these words being uttered, Sa'ad turned his face away from the speaker, and cried out: "O God! this man has spoken falsely; deprive him, I pray thee, of his eyes, but not of his tongue, that it may be ascertained who he is." When Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh had finished his inquiries, and was about to depart, to go directly to Medîneh, both the eyes of Asâmeh became blind, which being known to Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh assured him that Sa'ad's prayer had been answered. Sa'ad offered also a prayer for evil to befall Jarrah, who had gone to Medîneh to complain against him. "O God!" said he, "punish him with death, but let him not become a martyr in holy warfare." Some days afterwards this person died by the sword, and his comrades were killed with stones, or by fire, or died some such death, all without being martyrs. When Muḥammed Ibn Muslimeh and Sa'ad reached Medîneh, they made known what had happened to Jarrah's company, and to Asâmeh, and the Khalîfeh said: "I knew that they lied." Upon this, Sa'ad exclaimed: "O Prince of the believers! I was the first who shed the blood of the infidels; I am the person to whom, in the first holy war of the prophet,—on whom be peace!—he confided his family, saying: I intrust my family to you, O Sa'ad! who are father and mother to me; and this he never said to any other person." But let us return to our narrative.

Nu'mân Ibn Muḳry remained a long while before the gates of Nehâwend; so Fîrûzân sent men to him, saying: "Depute a person to come to me, with whom I may hold a conference." Nu'mân sent to him Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh; on whose entrance into the town of Hesk, Fîrûzân assembled his council, arrayed himself in a rich dress, wrought with gold, put a crown on his head, and seated himself on a golden throne, while his people stood on either side of him, dressed in silk, with swords girded at their sides. Mughairah on being introduced cast his eyes upon the ground, without looking at any one. As he approached the throne of Fîrûzân, the people pricked him with the ends of their swords, and told him to look up, that the king might see him; but he did not obey, nor change the direction of his eyes, and being still pressed so that he could endure it no longer, he cried out

"O ye people! I have not come to fight with you; I am an envoy, and was there ever before a person, having that character, treated in this manner? I am also a man of note among my own people, and superior to you." When the king heard these words interpreted to him, he said aloud: "He speaks truly; you have treated him uncivilly." He then bade Mughairah be seated, and afterwards Fîrûzân addressed him thus: "O Arab! you are the very worst of your people, and I ought to order my archers to kill you forthwith. I have as many archers in my army as you have troops in yours. But I do not wish your blood to be shed in my town; so, if you depart hence, it will be well with you. Otherwise, it will be the worse for you. Yet I know you will not leave so long as you live." Mughairah replied by offering thanks to God, and pronouncing benedictions on our holy prophet, and said: "Yes! we have done as you say. We were mean and poor, but God,—whose majesty may it be glorified!—sent us a prophet from among ourselves, and showed us the true way. Our bad fortune has left us, and gone to you. We come to give over our poverty to you, and to receive riches and spoil from you, and so depart." On finishing these words he turned abruptly away, and left Fîrûzân, who said to his people: "I wonder if you suppose that the Arabs will attempt to verify this man's words."

Mughairah having returned to Nu'mân, the latter assembled his troops, and sought counsel, saying: "What shall we do? To me it seems best to turn back with our troops, which will make them believe we have relented, so that they will pursue us, and we can then attack them." Of this the whole army approved, and on the following day Nu'mân led them one station backward, at the same time ordering his troops to leave behind them all such articles as they had little or no use for. The Persians thought from this that they had fled, and therefore marched out of Hesk, and pursued after them. Nu'mân retreated one station farther, and then stopped, from which the Persians fancying that he had now taken up a position, in preparation for battle, themselves also chose a position; and Fîrûzân getting his troops ready for the conflict addressed them, directing them, in case he should be

compelled to fly, not to go beyond Hesk. The next day would be Friday, and Nu'mân addressing his forces said: "To-morrow, before the day reddens, let us be ready for battle. I have been in many conflicts with our prophet, who always commenced battle after the Friday-prayer." So, in imitation of the prophet, the following day they said their Friday-prayer, cried the *tekbîr*, and prepared their flanks to the right and left, and their center and wings; after which Nu'mân made this prayer: "O Lord! give us this day the glory of islamism, rout the infidels, and grant me martyrdom." To his soldiers he said: "It seems to me that I shall this day become a martyr; if it turns out so, let Hadhîfeh be your commander. Should he become a martyr, then let Jarîr Ibn 'Abdallah succeed; and should he also fall, let Ḳais Ibn Maḳsûḥ have the command." Now Mughairah, who stood beside him as he said this, exclaimed in a tone of sorrow: "He has not remembered me!" Then Nu'mân, looking in Mughairah's face, added: "And in case all these become martyrs, then let Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh be your commander;" he said farther: "I will cry the *tekbîr* three times, and shake my standard three times, and then fall upon them, which you must do also." The soldiers did as he had directed, and were soon mingled with the Persians. A dust arose which prevented their seeing each other; the sound of swords and battle-axes was all that was heard; in one hour the Persians were routed. They saw the fortitude of the Arabs, and turned and fled, and the Muslims began to kill them with their swords. When Nu'mân beheld the rout of the Persians, he exclaimed: "O Lord! my prayer for victory has been accepted; accept also, I beseech thee, those who fall in martyrdom." With this prayer he ordered his standard to be borne forward, and was about to follow it, when an arrow struck him in the lower part of his bowels, and he became a martyr. He had a brother named Shemîṭ Ibn Muḳry, to whom his body was immediately carried, with the face covered over, and his standard was delivered to Hadhîfeh. Hadhîfeh likewise made an onset, followed by the Muslims, and at an auspicious moment the Persians were routed and fled, the Muslims pursuing, who put a great number of them to death. Those who escaped got into Hesk

but the Muslims, in the pursuit, killed each from five to ten of the Persians. Fîrûzân, having made his escape, fled towards Hamadân, pursued by Ḳa'ḳâ'a, until he reached a steep acclivity between Nehâwend and Hamadân, which he ascended, while Ḳa'kâ'a gained its summit from another side. At midnight, some flying Persians gathered about Fîrûzân on the hill, having with them a great many camels. Ḳa'ḳâ'a also came, and killed Fîrûzân, and seized all the camels, which were laden with immense booty. Among other things were forty loads of honey, at the sight of which the Muslims cried out that Fîrûzân's army, clogged with its own honey, was detained till God's host under Ḳa'ḳâ'a came upon him, and killed him; and this saying became proverbial among them. On the following day, they counted the dead, and found they had slain one hundred thousand men; never indeed had there been so large an assemblage of the Persians before. Hadhîfeh directed all the booty to be taken to Sâib Ibn Akra'a, for, as before related, the Khalîfeh had sent him to divide it. He took out one fifth of it, and distributed the rest, each bowman receiving two thousand dirhems of silver, and each horseman twice that sum.

One day, a person came from among the Persians who served in the temples of the fire-worshippers. He was mounted on an ass, and riding into the presence of the Khalîfeh he said: "Spare me and another Persian whom I choose, and I will deliver up to you a treasure of the Kesra Yezdejird, which is under my charge." Hadhîfeh consenting, the old man brought to him a sealed box, saying: "When Yezdejird sent his coffers to Rei, he gave me this box in charge, telling me it contained what would be useful to him in an hour of need." Hadhîfeh broke the seal of the box, and found it to be full of red, green, and white rubies of great value; there were also several other kinds of jewels, whose price no one knew. Hadhîfeh was astonished at the sight, and told the Arabs that the box of jewels had not been obtained by them in battle, nor by the sword; that they therefore had no right to any share in it; and that he would, on this account, send it just as it was to the Khalîfeh, to be put into the treasury of the Muslims. All present approving of what he proposed, he sent the jewels by Sâib

Ibn Aḳra'a, and a letter to the Khalîfeh, giving an account of the victory, by one Zarîf. When this person delivered the letter to the Khalîfeh, he inquired after Nu'mân; Zarîf replied: "May God grant you and him mercy!—he has become a martyr." 'Omar wept, and inquired who else were martyrs, to which the man replied by naming them one by one, and many of them were personally known to the Khalîfeh. He added that many others had fallen whose names he did not know. The Khalîfeh then said: "If I do not know them, God does," quoting a verse of the Ḳurân.* The next day after this, Sâib Ibn Aḳra'a arrived, bringing a fifth of the booty, and the box of jewels, seeing which the Khalîfeh asked what it was, when Sâib gave him an account of it, adding that Hadhîfeh, with the consent of all the Muslims with him, had sent it for him to do with it as he chose. "If you see proper," he continued, "keep it yourself, otherwise divide it among the believers." 'Omar answered: "You know not what they are, neither do I know. Now I wish you not to remain here even over night, but arise this very hour, take the things, and depart; they justly belong to those who slew the infidels, and no one else has any right to them." So Sâib immediately left Medîneh, and returned to Hadhîfeh, who sold all the jewels contained in the box to merchants, and divided the proceeds among his troops, giving to every horseman four thousand gold-pieces.

It was now told Hadhîfeh that the Persians who had escaped were assembled near Hamadân, and he accordingly sent Ḳa'ḳâ'a against them, who soon dispersed them. In Hamadân there is a fortress called Dunyâwer, in which most of the Hamadânites had taken refuge. The commander of this fortress came to Ḳa'ḳâ'a, and asked to be sent to his superior, and Ḳa'ḳâ'a having sent him, Hadhîfeh made peace with him, drawing up articles of agreement between them.

Thus Hamadân was gained peaceably, while Nehâwend was taken by the sword. Nehâwend was called Mâh El-Baṣrah, and Dunyâwer, Mâh El-Kûfeh. The cities of Baṣrah and Kûfeh are near to each other, so that one half of the Muslim army was from the one, and the other from the other.

* Sûrah VIII. v. 62.

When this conquest was completed, Hadhîfeh waited for the Khalîfeh's orders. Now Nehâwend was a small place, and could not contain all his soldiers; so he distributed them into two divisions, and sent all who were from Baṣrah to Nehâwend, and those from Kûfeh to Dunyâwer. Whenever these two places are mentioned together, they are designated by the name Mâhain, or the Two Moons. The Muslim troops having then taken the Mâhain, Yezdejird fled from Rei to Khorâsân; many people went also from the Mâhain to Khorâsân. On account of the number of troops in Baṣrah, Kûfeh, Sawâd and 'Irâk did not yield a sufficiency of provisions for their support; the troops in Kûfeh also were very numerous. Nehâwend and Dunyâwer were therefore thrown open, and the Khalîfeh ordered that the riches of Nehâwend should be transported to Baṣrah and given to its soldiers, and that the riches of Dunyâwer should be distributed among the soldiers of Kûfeh, in order that all might be satisfied.

The taking of Isfahân.

The Khalîfeh had given command that the forces of 'Irâk should not advance beyond Hulwân, nor those of Kûfeh beyond Ahwâz. Seeing now, however, that Yezdejird did not remain quiet, but every year assembled troops, and made war with the Muslims, he called together his people, and took counsel with them. All agreed that it was wrong to forbid the troops to proceed farther in their conquests, and that he might do well to send them on to Fârs, Isfahân and Kermân, to take these from Yezdejird, and make him despair of the possession of them. The Khalîfeh consulted also with Hormuzân, as to the direction in which he should send his forces, whether to Isfahân, to Fârs, or to Kermân, and was advised by him to send them to Isfahân, on account of its being the seat of the Persian kingdom. "Of which," said he, "it is like the head, Fârs being the body, and Azerbîjân and Rei the two feet; now," he added, "though hands and feet be gone, the head remains, and the reins are sound; but when the head is gone, all other parts are of no use." Hormuzân's reply pleased the Khalîfeh. Now, after the taking of Nehâwend, the Khalîfeh removed 'Abdallah Ibn 'Abbâs from the command of Kûfeh and 'Irâk, and gave it to Ziyâd Ibn Ḥanẓaleh, one of the friends and companions of

the flight of the blessed prophet, and a remarkably meek man, but who nevertheless, from his want of knowledge of military affairs, was unequal to the charge confided to him. It was therefore desirable that the Khalîfeh should dismiss this person; so he appointed 'Ammâry in his place. He also sent 'Abdallah Ibn Mesû'dy with 'Ammâry, to instruct the inhabitants of Kûfeh, 'Irâk and Sawâd, in jurisprudence, and in the laws of the religion of the glorious Ḳurân. The public, however, blamed the Khalîfeh for neglect, saying: "You slight the companions of the flight and the defenders of the prophet, who are the chief men of the Arabs, and have placed over them an improper person; you have even made him their Imâm, to lead them in prayer." The Khalîfeh quoting, as applicable to this occasion, the following verse of the Ḳurân: "And we were minded to be gracious unto them who were weakened in the land, and to make them imâms, as well as the heirs (of Pharaoh and his people),"* gave 'Ammâry a banner, and dismissed him.

He bound up also four other banners, and sent them off by four other distinguished persons. One of them he put into the hands of Nu'aim Ibn Muḳrin, and told him to go directly to Hamadân. "For," said he, "the compact made with Hadhîfeh has been broken; attack them," he added, "and if you are victorious, go by that route into Khorâsân after Yezdejird." Nu'aim Ibn Muḳrin did as he was directed, and putting his soldiers upon the march went as far as a place called Kankab. There he remained for the night, and in the darkness robbers came and stole away his horses, on account of which his men gave to the place the name of Ḳaṣr eṣ-Ṣûṣ. From thence they took Hamadân.

Another banner was given by the Khalîfeh to 'Otbeh Ibn Ferḳady, and another to Bekr Ibn 'Abdallah, both of whom he ordered to go to Azerbîjân, the one to take the road to the right by Hulwân, the other, the left-hand road by Môsul. He also gave a banner to 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb, directing him to go to Isfahân. This last named person was one of the friends of the prophet, and one of the most eminent among his defenders, and belonged to the tribe of Khazraj. The Kha-

* Sûrah xxviii. v. 4.

lîfeh made him lieutenant of Isfahân, for he was a valiant and brave man. The Khalîfeh also removed Abû Mûsâ El-'Ashâry from Baṣrah, and directed him to take the troops of that place, and go to 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb at Isfahân; and he appointed one 'Amrû Ibn Sarâḳ to be governor of Baṣrah. Three times did the Khalîfeh remove Abû Mûsâ from the government of Baṣrah, always giving it back to him afterwards, and one of these times was that just mentioned. The Khalîfeh wrote to Ziyâd Ibn Ḥanẓaleh to accompany 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb to Isfahân, and then, sending ten thousand men under 'Abdallah, directed that they should set off from Kûfeh with as many more as he chose to collect.

'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb went from 'Irâk to Nehâwend, and thence to Isfahân, where, preparing his forces for action, he gave to Warḳah Ibn Riyâh the charge of the front, to 'Abdallah Ibn Warḳah El-Asdy that of the right wing, and to 'Iṣmeh Ibn 'Abdallah that of the left. Half the distance between Isfahân and Nehâwend made a march of seven days. Thereabouts was one of the Persian chief nobles, named Kâdeskân, who had a great number of troops with him, among whom were those who had escaped from Nehâwend. This person had appointed under him one named Shahrezâr, whom he had sent on in advance with a large force. Shahrezâr marched towards Nehâwend, and encamped in one of the villages connected with Isfahân, called Rustâk esh-Sheikh, and, 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb having gone out to meet him, the two armies attacked each other, and a great battle ensued, in the midst of which 'Abdallah singled out and attacked Shahrezâr, and with a blow of his sword killed him, on which the Persians were routed, and many fell under the hands of the Muslims. The village at which this engagement took place had a dihkân, named Isfendiyâr, who made peace with 'Abdallah. The latter took possession of the village. Such was the beginning of the reduction of Isfahân.

'Abdallah now marched on to the walls of Isfahân. Kâdeskân, on his part, prepared his forces, and marched out of the city; and he was a very valiant man. When the two armies came opposite to each other, this person went in front of his troops, and addressing 'Abdallah said: "Why should the blood of so many be shed? I have heard that you are a brave man; come then, let us two fight for the vic-

tory; if you kill me, let Isfahân be yours, but if I kill you, then let your troops become mine." 'Abdallah having accepted this offer, they commenced fighting. Kâdeskân struck 'Abdallah a blow with his lance, which passed, up to its middle, over the back of his antagonist to the bow of his saddle, touching the girth so as to cut it, and on towards the horse's tail. 'Abdallah sprang to his feet, without however letting go his hold of his bridle; then, again leaping upon the animal's back, he brandished his lance and spear, and charged upon Kâdeskân, who exclaimed: "I see you are indeed a brave man, and I will give you whatever you may ask." 'Abdallah replied: "Become a Muslim, or pay the tribute-tax." Kâdeskân accepted the latter alternative, and they made peace with each other, on the condition that whoever chose to leave Isfahân should be at liberty to go wherever he pleased, without hindrance. 'Abdallah consented to this, so that peace was concluded.

When 'Abdallah led his troops to Isfahân, Abû Mûsâ El-'Ashâry marched out of Baṣrah to join him, taking with him the forces of Nehâwend and Ahwâz. He reached 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb three days after peace was concluded, but before he had entered the city, so that, Abû Mûsâ having joined him, they entered it together. The whole city became tributary, and the tax was collected from each inhabitant. But 'Abdallah having told the people that they might go wherever they pleased, they availed themselves of the permission, and went with their families to Kermân.

'Abdallah now wrote to the Khalîfeh, giving him news of the victory; which caused him much pleasure, and he appointed Sâib Ibn Akra'a governor of Isfahân, and commanded 'Abdallah to march with Abû Mûsâ El-'Ashâry towards Kermân, and to take with him Suhail Ibn Ady. 'Abdallah did accordingly.

This same year, the inhabitants of Kûfeh complained against their governor 'Omar Ibn Yâsir, and the Khalîfeh said he knew not what to do with them. "For," said he, "if I send them an eminent person like Sa'ad, they will find fault with him; and if I send one less capable, they will still be discontented." So, calling privately Jebîr Ibn Mut'am, he told him: "I appoint you to be governor of Kûfeh; set off, but, till you reach the place, say nothing about it to any one,

lest the people discuss whether or not I have done well." Now Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh was at Medîneh, and knew, when the Khalîfeh was in private with Jebîr, that it was to appoint him governor of some place, though he could not tell what one. Jebîr, having returned to his own dwelling, said nothing about what had occurred to any one except his wife, and charging her with secresy directed her to prepare for the journey. Mughairah now went home, and told his wife to take a little travelling bread, and go to Jebîr's dwelling, and ask his wife where her husband was going. His wife did accordingly, and entering the house gave her bread to Jebîr's wife, saying: "Here is some bread for your husband's journey; where is he going?" Jebîr's wife replied: "To be governor of Kûfeh, but do not tell any one of it." The woman then returned home, and told the news to her husband, who went forthwith to the Khalîfeh, and exclaimed: "May God grant his blessing, O Prince of the believers! whom have you appointed to be governor over the Muslims in such a place as Kûfeh?" "Whom do you suppose?" asked the Khalîfeh. "Jebîr Ibn Muṭ'am," answered Mughairah. The Khalîfeh then inquired of him how he knew this. "For," said he, "I charged him to keep it secret, and not let it be known to any one." Mughairah replied: "He is not a man of confidence," and the Khalîfeh then told him that he did not know what to do with the people of Kûfeh, as they would complain of whomsoever he might send there. Mughairah remarked upon the character of the inhabitants of that city, that they required a governor over them who would punish; on which the Khalîfeh said: "If it be as you say, no one is so well fitted for the place as you." So he relieved Jebîr of the charge, and sent Mughairah instead of him, and this person remained there until the Khalîfeh's death, when he, together with Jarîr Ibn 'Abdallah and Sa'ad Ibn Mes'ûd Eth-Thaḳafy, returned to Medîneh. This Jarîr was also governor of Kûfeh for one year. These events occurred A. H. 21.

The Khalîfeh sent 'Abdallah Ibn Mes'ûdy to Kûfeh to teach the Ḳurân and jurisprudence. He now gave him the charge of the treasury. To Othmân Ibn Meknefeh he gave the office of receiver of the ground-rents, and to Sharîḥah

the place of judge and magistrate, with a charge to divide among the believers the booty collected in the holy wars, so that the name of 'Omar might be remembered among them with pleasure.

During this year, Hasan El-Basry was born; 'Omar Esh-Sha'by went to Kûfeh; and the Khalîfeh 'Omar caused the Jews to be removed from Khaibar, and that place to be apportioned among the Muslims.

The taking of Hamadân.

Nu'aim went with a goodly number of soldiers to Hamadân, where there was a governor named Habesh-Shûm, who after having made peace with Hadhîfeh broke it, and converting the city into a fortress assembled a large force within. When Nu'aim arrived, this governor asked aid from Azerbîjân, and was reinforced by a large body of troops. Nu'aim wrote to the Khalîfeh to inform him of this circumstance; and he was troubled, and wrote to Hadhîfeh, then in Nehâwend, directing him to send to Nu'aim all the men he had with him, which he did.

Habesh-Shûm then, having been reinforced by many troops from Persia, marched out of the city to meet Nu'aim; and a battle ensued, in which the two armies so withstood one another that it was said to be a harder fought battle than even that of Nehâwend. It continued for three days and three nights, after which Habesh-Shûm's soldiers gave way, and the Persian army was defeated. Nu'aim took possession of Hamadân, and sent troops in pursuit of the fugitives, who fled towards Rei, where a person was stationed by Yezdejird with a large force, who was a descendant of Bahrâm-Tshûpîn, named Siyâwesh Ibn Bahrâm Ibn Bahrâm Tshûpîn. The Muslims pursued the fugitives as far as Sâwah and there stopped. This Sâwah is three stations from Rei, and from Hamadân to Rei is a distance of six stations. Nu'aim divided the booty, and taking out the fifth part sent it to the Khalîfeh, with news of the victory, by three individuals who all bore the name of Semmâk, namely, one Semmâk Ibn Mekhrameh, another Semmâk Ibn Hârith, and another Semmâk Ibn 'Obeideh. The Khalîfeh was in great distress

when they arrived, but was rejoiced to hear the news of the victory, and to see the booty. He inquired of these individuals their names, and they answering that they were called Semmâk, he exclaimed: "O God! elevate and strengthen islamism by them."* Nu'aim in his letter informed the Khalîfeh, that there were in Rei a great number of soldiers from Fârs, under a descendant of Bahrâm-Tshûpîn, to which the Khalîfeh replied by the messengers, that he must name whomsoever he pleased to be governor of Hamadân, send Semmâk Ibn Ḥârith with some thousands of men to Âzerbîjân, and go himself against Rei, and that he must not suffer the Persians to collect any where. When the Khalîfeh's letter reached Nu'aim, he appointed Yezîd Ibn Ḳais governor of Hamadân, sent Semmâk Ibn Ḥârith with two thousand men to the aid of those in Azerbîjân, while he with the remainder marched against Rei.

Hamadân and Rei were both taken A. H. 22.

The taking of Rei.

When news reached Siyâwesh that the Arab forces were marching against him, he in his turn wrote to the Persian princes, saying: "The Arabs are coming upon me, and no one has been able to withstand them, when they have determined to march any where; and the king Yezdejird is far away. Should he come to Rei, you cannot retain the position you occupy; but, if you send troops to my aid, I will make myself a buckler to you, and fall in your defense. If you send none, not only shall I have to fly, but you also will be destroyed." Most of them approved of his plan, and chose him their commander, and sent troops to his aid. An immense body of soldiers assembled, among whom was one of the most distinguished of the Persians, and a dihkân of Rei, named Zain. He was a cavalier of Ferghânah and the chief noble of Rei, and an enemy of Siyâwesh. He was at Rei on account of its being the season for sowing, as he belonged to that city. His sons, who were extensive cultivators in that part of the country, were constantly in dispute

* This is a play upon the name *Semmâk*, which literally signifies "a supporter."

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with Siyâwesh. When Nu'aim went with his troops to Sâwah, in order to be near to Rei, Zain with all his family went out to meet him. Near to Rei there was a village named Kôhad; it was there that he met Nu'aim, and asked for quarter and to be treated as a friend, which was granted. Zain informed Nu'aim that there were a great number of troops in Rei, whom he could not possibly encounter except by stratagem; and when Nu'aim inquired as to the stratagem to be employed, he said: "Give me two thousand men, and, while you attack them in front, I will enter the city in their rear, and as they on hearing of this will fall back upon the city, do you pursue, and cut them down." Nu'aim gave him the two thousand men, and sent with him his own brother's son, Mundhir Ibn 'Amrû Ibn Mekhrameh. He gave to the former the command of the troops, and directed the latter to obey him in all things. Zain took the troops, marched against the city, surrounded it, and at night went in the direction of Khorâsân. The next day, the troops of Siyâwesh came out of Rei on the side of Mukrân, and took their stand near the mountains, having them in the rear. Now that spot was the praying-ground of Rei. As soon as Zain heard that the fighting had begun, he sent word to Mundhir, and then with his troops descended the mountain of Tabar, threw himself into the city, and put the inhabitants to the sword. When tidings of this reached Siyâwesh, all his troops turned back to the city to protect their dwellings, and were killed in masses. Siyâwesh's men having thus deserted him, he also returned. Nu'aim pursued them; the Persians were put to the sword both in front and on the rear, and when they entered the city blood flowed in the streets like water. A few only of the Persian troops survived, and these fled. The people of Rei gathered around Kûkus in Dâmeghân.

When Nu'aim entered the city, he ordered it to be sacked. Zain and all his family had quarter, and he was made governor; after its castle, however, had been destroyed, and was left in the condition in which it is to this day.

There was a chief in Demâwend named Merdân-Shâh, who, when the fugitives reached him, knew that the cause of the Persians was lost. So he sent persons to Nu'aim at Rei, to ask quarter and treat for peace, agreeing to pay the

capitation-tax. The troops returned from Demâwend, while the Persians who had fled passed Kûmish, and went to Dâmeghân. Siyâwesh having been killed in the battle, his discomfited soldiers had no head or leader, so that those who had come to his aid returned to their own homes. Those who belonged in Rei continued there still.

Now when Nu'aim and Mudhâr El-'Ajely sent a fifth of the booty and news of the victory to the Khalîfeh 'Omar, the former reported that the Persians had assembled at Kûmish. To this the Khalîfeh replied, that there was no one who could be left to command the troops in Rei, that therefore he must send his brother Sawîd Ibn Makrany against that place, while he himself remained in Rei, and that, when the troops should have taken Kûmish, he must follow after them, and continue to do so, wherever they might go. Nu'aim, having read this communication, sent Sawîd with the forces, and after him Semmâk Ibn Mekhrameh; he sent also, by another route, 'Otbeh Ibn Shauky. On the arrival of Sawîd's troops at Kûmish, the forces there dispersed, for there having been no harvesting at that place they could not remain. Sawîd reached Dâmeghân, and entered that city. All the troops there went to Gurgân and Tabaristân. Sawîd again put his troops in motion, and proceeding towards Gurgân fought at Bastâm, a place connected with Kûmish. There was a person in Gurgân, of the race of the kings of Dailam, of the Persian religion, whose name was Murzabân; all Daghistân and Gurgân were under him. In Tabaristân there was another person, named Isfahîd, who, together with the former, held the whole of that country.

The conquest of Gurgân and Tabaristân.

So then the king of Gurgân was named Murzabân, and was of the Dailamy race; and Isfahîd was king of Tabaristân. When Sawîd with his troops marched towards Gurgân, and was within one day's journey of Murzabân, this person embraced islamism, and made peace with Sawîd on condition that the ground-rent of Gurgân should accrue for his benefit, and that every one who did not become a Muslim should pay a capitation-tax. He thought that, when news of this should reach Isfahîd, he also would make peace,

and not go to war alone; but, in case he should nevertheless do so, Murzabân promised to join the troops of Gurgân and fight against him. On these terms, Sawîd consented to peace, and went with Murzabân to the city, where the latter caused criers to proclaim that all persons who desired to become Muslims should leave the city, and that those who did not should pay the ground-rent. When Isfahîd heard this, he gathered his chief nobles around him, among whom was one Ferkhân, who was a man of distinction. Ferkhân was called the Leshker-Kesh, or military commander, of Khorâsân, on account of his having conducted an army from thence. It is said in the Persian histories, that Ferkhân bore the title of Shâh of Gilân, because he was so addressed in writing. A custom in accordance with this is observed at the present day.

All the military commanders gathered around Ferkhân, and inquired of him what he wished them to do, upon which he said: "This Persian religion of ours has become obsolete, and the new religion which has come among us is in repute; it is therefore better for us to make peace, and agree to pay the capitation-tax." All agreeing with him, he then sent a person to Sawîd, and made peace, on condition that the whole of Tabaristân should annually pay the sum of five hundred thousand dirhems, and also that, should the Muslims need troops, none should be levied in that quarter. Sawîd in accepting these terms received from Ferkhân five hundred thousand dirhems, and remaining in Gurgân wrote an account of the transaction to the Khalîfeh, together with the news of the taking of Kûmish, which occurred A. H. 22.

The conquest of Azerbîjân and the Derbends of Haziz.

The Khalîfeh 'Omar wrote to Nu'aim to send Semmâk Ibn Ḥârith to Azerbîjân, but he had already sent thither 'Iṣmeh Ibn Ferḳady and Bekr Ibn 'Abdallah. The fire-temples of the Persians were there. In the Pehlewy tongue fire is called *azer*, and for this reason the Persians gave the country that name. The great fire which they worshipped was there. From where the limits of Hamadân begin, to Zenjân and Auherah and the last of the Derbends of Haziz, the whole country bears the name of Azerbîjân. At its farther extremity there are many roads which lead to the country of

Hazîz, all which, some being near the sea* and others inland, bear the name of Derbends, or passes. In the Arabic, *bâb*, gate, the plural of which is *abwâb*, is equivalent to this word *derbend*. There is a city on the sea-shore called Hazîz, where merchants assemble to buy and sell their goods; and as at that place all the different passes meet, it is called *Bâb el-abwâb*, or the gate of gates. Excellent small carpets are made there.

Ismeh Ibn Ferkady was marching forward from one direction, and Bekr Ibn 'Abdallah from another, when the latter fell in with a prince of Azerbîjân named Isfendiyâr, who approaching him inquired whether he wished to take that position by force, or peaceably; to which Bekr having replied: "Peaceably," this person said: "Then take me prisoner; but, if you put me to death, the whole population of Azerbîjân will avenge my blood upon you, and continue ever afterwards to war against you." So Bekr forthwith apprehended him, and put him in confinement.

Semmâk was sent by Nu'aim to render aid in Azerbîjân, and there learned what Bekr had done to Isfendiyâr, and how he had taken possession of all the places in the vicinity of that where this person was. Thus far Bekr had carried on no war in Azerbîjân; but he wrote to the Khalîfeh that he had put Isfendiyâr in confinement, and had as yet waged no war in Azerbîjân, and asked permission to march against the Derbends and take them.

One of the dihkâns of Azerbîjân was named Bahrâm Ibn Farâkh-Zad; this person now assembled his troops and marched against Bekr, to offer him battle. Bekr, 'Ismeh and Semmâk all united, and made battle against Bahrâm, and routed him, and took much booty. Upon this, Isfendiyâr told Bekr that this was the last person remaining to oppose him, and that, he being sorely defeated, Azerbîjân was now won. "Go wherever you choose," said he, "there is no one to oppose you." Bekr wrote to Khalîfeh an account of this conquest, and sent him one fifth of the booty, and at the same time asked leave to march against the Derbends, which was granted.

* i. e. The Caspian sea.

Then Bekr made 'Iṣmeh governor of all Azerbîjân, left Semmâk Ibn Ḥârith with his troops to render him aid, and recommended Isfendiyâr to his care; and taking his own forces he himself marched towards the Derbends. He next wrote to the Khalîfeh, informing him that he had given Azerbîjân in charge to 'Iṣmeh; from which 'Omar understood that he had gone to the Derbends, and supposing that he would need reinforcement, he directed Sarrâḳeh Ibn 'Amrû to take a few troops and proceed to the Derbends of Hazîz, for the purpose of aiding him. "Take," said he, "a number of brave fellows, such as 'Abdallah Ibn Rabî'âh and Hadhîfeh Ibn Es-Sindy, and depart." Sarrâḳeh, having been appointed by the Khalîfeh to the command of the whole force, took his departure with the troops of Baṣrah. The Khalîfeh also wrote to Ḥabîb Ibn Muslimeh, directing him to take the troops of Jezâir, and march to the aid of Bekr at the Derbends, which he did at the head of a large body of men.

Now Sarrâḳeh went by one pass, and Ḥabîb by another, but both passes came out at Hazîz. Sarrâḳeh sent 'Abd Er-Raḥmân Ibn Rabî'ah in advance, but the pass to which these two were to go was held by a king, or prince, named Shahr-Zâd, who, on the approach of 'Abd Er-Raḥmân, came to meet and make peace with him, on condition that he was not to pay the capitation-tax. "For," said he, "I am between two enemies, the Rûs* on the one hand, and the people of Hazîz on the other, who are foes to all the world, but particularly to the Arabs. These alone are the occasion of all our fighting. So then, instead of paying the capitation-tax, we will march against them with our instruments of war and troops, keep the Derbends, and not permit these people to leave their seats. Rather than pay the tax, we will annually make war with them." To this offer 'Abd Er-Raḥmân replied: "There is

* This mention of the Rûs by our author has, we apprehend, an important bearing on the interpretation of Ezekiel xxxviii. 2, and on the origin of the Russians. The Rûs of the seventh century, here spoken of, whom our author afterwards connects with Yâjûj and Mâjûj, form an important link between the Rôsh associated with Gog and Magog by Ezekiel, (comp. the Roxalani of Pliny and Ptolemy,) and the Ῥῶς of the Byzantine, and Rûs of oriental writers, of the tenth century and later, who are evidently Russians.

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an officer superior in rank to me, with whom I will consult, to see whether or not he consents to this." He then sent Shahr-Zâd with his own men to Sarrâḳeh, who said he would send a message to the Khalîfeh before replying, which he having done, the Khalîfeh signified his assent to the condition. Accordingly, these had no capitation-tax to pay, but, instead of that, guarded the Derbends, and kept the infidels from molesting the Muslims; and they were always at war with them.

The same usage is still observed in Mâwarâ-l-Nahr, the cities of which pay neither capitation-tax, nor ground-rent, for the reason that the inhabitants wage war with the Turks day and night, and prevent their falling upon the Muslims.

After this, Bekr, Sarrâḳeh and Ḥabîb met there, and made peace with the people of all the Derbends, on condition that the Muslims should be free from molestation in that quarter, and should not be obliged, themselves, to keep troops there.

Sarrâḳeh sent all those about him to one and another of the passes, and the towns on the mountains of the passes. He sent Bekr to a town called Kûkân, and Ḥabîb to another named Teflis; Selmân Ibn Rabî'ah Bâhily he deputed to another town, and Hadhîfeh to another. In the mountains there were many towns which to this day are called Derbends.* He took all the Derbends of Allân and Hazîz, and the Muslims were unmolested. Afterwards, he wrote an account of this to the Khalîfeh, which rejoiced him very much, for he had always feared lest, should the Rûs and other infidels come upon the Muslims suddenly, they might do them harm; but hearing of the arrangement for their safety he was much pleased, and wrote to Sarrâḳeh a letter of thanks.

Sarrâḳeh died at the Derbends, and the news of his decease, having been sent to the Khalîfeh, greatly distressed him. The Khalîfeh wrote to 'Abd Er-Raḥmân, and confided the Derbends to him, telling him that he must send good news of himself, as his predecessor had done before him. So 'Abd Er-Raḥmân said to Shahr-Zâd: "I must come to these Derbends, and make the inhabitants embrace islamism," to which Shahr-Zâd

* One signification of *derbend* is "barrier."

replied that it was not then the proper time. "For," said he, "we have agreed not to let the infidels attack the Muslims." To this 'Abd Er-Rahmân answered: "I cannot be quiet till I have passed to the other side of the Derbends;" but Shahr-Zâd told him: "When you go there, you will find many places belonging to the kings of the Allâns and the Rûs, called Balenjer. Beyond this is the wall, or barrier, of Yâjûj and Mâjûj, which was built by Dhu-l-karnain."* 'Abd Er-Rahmân replied: "I will not go so far as that; yet, were I not afraid to displease my Prince, I would proceed even to Yâjûj and Mâjûj." Then, assembling his troops he entered the Derbends, and proceeded on towards the Balenjer, and having made Muslims of the inhabitants of all the towns within the distance of a hundred parasangs, he returned to the Derbends, where he remained from the time of the Khalîfeh 'Omar Ibn El-Khattâb until that of 'Othmân,—on whom be peace!—when he died.

Now, after the subjection of all these towns to islamism, one of the brave men who had been in the holy wars, went to the Khalîfeh, and was inquired of by him how he passed the Derbends, and how the war had been carried on in the towns of the infidels. The man answered the Prince of the believers as follows: "When the infidels saw us, they said to themselves: We have never seen any soldiers like these, and they asked us: Are you angels, or are you sons of Adam; to which we replied that we were sons of Adam, but that the angels of heaven were on our side, and that, whenever any one made war upon us, they came to our aid. On this account, therefore, they did not attack us. It became also a saying among them, that no one could kill any of us, because the angels were with us. So we went forward among these towns, when one of the inhabitants said to the others: Let us see whether these people die, or not; and taking his bow and arrow he stood behind a tree, and having shot at us killed one of our number, from which they knew that we were mortal. They then commenced making war upon us, and we turning back came once more to the Derbends."

* See the Kurân, Sûrah XVIII. vv. 82 and ff.

One day 'Abd Er-Raḥmân was seated with Shahr-Zâd, conversing on all sorts of subjects, when he perceived a ring upon his finger, the jewel of which was a red ruby, which in the day-time burned like fire, and at night was brilliant like a light. 'Abd Er-Raḥmân asked him from what place the jewel came, and who brought it. Shahr-Zâd pointed out one of his own men as the person who had brought it from the wall of Yâjûj and Mâjûj, adding: "There are many kings thereabouts, but one in particular holds the kingdom of the wall, which lies between the mountains. To every king residing there I sent a present by the hand of that man, and each one passed onward what was destined for the king of the wall, till it finally reached him. In return for the many articles which I sent him, I asked only one ruby. He it was, therefore, who sent this ring to me." 'Abd Er-Raḥmân then inquired of that person how it was obtained, and from whom, to which the man replied: "When I gave the presents and the letter of Shahr-Zâd to that king, he called his chief falconer, and ordered him to seek for him a jewel. The falconer answered that his Majesty should be obeyed. Then, having starved for three days an eagle belonging to him, he took me, and the eagle, and a piece of spoiled meat, and went up into the mountains near the wall. From the summit of one of these mountains I looked into a hollow which was wide, deep, and dirty, and so perfectly dark that I thought I had never seen such a spot. The falconer then said to me: I will throw this meat into the ravine, and let the eagle fly after it; if he reaches it before it falls, nothing will be attached to it; but if it falls on the ground, and he picks it up, I shall be sure to find something adhering to it. So, throwing the meat, he let fly the eagle after it; the meat fell to the ground, and the bird picked it up, and returned, and perched upon the hand of the falconer. This ruby was found adhering to the meat, and the man having handed it to me, I kept it:" 'Abd Er-Raḥmân,—on whom be peace!—having directed him to describe the appearance of that wall, he said: "It is built of stone, iron and brass, and reaches from the summit of one mountain, down its side, up to the summit of another." 'Abd Er-Raḥmân said: "You have, then, really beheld the wall which the Almighty mentions in the Kurân,

in these words: And he said: Blow ye until it sets it (the iron) on fire; and he said also: Bring me molten brass, to pour upon it."* He also asked the man of what color the wall was, whether it was white, or black. In the company there happened to be a person who wore a white tunic from Yemen El-Ajjeh, with black rings in it, like those of a small shirt of mail. "The color of the wall," continued the speaker, "resembles that of this tunic," and 'Abd Er-Rahmân made him affirm the correctness of the statement. After this, he asked Shahr-Zâd what was the value of the ruby, to which he replied that no one knew its value. "But," added he, "beside giving something to this man, I sent a present worth three thousand dirhems to that king; to some of the other kings also on the same route, presents of the value of three thousand dirhems; and to others, presents worth two thousand dirhems." Shahr-Zâd pulled the ring off his finger, and offered it as a present to 'Abd Er-Rahmân; but he refused it, saying that it did not suit him, upon which Shahr-Zâd said that, if he had been one of the Persian kings, he would have taken the ring from him by force. "Now," he added, "on account of your compact, and your fidelity in performing it, you will take all the world." In this year, the 22d of the Hijrah, Abd El-Mâlik Ibn Merwân, and Yezîd Ibn Mu'awiyeh were born.

The death of Yezdejird, and the conquest of Khorâsân.

While Yezdejird was in Hulwân, the Most High gave opportunities and success to the Muslim arms, on hearing of which he fled thence with his personal attendants to Rei, being conveyed in a pendant chair upon the backs of mules. He travelled one station each day, always sleeping in his pendant chair. One day he had reached a stream, when his attendants, wishing to water the mules, awoke him. He inquired why they had done so. "For," said he, "I was dreaming that one of my royal ancestors was engaged in a dispute with Muhammed, in the presence of the All-Just. My ancestor said: O Muhammed! let the days of the reign of my sons be

* Sûrah XVIII. v. 95.

prolonged to the end; to which Muḥammed replied: Their years may be a hundred. But my ancestor asked for more. Let them be a hundred and ten, continued the prophet. My ancestor, however, asked for still more, and Muḥammed was just going to say: Let them be a hundred and twenty, when you awoke me; had you not called me, I should have ascertained how long our kingdom is to last."

Yezdejird entered Rei, where was one of the chief nobles named Bâzinjâder, who received him, and put him into a house; and Yezdejird having asked him whether he intended to put him to death, he answered in the negative, but added: "We have deprived you of the government, and you can never have it again; write, therefore, for me a document stating that you give Rei to me and to my children, so that hereafter, should any one become king, I may say that Yezdejird gave the command of this place to me." Yezdejird having given this document to the person who asked for it, he was restored to liberty, and was still in Rei, when Nehâwend was taken. From Rei, Yezdejird went to Isfahân; but, not feeling disposed to remain there, he went to Kermân; and this country not pleasing him any better, he left it for Khorâsân. Thence he next proceeded to Nîshâbûr, and from thence to Merv. From this latter place he addressed letters to all the different cities which had not accepted islamism. In Khorâsân, Fârs, and Isfahân, all the Persians gave an honorable reception to these letters, and continued to regard Yezdejird as their king. Feeling himself safe in Merv he remained there, and issued his orders. About two parasangs from this place he erected a fire-temple, and he was yet there when it was completed.

The author (Et-Ṭabary) says, that this statement was not drawn from the Persian historians, and I* have read in other works that, when Yezdejird had spent one year at Merv, he was put to death in a mill. The author adds, that Yezdejird left Merv for Merv Er-Rûd, and wandered over the whole of Khorâsân; and that the Khalîfeh sent Aḥnef Ibn Ḳais to take him, who followed him into Khorâsân, and thence, from

* i. e. The Turkish translator.

city to city, until he reached Balkh; that from this place the king wrote to the Khâkhân of the Turks, asking for succor from him; that the king of Tshîn sent troops to his assistance; and that Yezdejird afterwards crossed the Jeihûn with the Khâkhân, and, accompanied by his immediate family and relatives, went to Ferghânah, where he took up his abode. As the days of the Khalîfeh 'Omar were ended, this must have occurred in the time of the Khalîfeh 'Othmân.

But this account differs from that which is generally credited. So I give, in addition to it, the account of the Persians themselves, as follows:

In the year that Yezdejird wrote from Rei to Khorâsân, the Muslims were carrying on their wars. They took Nehâwend, and the Khalîfeh gave them permission to go wherever they chose. Yezdejird now left Rei; but, not finding rest any where, he removed to Merv, where was the fire-temple just mentioned, and being safe there he made that his residence. From thence he wrote letters to every city of his kingdom. In the Persian historians I read that, when Yezdejird went to Merv, there were four thousand men there, but no superior person among them, who could lead them to battle. They were all palace-attendants, such as laborers, slaves, grooms, waiters; in short, all the four thousand were the king's own private servants. His wives, free women, and other females, his own people, and the members of his family, were of those who accompanied him thither from Medâin, and he had no means of supporting them.

Now in Khorâsân there was a king named Mâhû, to whom that province as far as the Jeihûn had been entrusted by Yezdejird. Beyond that river, the whole country was held by the Khâkhân of the Turks. When this Mâhû heard that Yezdejird had left Medâin, he became the son-in-law of the Khâkhân, and united his own country with his; and the two made a compact between themselves that, should either be in need, the other would go to his assistance with whatever the needy party might require. Yezdejird ordered this person to act in concert with him, and to enter his service; but, instead of obeying him, he sent to the Khâkhân for troops, with a view to making war upon his own king.

Seven thousand Turk soldiers were sent to his aid, and as they encamped before the gates of Merv, Yezdejird inquired of Mâhû what they came for, and received for reply that the Khâkhân had sent them to his assistance. Consequently, Yezdejird ordered Mâhû to prepare for battle, and the latter gave an answer of acquiescence. Night coming on, Mâhû ordered the Turk soldiers to enter the city, and, halting in front of the palace of the king, to wait there until day-light, when, on the gates being opened, they could put him to death. But Yezdejird, having been apprised of this, commanded his slaves to lower him down from behind the palace-walls, with cords, and, this being done, proceeded a short distance in the dark; but being dressed in his gold-wrought suit and belt he became fatigued, and having chanced to come to a mill he asked its keeper, if he had not a place where he might seek a little repose in sleep. The miller, without recognizing him, spread a small carpet for him, and the king laid down upon it. Being weary he soon fell asleep, and in the morning the miller, seeing the belt, with its gold, around his back, from a desire to possess it, struck the sleeping king a blow with an axe, which killed him. Then taking off the belt he threw the body into the water. The same morning, Mâhû entered the palace, but, not finding Yezdejird, was told that he had escaped behind the palace-walls. So he pursued him, but lost all trace of him till he reached the mill, where he found the suit of clothes and belt. The miller he put to death.

After this, Mâhû remained safe in Merv until the Khalîfeh 'Omar sent Aḥnef with the troops of Kûfeh and Baṣrah to Khorâsân, who having conquered that country proceeded on, from city to city, to Merv. Mâhû then fled, and crossed the Jeihûn to the Khâkhân, and remained in Turkistân. Aḥnef subdued the whole of Khorâsân, and the Muslims spread themselves over all the territory of Merv and Balkh, as far as to the Jeihûn. He was better pleased with Merv Er-Rûd and its vicinity than with any other country, so much so that he built a town there called Deiri-Ahnef, or in the Arabic Kaṣr Aḥnef, which is on the farther side of Merv Er-Rûd; and there he remained during the most of the time of the Khalîfeh 'Omar.

This is related concerning the reign and rule of Yezdejird by learned men, and by the Persian historians, but the account of the author is different, as follows :

When Yezdejird came to Merv, the Khalîfeh 'Omar sent Aḥnef Ibn Ḳais, with twelve thousand of the troops of Kûfeh and Baṣrah, in pursuit of him, with orders to follow him wherever he might go, until he should be driven from the face of the earth, for the Khalîfeh was very fearful of him. Aḥnef on his way to Khorâsân first reached Isfahân, and next, taking the route by Tûs to Kôhistân, went near to Kâin. Then, by that route entering Khorâsân, he came first to Herât, and took it by the sword. As Yezdejird was at that time in Merv, Aḥnef appointed a person named Ṣaḥâr El-'Abd to be lieutenant of Herât, and continued on to Merv. There being no one in command of Nîshâbûr, that city was taken without fighting. Aḥnef sent Metraf Ibn 'Abdallah with a large force to Nîshâbûr and Ḥârith Ibn Ḥasan to Sarakhs, and they took those two places without any resistance. He with his own men having advanced to Merv, Yezdejird fled from it, and went to Merv Er-Rûd. Aḥnef encamped at Merv, and Yezdejird sent envoys from Merv Er-Rûd to the Khâkhân of the Turks, the king of Sughd, and the king of Tshîn, asking aid from them.

Aḥnef remaining in Merv, the Khalîfeh sent from Kûfeh four Arab commanders to join him, one of whom was 'Alḳameh Ibn Naṣr El-Baṣry, another 'Abdallah Ibn Abû 'Okail Eth-Thaḳafy, another Rabî'a Ibn 'Amir Et-Temîmy, and the fourth Ibn 'Amm Ghazâl El-Hamadâny. When these persons reached Aḥnef, he appointed Ḥârith Ibn Nu'mân Bâhily to be lieutenant of Merv, and went forward to Merv Er-Rûd. Yezdejird now left this place, and going in haste to Balkh put himself into its fortress. As Merv Er-Rûd was the central point of Khorâsân, and because it was near to Merv, Herât and Nîshâbûr, Aḥnef remained there. His troops from Kûfeh he sent on to Balkh, which they at first had to fight for, but eventually took peaceably. Yezdejird escaped from them, and crossed the Jeihûn, and when Aḥnef arrived at the gates of Balkh, he found that the Muslims had already taken possession of the place. Aḥnef next sent troops against the city of Tukhâristân, and captured it; then

stationing Rabî'a Ibn 'Amir with the troops from Kûfeh in Balkh, he went and encamped again at Merv Er-Rûd. From thence he wrote to the Khalîfeh, giving an account of the conquest of Khorâsân and the flight of Yezdejird to the Turk borders. When the Khalîfeh heard of this, he exclaimed: "What shall we do! would that, instead of our making this conquest, there had been a fire, or a sea, between it and us, that no one could have gained it!" 'Aly,—on whom be, peace!—having asked the Khalîfeh: "O 'Omar! why are you averse to the conquest of Khorâsân?" the latter replied: "Because its inhabitants have three several times broken their compact; much blood has already been shed, and many persons have died, and I do not wish Muslims to die there." The Khalîfeh, therefore, wrote to Aḥnef: "You have gone far enough; do not cross the Jeihûn, but remain in Khorâsân; and endeavor not to change your mien, nor to adopt the Persian food and elegancies; continue in your own habits, that victory from God may be ever with you. If you do change your habits, God will reverse the conquering power which He has given to you."

When Yezdejird crossed the Jeihûn, he went to Sughd, the king of which had assembled a numerous force, and invited the people of Ferghânah to join him; which they having done, he crossed the Jeihûn in company with Yezdejird, and came to Balkh. Meanwhile, Rabî'a Ibn 'Amir left that place for Merv Er-Rûd, and Yezdejird, assembling the troops of the Khâkhân of the Turks with those of Balkh and Tataristân, marched with fifty thousand mounted men against Aḥnef, who at that time had only twenty thousand men with him. The Khâkhân's soldiers came to Deiri-Ahnef, where Aḥnef then was, near to Merv Er-Rûd, and there, morning and evening for two months, fought with the Muslims. One night, the officer on guard among the Turks was a person of a tribe related to the Khâkhân. Aḥnef learning this went out, and fought with him in single combat, and killed him, the officer, however, not knowing with whom he fought. This person was one of three brothers, and one of the surviving two, hearing of his brother's death, came out against Aḥnef, and was also killed. The third afterwards met with the same fate from the hand of Aḥnef. When morning

came, the circumstances were made known to the Khâkhân, and he went out to see the three dead brothers. At the sight of them, his heart burned, and he said to the Turks: "This is a disastrous war; how many of our troops have been killed in it! Much as we are endeavoring to conquer this kingdom for Yezdejird, we meet with no success; and indeed what have we in common with him?" So, collecting his troops together, he crossed the river, and went away to Turkistân, by the way of Balkh.

Yezdejird, seeing that the Khâkhân was gone, left Deïri-Ahnef, and went towards Merv, for there he had placed all his money and valuables. On arriving at Merv, however, he found Hârith Ibn Nu'mân with the Muslim forces besieging it; so, taking his valuables he set off for Balkh in the track of the Khâkhân. All the Persian chief nobles who were with him inquired among themselves what they should do; and learning from Yezdejird that he was going to join the Khâkhân, and accompany him into Turkistân, they told him that, if he really was going among the Turks, they would not go with him. "For," said they, "there is no religion of any sort among them, nor can any confidence be placed in them. If you desire quarter," added the nobles, "go to the Arabs, and ask it of them, for they have driven you from your home. Give them the riches you possess, and they will restore you to your home again, and us to ours." But Yezdejird would not consent to this, and replied: "I can not endure to see another king filling my place." At this, they exclaimed: "Nor can we permit the riches and treasure which our forefathers accumulated with so great pains, and the valuable jewels of the Persian kings, to be given by you to the Turks." Having said this, they deprived Yezdejird of all he possessed; and taking it to Ahnef demanded quarter, which having been granted to them, each was allowed to retire to his own home. As for Yezdejird, he, accompanied by his private servants, went away to the Khâkhân of the Turks. Ahnef divided the treasure which he thus acquired, among his soldiers, giving to each as much as the whole booty of Nehâwend.

The author says that, when the Persians forsook Yezdejird, he fled, and they pursued him, and having killed him in a

mill, threw his body into the river. But another account is as follows:

Yezdejird, when he fled from Merv, went to the Khâkhân at Balkh, and, he having already escaped across the Jeihûn, followed him, and went into Turkistân. On reaching Sughd, he met his envoy returning from Tshîn, with an answer to his letter, in which the king of that country wrote: "I know that the honor of kings and princes requires them to aid one another in time of need; but, having inquired of the envoy whom you sent to me, respecting the appearance, the religion, the rites, and the conduct of these Arabs, against whom you ask the aid of my troops, I am convinced that they, by their religion, its rites and its faith, will conquer the whole world, that no one can stand before them, and that no one can make them change their determination. The best plan for you, therefore, is to resort to stratagem and dissimulation. Use then these means, that they may not drive you from your kingdom, and in the end you will be able to expel them." The Khâkhân returned to his own country of Turkistân, and sent Yezdejird with his people to Ferghânah, where he took up his abode.

As for Ahnef, he went back from Balkh to Merv Er-Rûd, and wrote to the Khalîfeh 'Omar an account of the conquest which he had made, stating also that he had driven Yezdejird out of Khorâsân, which gave the Khalîfeh,—on whom be peace!—much joy, and relief from the apprehension which he had felt respecting him; and the Khalîfeh appointed Ahnef governor of that country, and commanded the troops of 'Irâk to march to Fârs.

Now two years of the khalîfate of 'Aly,—on whom be the Divine complacence!—had passed. The people of Khorâsân had broken their compact, and sacrificed their lives; and Yezdejird, the last of the Sâsânide kings of Persia, left Ferghânah in Turkistân, and coming again into Khorâsân in the hope of regaining his lost kingdom was killed.

(To be continued.)

TRANSLATION OF AN IMPERIAL BERÂT

ISSUED BY

SULTÂN SELIM III.

A. H. 1215,

APPOINTING THE MONK HOHANNES PATRIARCH OF ALL THE ARMENIANS OF TURKEY,

WITH NOTES.

BY

REV. H. G. O. DWIGHT,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN TURKEY.

TRANSLATION OF AN IMPERIAL BERÂT

ISSUED BY

SULTÂN SELIM III.

THE Armenian subjects (of the Porte) dwelling in Constantinople and the neighboring cities, including the Vartabeds, the Priests, the President of the Council called Alty Jemâ'at, and the chiefs of the various trading corporations, in a petition presented to my Majesty, have made known that, in consequence of the monk Daniel, Patriarch of Constantinople, having been chosen Katholicos of Echmiadzin, the monk David was elected Patriarch of Constantinople. But, dissensions having sprung up among the Armenians, because the greater part of the community do not wish the monk David, and, on this account, neither the monk David, nor a certain other monk desired by some, being suitable persons for the patriarchal office in our Metropolis; therefore, it became necessary, according to ancient rule, to make choice of another person. Wherefore, by my high ferman, I gave orders that, excepting the monk David, and the other monk desired by certain pious persons, a worthy and suitable individual should be chosen, by unanimous consent, according to their custom.

Agreeably to my order, they all, having assembled together, made choice of the beloved of Christians, the monk Hohannes, the Vicar of the former Patriarch,—whose end be peace!—on account of his being praise worthy, and of good character. This monk Hohannes,—whose end be peace!—having been chosen by them, the same who has now the imperial berât in his hands, and being appointed over them, they besought,

as a favor, the high imperial berât, according to ancient rule. Wherefore, the records kept in the royal treasury being examined with regard to the present paid by Bishops, and the sum of one hundred thousand aspers(1) having been paid as a gift to the royal treasury for the Armenian patriarchate of Constantinople and the parts of European and Asiatic Turkey, and a yearly present of one hundred and forty thousand aspers having been paid, I issued my high command, by this written berât, that this said monk Hohannes, —whose end be peace!—should be substituted in the place of the aforesaid monk Daniel; and I ordered that this imperial berât be given to him according to rule. And when the customary present of eight hundred and thirty aspers was given, for receiving a copy of this instrument, on the second day of Muharram in the year of the Hegira 1215, I issued this imperial berât, and commanded that this monk Hohannes,—whose end be peace!—should have the appointment of all Priests and Bishops in Constantinople and the parts of European and Asiatic Turkey; and, he being Patriarch, according to their ancient customs and canons, and the demands of their religion, that all Bishops and Priests, throughout the bounds of his jurisdiction, and every man of the (Armenian) community, whether great or small, should recognize him as Patriarch, and obey him in every thing which concerns his spiritual authority, and should not depart from his righteous decisions.

Throughout the bounds of his jurisdiction, no one shall interfere in such spiritual matters as the appointing or removing of Bishops, Vartabeds and Priests. Without his seal, no bishopric can be bestowed upon any one, through petitions presented to judges, and by their decisions alone.

Every thing pertaining to church property shall be in the hands of the Patriarch; and no civil officer shall interfere with the property of deceased Priests, Vartabeds, Bishops, or nuns, in possession of the Patriarch, or his agents. It is permitted, as of old, by the decision of the holy fetwa,* as well as by my imperial orders, that all churches, monasteries, and places of pilgrimage, under his jurisdiction, may freely exercise their religious rites; and no civil officer, or other person, shall interpose any hindrance.

* A religious decree.

The common Priests are not to marry any one who, according to their faith, is unsuited for marriage, without permission from the Patriarch.[2] And if any woman shall elope from her husband, or if any one wishes to marry, or to divorce, a woman, no person shall interfere in the matter, but the Patriarch.

If any one of the Priests, Vartabeds, or common people of the Armenian nation, dies, and, in accordance with their religion, bequeaths property to the poor of the Church, or to the Patriarch, the testimony of Armenians, (as well as others,) shall be received before the judge.

Whoever of the Priests, or Bishops, is found transgressing against his religion, let the Patriarch punish him according to law; and let no one interfere when he (the Patriarch) shaves off his beard, and deprives him of his office as Priest, or Vartabed, and places another in his room.

According to all former custom, by this my high berât, let the said monk Hohannes,—whose end be peace!—Patriarch of the Armenians, have control over all vineyards, gardens, farms, pastures, fields, mills, holy fountains, places of pilgrimage, monasteries, houses, shops, fruit-trees and other trees, and all such like church property, which belongs to the churches under his jurisdiction, and let no one else interfere.

Let no Priest, or Vartabed, acting under appointment of the Patriarch, contravene this imperial berât in regard to the exhibition of the accounts of the revenues of any of the churches, or monasteries, which are the perquisites of the Patriarch's office.

Let none of the primates (rich men of the Armenians) presume to dictate that such a priest must be removed from office, or that such an one must be placed in such a church, or that such a man must be married contrary to the rules.

If any persons of the Armenian nation, who have neither church, nor monastery, going about the streets and speaking against the doctrine of my true subjects the Armenians, shall corrupt the common people, let them be seized and punished by the Patriarch, according to our imperial order.[3]

Whenever the Patriarch goes abroad, let none of the civil officers interfere with his horses, his guard, or his attendants, although they may have changed their dress.[4]

When the productions of the Patriarch's grounds, which are his proper living, as wine, oil, honey, and other such like things, are carried to his house, no one of the imperial tax-gatherers, who are stationed at the harbour, or at the gates of the city, shall interfere against their ancient rights.

If ever it becomes necessary that a Priest, or Vartabed, be seized on the part of justice, it shall be through the Patriarch alone.

No one shall be forced to become a Musulman against his own will.

No one shall, on any pretence, impose himself as an officer upon the said Patriarch, without his consent.[5]

As long as he (the Patriarch) pays the stipulated sum of one hundred and forty thousand aspers into the imperial treasury, he is permitted to rule over his patriarchate, no one being allowed to hinder him.

When the Vartabeds are appointed by the authority of the Patriarch as his messengers, to collect money from the people, none of the civil officers shall meddle with them on their way.

If any one of those who have married contrary to their rules, or who preaches contrary to their system of faith, dies, neither the judges, nor other officers, shall by force compel the Armenians to bury him.

And as long as the said Patriarch shall act in accordance with this my imperial berât, his patriarchal office shall by no means be given to another, and no one shall interfere, and cause disturbance, contrary to my imperial order and the accustomed rules.

And the said Hohannes, Patriarch,—whose end be peace!—being esteemed like his equals,[6] shall together with his agent at the Porte, and fifteen of his people besides, be exempt from the capitation, and every other tax, though legally due.

The Patriarch alone, and his agents, shall examine and settle the accounts of the Priests and Vartabeds who reside in the churches and monasteries of the Empire.

With regard to the churches and monasteries which belong to the ancient Armenians, no Pasha, Mutsellim, Judge, or other officer, shall have it in his power, by representing the

matter to the Porte, to take them from the proper Armenian subjects, and give them over into the hands of those called Catholics; and the proper Armenian subjects (of the Porte) shall not be molested, whenever it is found necessary, through application to the Patriarch, to punish according to their rules those (of their community) who profess another faith.

Whenever the Armenian community falls under a heavy debt, they (the civil officers) shall not seize the furniture of the village or city monasteries, nor shall they detain it for security; and if, at any time or in any manner, any has thus been taken, let it be restored, in a legal way, to its rightful owner.

Since, according to their ancient custom, divorcing a wife and the multiplying of wives are particularly against their faith, no tolerance is to be shown to offenders in this way, but they are to be punished.

No one is to interfere with the landed property belonging to the Patriarch.

In order that the Vartabeds who are appointed messengers to collect the stipulated imperial taxes, may make their journeys in safety, none of the civil officers in the way are to seize any of the flocks, and herds, which they may have with them.(7)

The royal tax-gatherers, stationed at the gates, and landing places, shall not touch a shred, or scrap, of any of the property belonging to the church, claiming it as a tax.

Law suits of citizens (of Constantinople) shall not be tried in distant places, for I have ordained courts of justice, in and around the Metropolis, that they may be under the inspection of my powerful government.

The Smyrna Patriarch,(8) like the Patriarch of Constantinople, beside himself and Vicar, shall have fifteen persons exempt from the capitation, and other taxes; and the law shall see to their rights.

No one is to hinder, in any way, the above written orders and conditions; but all, knowing my will to be so, shall give all due honor and respect to my high and imperial signet.

NOTES.

(1.) According to the present rates of exchange at Constantinople, twenty-three and a half piasters of the Grand Seignor make one Spanish dollar; and since forty paras make one piaster, and three aspers make one para, it follows that 2,820 aspers are required to make one Spanish dollar. The whole amount required to be paid into the royal treasury yearly, by the Patriarch, would at this rate be only about $35. But originally the exchange was quite different. The time was when the Turkish piaster was equal in value to about one Spanish dollar, so that the annual tribute of the Patriarch was about $833.

(2.) The Armenian rules with regard to marriage are such, that even very distant relatives cannot legally marry; and the law allows of divorce in no case whatever, not even for adultery. These rules, however, are easily set aside, when a sufficient amount of money is paid to the ecclesiastics.

It is worthy of remark that it is here clearly implied, that the Patriarch has power to authorize the marriage of those who "according to their faith" are "unsuited for marriage." He does it for money.

(3.) The persons, here particularly referred to, are Armenian converts to the Roman Catholic faith, who, at the time this document was written, were not recognized by the Porte, and were often the subjects of bitter persecution. They now form an entirely separate body, having a Patriarch of their own, who derives his appointment from the Porte.

(4.) The out-door dress of the subjects of Turkey was formerly regulated by law, and no Christian was permitted to adopt the dress worn by the Turks. This clause in the berât gives authority to the Patriarch to dress his attendants in some respects as Turks, whenever he pleases, and no police officer was in that case permitted to molest them.

(5.) The Patriarch is furnished with one or more armed policemen, or Kavasses, who always live at the patriarchate, and accompany him when he goes abroad. The meaning of this clause is that no Musulman should force himself upon the Patriarch as his Kavass, which was often attempted in

the time of the Janissaries, for the sake of filching money from the Christians.

(6.) The Pashas, or Foreign Ministers, are here referred to, to each of whom are annually sent, by the Porte, a certain number of free kharâj-papers, or exemptions from the capitation-tax, for distribution among those Christian subjects who may be in his employment.

(7.) Vartabeds are often employed in the country to go among their own people and collect taxes, in sheep, cattle, and grain, for the government; and this custom is here referred to.

(8.) This ecclesiastic is a Bishop, and not properly a Patriarch, though Bishops, at the head of important dioceses, are often loosely called Patriarchs by the Turks.

There will probably never be written again such a berât, in Turkey. The whole policy of the present Turkish government is to strip the Patriarchs of all civil powers, and of all opportunity to persecute, and to leave them only the right to perform their ecclesiastical functions, among those who choose to live under them, and to look to them for spiritual aid.

ON THE

IDENTIFICATION OF THE SIGNS

OF THE

PERSIAN CUNEIFORM ALPHABET.

BY

EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE SIGNS

OF THE

PERSIAN CUNEIFORM ALPHABET.

It is generally known to scholars, that the deciphering of the cuneiform, or arrow-headed, character has long been a problem of great interest among the orientalists of Europe. But, while the investigation of this subject has been going on, the field of research has been constantly becoming more extensive. When the study of the cuneiform character was begun, about fifty years ago, the inscriptions copied by Niebuhr at Persepolis, and published in his *Reisebeschreibung*, were the principal materials at command; and this continued to be the case until twelve years ago, when two inscriptions existing near Hamadân were given to the world. But more recently, the number of monuments in this character, which have been discovered and made known, has greatly increased, while, at the same time, there has been a multiplication of the recognized varieties of it. It was early perceived that there are different species of this character, for the Persepolitan tablets, which Niebuhr copied, show it in three special forms, side by side, and distinctive names for two of these were soon generally adopted. The resemblance of one of them to the character found on Babylonian cylinders and bricks, very naturally affixed to it the name of the Babylonian. Another, which until later was seen only at Persepolis, received, from that circumstance, the name of the Persian; and, as it has been found, up to the present time, only on monuments of Persian sovereigns, excepting one anomalous case, this designation, also, commends itself as appropriate. The third form, though clearly seen to be different from

either of the others, had no name of distinction until more recently, when, from its position between the other two, and from its being found only at Persepolis, it took the name of the Median. The propriety of this name, however, there are some grounds for questioning.

But several other varieties have now been recognized and named. A closer examination has shown the Babylonian cuneiform character of Persepolis to be a simplification of that which is seen on Babylonian cylinders and bricks, rather than identical with it; and the two kinds may be very well called, as they are, respectively, the Primitive and the Achæmenidan Babylonian, the name of the latter being taken from the dynasty on whose monuments it is found. So, the extensive discoveries of the traveller Schulz at Vân in ancient Armenia, followed by those of Botta and Layard at Khorsabad and Nimrûd, on the site of ancient Nineveh, have brought to light another variety requiring to be classed by itself, which, from its locality, and the traditionary connection of Vân with Semiramis, has taken the appropriate name of the Assyrian; and perhaps this, again, must be subdivided. There has been also discovered by Layard, in ancient Susiana, another variety of the cuneiform character, which is called, with precision sufficient for the present, the Elymæan, from the particular place where it was found.

Yet the orientalists of Europe have not been disheartened by this extension of the field to be investigated. On the contrary, the study of the cuneiform character, having begun with the Persian variety, on account of its being the simplest, has embraced, more recently, the Median, the Babylonian, and the Assyrian; and the examination to which these have been subjected is probably to lead, before long, to the deciphering of them all.

Meanwhile, the Persian cuneiform alphabet has been already deciphered; and we purpose now to communicate some of the results obtained, especially with regard to the value of the individual signs. The monuments, on which this alphabet is found, exist at or near Persepolis; on Mount Behistûn, the *Βαγίστανον ὄρος* of the Greeks, in ancient Media; on Mount Elwend, the *Ὀρόντης* of the Greeks, near Hamadân;

at Vân, in ancient Armenia; and in the vicinity of Suez; to which are to be added two vases, known as the vase of Count Caylus and the vase of the Treasury of St. Mark's, which are preserved at Paris and Venice; a Babylonian cylinder in the British Museum; and a monument near Terku, a city lying north of the Caucasian mountains. This last mentioned monument makes the exception to the exclusive appropriation of the Persian cuneiform alphabet to memorials of Persian kings, which has been already referred to; for it seems to be a monument of one of the Arsacides. But the inscription of Terku strangely intermingles different varieties of the cuneiform character, so that it can not properly be regarded as a specimen of either. That all these monuments, excepting the last mentioned, belong to Persian kings, has been proved by the discovery of the name of some one of the Achæmenides, or family of Cyrus, on each of them.

As to the method to be pursued in showing the value of the Persian cuneiform signs, it must be premised that, although their identification depends, ultimately, upon the successful reading of the entire series of inscriptions presenting them, on the supposition that they have been correctly valued, yet, since it is impracticable for us to exhibit here the evidence of their powers so fully as to identify each one in every word where it occurs, we shall limit ourselves to one or two words as examples of the power of each. It is also to be observed that, in thus bringing forward words for the sake of single signs which they contain, we shall necessarily assume the value of some signs, before they have been examined, trusting to evidence, afterwards to be given, that what we have assumed is true. But as we advance, we shall take constantly less for granted, before it is proved.

Some explanation may be desirable, also, as to the use which we shall make of Sanskrit and Zend words, by way of comparison. It is apparent that texts, in an unknown language and character, can be made out only by the aid of parallel texts which are intelligible; or by means of words, taken from some language, or languages, known to be allied to that given in the yet undeciphered alphabet, which are used as tests of the phonetic powers and grammatical forms to be ascertained,—some independent

ground for the identification of a few of the unknown signs having been previously established. In the case before us, there were no parallel texts to illustrate the cuneiform; but a foundation for discovery was laid by Grotefend, in the conjectural reading of the names of Darius and Xerxes, in certain groups of signs. Yet there would have been no progress beyond conjecture, had not the Sanskrit and Zend languages been consulted; and it was certainly reasonable to expect light from these sources, since the Zend was known as an ancient religious language of Persia, and the Sanskrit as very nearly akin to it. Words, therefore, which are cited as examples of the value of a Persian cuneiform sign, should be shown to have their equivalents, either radical alone, or grammatical as well as radical, in one or the other, or in both of these languages.*

We have been led to the following views of the alphabetical system of the Achæmenidan Persian, chiefly, by publications of Professor Lassen of Bonn, Professor Burnouf of Paris, and Major Rawlinson, British Resident at Baghdâd; yet no authority has been implicitly followed, but we have rather aimed to make a critical digest of what is contained in the most important of the works relating to the subject, hitherto published. It is needless to enumerate all these works, here, as a sketch of the progress of the study of the cuneiform character was given in the last Number of this Journal, and as Rawlinson's Introduction to his Memoir on the inscription of Behistûn, which may be easily referred to, gives the details. But the following, not having been noticed in either place, may here be mentioned, viz: *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Persischen Keilinschriften, von Adolph Holtzmann.* Erstes Heft. Carlsruhe: 1845; *Die Grabschrift des Darius zu Nakschi Rustam, erläutert von Dr. Ferd. Hitzig.* Zürich: 1847; *Die Persischen Keilinschriften mit Uebersetzung und Glossar, von Theodor Benfey.* Leipzig: 1847; and Oppert's *Lautsystem des Altpersischen.* The last named work we have not yet seen, but suppose to have been published in 1847–8.

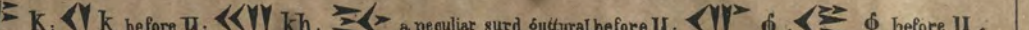
* In all our references to the Zend language, we shall rely chiefly upon the authority of Professor Burnouf, whose *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, with Preliminary Observations on the Zend alphabet, is by far the richest store-house of instruction, respecting that language, which as yet has been opened to us.

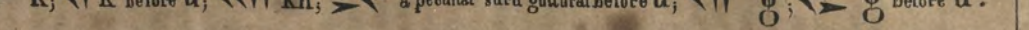
PERSIAN CUNEIFORM ALPHABET.

VOWELS: â, i, u.

GUTTURALS: k, k before u, kh, a peculiar surd guttural before u, g, g before u.

PALATALS: tsh, j, j before i.

DENTALS:  t, t before u, th, d, d before u, d before i.

LABIALS:  p, f, b.

NASALS: m, m before i, n, n before u, anuswâra.

SEMIVOWELS: or y, r, r before u, v, v before i.

SIBILANTS: ś, sh, z.

ASPIRATE: h.

COMPOUND-SIGNS: rp, thr, or dah, or bumi.

Case & Green, Lith. Hartford, Conn.

We begin with the Vowel-signs, of which there are three in the Persian cuneiform alphabet, namely,

1. 𐎠, 2. 𐎡, 3. 𐎢.

The first of these signs denotes the primitive *a*-sound of the Sanskrit and Zend; but without regard to quantity, for while, as a final and as a medial, it always represents the long *a*-sound, as: *brâtâ*, a brother, (nom.) S. *bhrâtâ* and Z. *brâtâ*,* id., yet, as an initial, it generally represents short *a*, as: *â'sbâraibish*, with horsemen, from *â'sbâra*, an adjective formed from *â'sba*, S. *a'swa* and Z. *a'spa*, a horse.

Our second vowel-sign denotes both the long and the short *i*-sound of the Sanskrit and Zend. For, as a medial, it is found to correspond to the long *î* of the Sanskrit, as: *jîvahyâ*, of life, S. *jîvasya*, id.; while, both as an initial and as a medial, it stands for the short *i* of that language and the Zend, as: *idâ*, here, S. *iha* and Z. *idha*, id.; and *pitâ*, the father, (nom.) S. *pitâ* and Z. *pita*, id. To suppose a short vowel in the Persian of our inscriptions, in cases where the analogy of the kindred languages would lead one to expect the long *i*-sound, without the appearance of any law requiring such abbreviation, would be arbitrary. Indeed, that supposition would tend to destroy the applicability of any evidence drawn from these languages, respecting the quantity expressed by our cuneiform vowel-signs.

Our third vowel-sign represents both the short and the long *u*-sound of the Sanskrit and Zend. For the short *u*, we find it as an initial, in *utâ*, also, Vêdic S. and Z. *uta*, id.; and as a medial, in *drauga*, lying, (nom.) from the root *drug*, S. *druh* for *drugh*, to plot against, and Z. *druj*, used as the name of evil spirits in the Zendavesta. For the long *û*, it appears as a medial, in *hushiya*, benevolent, (masc. nom. sing.) this word being made up of *hu*, well, S. *su*, id., and *ushiya*, from *usha*, will, Z. *u'sa* or *usa*, and S. *va'sa*, id.

We have said, that the first of our cuneiform vowel-signs represents the long *a*-sound alone, in the middle and at the end of words. This is connected with a principle of orthography, in which there is a remarkable agreement between the Achæ-

* This is the form of the Zend nominative from a ground-form in *ar*, when the conjunction *tsha* follows. See Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 175.

menidan Persian and the Sanskrit, that short *a*, medial and final, is implied in the sign of the preceding consonant, and is not expressed by any separate sign. It follows, therefore, that long and short *a*-sounds, being medial, or final, are always distinguishable in our inscriptions. Nor is the indiscriminate use of a single sign, to denote both the long and the short *a*-sound, to be so understood as if there was no more definite appropriation of it, originally. For our first vowel-sign is used wherever etymology requires the long *a*-sound,* while *a* is denoted by it only at the beginning of words; so that its proper sound was undoubtedly long, and we must suppose that, as used for *â*, it was diverted from its original appropriation, on account of the want of a distinct sign for the short *a*-sound, when initial. So, our second and third vowel-signs, being the only representatives of the *i*-sound and *u*-sound, respectively, in the Persian cuneiform alphabet, probably denoted originally *i* and *u*, rather than *î* and *û*, although they are used indiscriminately for either the short, or the long sound of those vowels.†

It does not appear that *î* and *û* were in any way distinguished, in the orthography of our inscriptions, from the corresponding short vowels. Lassen has, indeed, suggested that final *iya* and *uva* may have been, sometimes, used to signify long *î* and long *û*; and Holtzmann takes the same view. But this suggestion was made in order to account for those terminations, in certain cases where the Sanskrit, or Zend, has short *i*, or *u*, the original short vowel being supposed to have been lengthened after the analogy of final *â* in the Achæmenidan Persian, substituted, as it sometimes is, for *a* in the kindred languages. Final *iya* and *uva*, however, corresponding to *i* and *u* in the Sanskrit and Zend, may always be explained on the general principle, presently to be illustrated, that the language of our inscriptions admitted no final vowel-sounds except those of *a* and *â*.

There are no proper diphthongs belonging to the Persian cuneiform alphabet; for wherever, in our inscriptions, either

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* The termination *anâm*, in the place of the usual *ânâm* of the genitive plural, being evidently a corruption of the language itself, is no exception to this remark.

† Following the orthography of our inscriptions, in all words quoted from them, we use *â* to represent initial *a*-sounds, both long and short, and *i* and *u* for both the long and the short sound of those vowels.

a short or a long *a*-sound comes before *i*, or *u*, instead of a distinct character being employed, as in the Sanskrit, and in the Zend for *a*+*i* and *a*+*u*, to denote the blending of one vowel with another, each vowel is represented by itself, precisely as in all other cases where it occurs; for example, in: *maiya*, of me, to me, S. *mê*, id., and in *bâbirauva*, at Babylon, a locative singular in *auva*, Z. *ô* and S. *âu*, we have the signs of *i* and *u*, while the preceding medial short *a* is to be supplied as usual; so, in the proper name *tshishpâisha*, Teispes, (nom.) and the word *dahyâush*, the province, (nom.) the long *â* and the following *i*, and *u*, are denoted by their usual signs.* Nor have we any ground for supposing that the Achæmenidan Persian language was, with respect to this point, in advance of its orthography. But there is evidence to the contrary, which will be alluded to in another place.

We will here state certain laws respecting the combination of *i*, and *u*, with a following dissimilar vowel, clearly discoverable in the language of our inscriptions, which throw farther light upon its vowel-system. They are these:

1. The vowel *i* after a consonant, was changed before a dissimilar vowel into the corresponding semivowel *y*, while between this and the preceding consonant, if not an *h*, was inserted an *i*, on account of the repugnance of *y* to following any consonant except *h*, as: *âpiya*, even, S. *api*, id.; and *âmahya*, we were, S. *âsmahi*, id.

From this example, and numerous others which might be cited, it appears that the vowel *i* was inadmissible at the end of a word; so that where there would otherwise have been, according to the analogy of the Sanskrit, or Zend, a final *i* after a consonant, an *a* was affixed.

The *i* of *iy* substituted for *i* before a dissimilar vowel, after a consonant, is to be regarded as an euphonic insertion, because, while the prevailing usage of the Sanskrit and Zend leads us to regard the semivowel *y*, and not *iy*, as the representative of the original *i* before the dissimilar vowel, there evidently was, in the language of our inscriptions, a principle of euphony which required that the semivowel *y*

* In the middle of Zend words, vowels which might have blended together in a diphthong, frequently followed one another without coalescing.

should be separated from a preceding consonant by the vowel *i*. For this vowel was inserted between an *original y* and a preceding consonant, as: *martiyam*, mankind, (acc.) from *martiya*, S. *martya*, a man; unless the consonant preceding was *h*, which could unite with *y* without the intervention of a vowel, as: *âhyâyâ*, from *âhyâ*, of this, (fem.) S. *asyâs*, perhaps from *asyâ*, id. We find, however, another reading for this word, namely, *âhiyâyâ*, which accords with the general rule.

2. The vowel *i* after a vowel, when final in the Sanskrit, or Zend, was changed, before a dissimilar vowel, into *iy*, as: *âuramazdâiya*, to Ormuzd, a word formed from *âuramazdâ* by adding *ai*, equivalent to S. and Z. *é* the sign of the dative case, and affixing an *a* to this termination, on account of the inadmissibility of final *i*. If we were to suppose the semivowel *y* to represent, here, the *i* of the inflection before the affixed *a*, there would be no apparent ground for the insertion of an *i* before it.

3. The vowel *i* after a vowel, being a medial, was changed, before a dissimilar vowel, into the corresponding semivowel, as: *khshâya* in *khshâyathiya*, the king, (nom.) formed from the root *khshi*, to rule, S. *kshi*, id., by adding the suffix *a*, which converted the root to *khshâi*, according to Sanskrit analogy.

The vowel *u*, before a dissimilar vowel, was subject to the same changes as *i*, in the several cases here enumerated.

1. Following a consonant, *u* before a dissimilar vowel was changed into its semivowel, between which and any preceding consonant an euphonic *u* was inserted, as: *dahyaushuvâ*, in the provinces, a locative plural corresponding to the Sanskrit form in *su*.

Final *u*, like final *i*, seems not to have been admissible in the language of our inscriptions; so that where the analogy of the Sanskrit, or Zend, would suggest its occurrence, an *a* was affixed.*

The *u* of *uv*, in such cases as *shuvâ* for the termination *su* of the Sanskrit, is to be referred to euphony for a reason similar to that which we have assigned for considering as euphonic the *i* of *iy* before a dissimilar vowel; since the

* The final *â*, in the word *dahyaushuvâ*, came by lengthening an original *a*.

language of our inscriptions invariably interposed *u* between an *original* semivowel of *u* and a preceding consonant, as: *huva*, he, Z. *hva* or *qa*, and S. *swa*, self, while the analogy of the Sanskrit and Zend leads us to regard the semivowel *v*, and not *uv*, as the representative of the original *u* before a dissimilar vowel.

2. The vowel *u* after a vowel, when, according to Sanskrit or Zend analogy, it would have been final, was changed, before a dissimilar vowel, into *uv*, as: *margauva*, in Margiana, a word of which the termination, *auva*, is equivalent to that of the locative singular from a ground-form in *u* of the Zend, namely, *ô*.

3. The vowel *u* following a vowel, being a medial, was changed, before a dissimilar vowel, into the corresponding semivowel, as: *dahyâva*, a nominative plural in *a*, S. *as*, from *dahyu*, a province, here amplified to *dahyâu*, as the Sanskrit ground-form *dasyu*, in the same case, became *dasyô*.

Compared with the Sanskrit and Zend vowel-systems, that of the language of our inscriptions shows us points of contrast, as well as of coincidence. A passing notice of the mutual relations of these several vowel-systems may not be out of place, in this connection, although the subject will be farther developed, when we have gone through with the examination of the signs of our cuneiform alphabet.

It may, then, be affirmed that the vowel-system of the Achæmenidan Persian was of a more primitive type than either that of the Zend, or that of the Sanskrit, even comparing it with the latter as exhibited in the Vêdas, where there appears something of the fluctuation of the period in the history of a language which precedes the fixed determination of its laws. The higher antiquity of the vowel-system of the Achæmenidan Persian is proved, relatively to the Zend, by its retaining all the primitive vowel-sounds in their original purity, while in the Zend an *a* of the Sanskrit frequently passed into *ĕ*. The same thing is shown, with reference to the Sanskrit as well as the Zend, by the presence of true diphthongs in these languages, though less frequent in the latter than in the former, which were wanting in the language of our inscriptions. In some important particulars of its

vowel-system, however, the Achæmenidan Persian seems to have been as fully developed as either of the other languages. For instance, the substitution of the semivowels *y* and *v* for *i* and *u*, before dissimilar vowels, is a law of equally extensive application in them all. So, with respect to the blending into one long vowel, of two short *a*-sounds coming together, which is rarely exemplified in the Zend, but is constant in the Sanskrit, the language of our inscriptions follows the example of the latter. If, as we suppose, this language had the sounds of long *i* and long *û*, though without special signs to distinguish them, it probably resembled the Sanskrit farther, in forming out of two concurrent *i*'s, or *u*'s, the corresponding long sound, which is, also, opposed to the rule of the Zend.

It should be added here, that vowels performed a less important part, in either the Sanskrit, or the Zend, than in the language of our inscriptions, inasmuch as the latter rejected all terminal consonants, excepting two, and of these one may not have been distinctly articulated.

We must now proceed to identify the Consonant-signs of the Persian cuneiform alphabet, and it will be convenient to consider them in several distinct classes, as follows:

I. The *guttural-signs*, namely,

1. , 2. , 3. , 4. , 5. , 6. ,

of which the first four are surds, and the last two, sonants.

The first of these signs represents the *k* of the Sanskrit and Zend, as: *kartam*, made, done, (neut. nom. sing.) S. *kartam* and Z. *kĕrĕtĕm*, id. But its use was restricted, for our cuneiform alphabet differed from that of the Sanskrit, or the Zend, in providing a special sign to denote the unaspirated surd guttural *k* before the vowel *u*.

The second in this series is the sign just alluded to, a proof of the special appropriation of which is found in *â* *unavam*, I did, compared with *artam*, done, both of these words being derived from the same root, *kar*, S. *kri*, to make, to do. But what was the peculiar articulation of *k* before *u*, which required this orthographic distinction, is uncertain.

The third sign here given represents the *kh* of the Sanskrit and Zend alphabets; for it is evidently the aspirate of *k*, since it stands for the Sanskrit *k* according to a law, also in force in the Zend, which required the aspiration of a surd guttural, when followed by a nasal, liquid, or sibilant, as: *tshithratakhma*, (nom.) a compound used as a proper name, of which the latter constituent may be derived from the root *tak*, S. *tak*, to sustain; *tshakhriyâ*, he would make, from the root *kar*; and *khshâyathiya*, from the root *khshi*, S. *kshi*. But it does not always denote *kh* substituted for Sanskrit *k* by this euphonic law, since we find the same sign also before vowels, as: *hakhâmanishiya*, an Achæmenide, (nom.) and *tigrakhudâ*, (nom. plur.) the name of a Scythian tribe. Nor was the law of euphony, just referred to, quite precise in its operation, for we find a Sanskrit *k* to have been aspirated in the language of our inscriptions, sometimes, even before the dental *t*, as: *durukhtam*, not well (not truly) said, S. *duruktam*, id., unless the form of this word is to be explained as indicative of a deficiency of discrimination between the articulations of *k* and *kh*.

The fourth sign in this series denotes an articulation which was peculiar to the Achæmenidan Persian. There are only two known examples of it, of which the most decisive is given in a certain proper name, having this sign for its initial letter, which Lassen reads *chudrâ*, and supposes to have signified the Kurds, but which Rawlinson reads *mudrâ*, as a name of the Egyptians.

For the identification of this rare sign as an *m*, Rawlinson relies upon a statement of Stephen of Byzantium, that the Phœnician appellation of Egypt was *Μύαρα*,* while he maintains that the name in question, in our inscriptions, must mean Egyptians, because the name of a country, which varies from it only in form, occurs in a passage of the inscription of Behistûn, referring to the revolt of the feigned Smerdis under Cambyses, where he thinks it can only mean Egypt, as Herodotus says that the revolt of Smerdis took place while Cambyses was in that country. The passage is as follows:

"Says Darius the king: Cambyses by name, a son of Cyrus, of our race, was king here of old. Of that Camby-

* Rawlinson thinks this should be read *Μώδρα*.

ses there was a brother named Bardiya (Smerdis), a brother of Cambyses by the same father and the same mother. Afterwards, Cambyses put to death that Smerdis. . . . . Afterwards, Cambyses proceeded to *Mudra*, (or, according to Lassen's reading, *Chudra*, that is, Kurdistân.) . . . .

Says Darius the king: Afterwards, there arose a certain man, a Magian, named Gaumâta; . . . . he deceived the State, saying: I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses."

Now it is true that Herodotus does ascribe the usurpation of the feigned Smerdis, partly, to the absence of Cambyses, at the time, in Egypt; and this is certainly in favor of supposing Egypt to be the country to which the inscription of Behistûn informs us that Cambyses went, after the death of his real brother Smerdis. But, on the other hand, it is equally certain that, according to Herodotus, Cambyses was already in Egypt, when he heard the rumor of his brother's usurpation, which led him to resolve upon putting him to death; and that he sent from Egypt the agent whom he employed to destroy him. It is evident that the country to which, in the inscription of Behistûn, Cambyses is said to have gone after the death of his brother, can not be Egypt, consistently with the whole narrative of Herodotus, unless the inscription is supposed to refer to a departure of the king to Egypt, after having once returned from thence, in the interval between his real brother's death and the usurpation of the feigned Smerdis. Herodotus, however, gives us no intimation of this.

In view, therefore, of all that the Greek historian says of the events of Persian history here referred to, we are necessitated to find some other country than Egypt, under the name which Rawlinson reads *mudra* in the passage of the inscription of Behistûn which has been quoted; and there is nothing in the narrative of Herodotus against the supposition, that Kurdistân may have been the country intended. Indeed, Herodotus himself represents that Cambyses was in Syria, (*τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι,*) after the death of his brother, before the feigned Smerdis had completed his usurpation. A herald of the pretender, who had been despatched to Egypt, to claim for him the homage of the Per-

sian army there, is said to have met Cambyses at Agbatana in Syria.*

But we have a positive ground for reading, with an initial guttural, *chudra*, and *chudrâ* where the plural form is used to signify a people. For, in an enumeration of the tributaries of Darius which has been found at Persepolis, the *chudrâ*, (or *mudrâ*,) are introduced between the Assyrians and Armenia, while the general arrangement of names there, is such that they must be looked for northward of Assyria. There is, therefore, scarcely room to doubt that the Kurds are the people here spoken of.

For these reasons, the alphabetical sign which has led us into this long digression, may be quite confidently classed as a guttural; and since of the two Greek forms of the name of the Kurds, Καρδοῦχοι and Γορδυαῖοι, the former, with an initial *K*, is said by Strabo to be the oldest, there seems to be some reason for regarding this as a surd, rather than a sonant. Its articulation, however, was one peculiar to the language of our inscriptions; for, being found only before *u*, it seems to have depended upon that vowel, while yet there is no indication of its having been merely an euphonic substitute for one of the other gutturals of the language.

Our fifth guttural-sign represents the *g* of the Sanskrit and Zend alphabets, as: *âgarbâyam*, I seized, from the root *garb*, Vêdic S. *gṛibh* and Z. *gĕrĕw*,† to seize. But its use was restricted, like that of the corresponding surd; for we find it only before the vowels *a*, *â* and *i*, while before *u* it has its substitute, denoting some unknown modification of its power.

The last in our series of cuneiform guttural-signs is this substitute for the preceding, denoting *g* before *u*. Its peculiarity is proved by the proper name *mar* *ush*, (nom.) Margiana, of which the locative singular, *mar* *auva*, presents the ordinary *g*.

* The passages of Herodotus which have been referred to, may be found in Book III. Sections 27–30 and 61–62, of Baehr's edition. The place called Agbatana in Syria was probably upon some declivity of Mt. Carmel. See Mannert's *Geographie d. Griechen u. Römer.* VI. 1. p. 353.

† According to Burnouf's view, Z. *w* from S. *bh* comes through the articulation *b* substituted for *bh*. The ordinary Sanskrit form of the root *gṛibh* is *gṛih* or *grah*, in which the aspirate alone is preserved.

Our cuneiform *g* sometimes stands for the aspirated sonant guttural of the Sanskrit, as: *gaushâ*, ears, (acc.) from the root *gush*, S. *ghush*, whence comes S. *ghôsha*, sound, and there is no evidence, derivable from its alphabet, that the language of our inscriptions distinguished the Sanskrit articulation *gh*. The Zend word, corresponding to the Sanskrit *ghôsha*, is *gaosha*, ear, also beginning with the unaspirated *g*; but this is a solitary example of *g* standing for Sanskrit *gh*, in the Zend. The Zend, having a *gh* of its own, reverses the case by very frequently putting this in the place of the Sanskrit *g*.

II. The *palatal-signs*, namely,

1. , 2. , 3. ,

of which the first is a surd, and the two latter are sonants.

The first of these signs denotes the *tsh* of the Sanskrit and Zend, as: *tsha*, and, S. and Z. *tsha*, id.; and *tshish*, any one, (nom.) S. *tshi* in *tshit*,-soever, and Z. *tshis*, any one, (nom.) But it is found only before the vowels *a*, *â* and *i*. There is no other sign, however, of the Persian cuneiform alphabet, which can be supposed to represent this palatal as articulated before *u*. It is indeed probable, that the language of our inscriptions did not admit the combination of any palatal with that vowel, since no one of this class of its consonant-signs has been found before *u*.

The last two of our palatal-signs differ from one another only with respect to the vowels with which they combine. This is shown by the orthography of the proper name *uva* *a*, Susiana, compared with that of the adjective *uva* *iya*, formed from it; and by the word *drau* *ana*, a liar, (nom.) compared with another word *âduru* *iya*, he plotted, both being from the same root, *druj*, Z. *druj*, S. *druh*. How the articulation differed, accordingly as an *i* followed, or not, must be left undetermined. But both these signs may be substantially identified as equivalent in power to the *j* of the Sanskrit, for we find the word *âvajata*, put to death, from the root *jan*, S. *jan* substituted for *han*, to kill; and *jivahyâ*, a genitive singular from *jiva*, life, S. *jiva*, id. With the *j* of the Zend, also, the former of the two

signs here considered, that is, the one not appropriated to combination with the vowel *i*, may be seen to have a common power, as; *âjamiyâ*, let it come, from the root *jam*, Z. *jam* or *gam*, to go; and *âvajata*, the root of which, *jan*, is equivalent to Z. *jan*, substituted for *zan*, in the word *jata*, killed. The latter of these two signs, which is used only before *i*, might, without doubt, be identified, in the main, with the *j* of the Zend, as it has been already with the Sanskrit *j*, since the connection of the vowel *i* with its articulation belonged to the peculiar euphony of the language of our inscriptions. But the requisite examples are not at command.

There appear to be no signs of the Persian cuneiform alphabet, which represent the aspirated palatals of the Sanskrit. This indicates a special affinity between the language of our inscriptions and the Zend, for the latter did not recognize the aspirates of the palatal class of Sanskrit consonants.

III. The *dental-signs*, namely,

1. , 2. , 3. , 4. , 5. , 6. .

The first in this series is the *t* of the Sanskrit and Zend, as: *patiya*, or in composition *pati*, over against, S. *prati* and Z. *paiti*, id.; and *taumâ*, the race, (nom.) Z. *taokhma*, posterity, (nom.) But there is one root, *'stâ*, to stand, S. *sthâ*, id., in which it takes the place of the *th* of the Sanskrit; and it deserves to be mentioned that here, again, the language of our inscriptions is proved to have been especially akin to the Zend; for this same substitution of *t* for the Sanskrit *th*, occurs in the corresponding Zend root *'stâ*.

As among the guttural-signs of our cuneiform alphabet we have found one denoting *k* before *u*, so the class of consonant-signs now before us includes one appropriated to represent the unaspirated surd *t* in combination with the vowel *u*.

The second in our dental-series is the sign of this peculiar articulation. That it denotes only a modification of *t* before *u* is proved by the word *uvam*, you, the nominative of the pronoun of the second person, of which the genitive or dative is *aiya*.

Our third dental-sign standing often for an original *t* before *r*, as: *mi* 𐎼𐎽 *ra*, (voc.) O Mithra! S. *mitra*, O friend! as well as for *t* before *y*, if the suffix 𐎼𐎽 *iya* of the Achæmenidan Persian is the same as the Sanskrit *tya*, we may consider its articulation to have been equivalent to that of the *th* of the Zend, which was itself a substitute for the Sanskrit *t* before all semivowels, as well as before nasals, and is shown by Burnouf to have had a soft pronunciation, approaching to a sibilant. This identification has the more plausibility, as the cuneiform sign now in question sometimes stands for a Sanskrit sibilant, as: *thah*, in *thâtiya* for *thahatiya*, he says, S. *'sans* or *'sas*, to speak. The third in our series of cuneiform dental-signs, therefore, although a *th*, is not the *th* of the Sanskrit. It appears, indeed, that this Sanskrit dental articulation was not expressed in the Persian cuneiform alphabet, unless it may have been represented by that dental-sign the exact value of which we have left uncertain. There are cases, however, where the cuneiform consonant-sign which we suppose to have the value of the soft *th* of the Zend, stands for the *th* of the Sanskrit, as: *ya* 𐎼𐎽 *â*, as, when, S. *yathâ*, as. But the Zend *th*, itself, was sometimes similarly employed, for *yathâ* in the Zend, with its soft *th*, corresponds to the Sanskrit *yathâ*, with hard *th*. In certain other cases, this sign stands for the Sanskrit *t*, where no law of euphony can be made to account for the substitution, and it must, therefore, be ascribed simply to the tendency of dentals to pass into sibilants.

We come now to the fourth and fifth signs in this series. The fourth is the *d* of the Sanskrit and Zend, as: *dahyâ-ush*, a nominative singular from the ground-form *dahyu*, S. *dasyu* and Z. *daqyu*, a province. It stands also for the *dh* of the Sanskrit and Zend, as: *badaka*, a subject, from *bada*, S. *bandha*, binding; and *idâ*, Z. *idha;* and the aspirated sonant dental *dh*, as well as *gh* and *jh* of the guttural and palatal classes of consonants, seem to have been unrepresented in our cuneiform alphabet; and therefore, so far as we can judge, were unrecognized in the Achæmenidan Persian language. This sign likewise takes the place of the *t* of

the Sanskrit, as: *udapatatâ*, he arose, from the root *pat* with the prefix *ud*, S. *ut*, to arise, which, however, is only an example of the transition of an original surd into a sonant. Again, it is sometimes used for the *h* of the Sanskrit, as: *idâ*, S. *iha*; but, in this case, both the *h* and *d* are without doubt derived from *dh*.* Our fourth dental-sign has been found, as yet, only before the vowel *a*.

Like the signs of the unaspirated surd and sonant gutturals *k* and *g*, and the unaspirated surd dental *t*, it had its substitute before the vowel *u*, which is the fifth sign in our dental-series. That this was appropriated to denote a modification of *d* before *u*, may be seen from *urukhtam*, compared with *raujana*, both these words being formed from the same root *druj*.

The last of our cuneiform dental-signs stands for *d* and *dh* of the Sanskrit, as: *ya* *iya*, if, S. *yadi*, id.; and *ja* *iya*, do you put to death, where *iya* is a suffix equivalent to the imperative-ending *dhi* of the Vêdic Sanskrit, which in the later Sanskrit became *hi* after a vowel. These comparisons, together with the correspondence which we have observed between the sonant dental and an original *dh* which afterwards became *h*, as in *idâ*, S. *iha*, seem to attach to the sign now before us the power of a sonant dental, differing from that of only so far as its association with the vowel *i* affected its articulation; for it is found only before that vowel, while, on the other hand, probably did not admit an *i* after it.

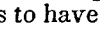
IV. The *labial-signs*, namely,

1. , 2. , 3. .

The first of these signs is the *p* of the Sanskrit and Zend, as: *upâ*, with, by, S. and Z. *upa*, id.; *puthra*, the son, (nom.) S. *putras* and Z. *puthrô*, id.; and *pitâ*, the father, (nom.) S.

* See Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 650.

pitâ and Z. *pita*, id. The usage of this sign affords another illustration of the special affinity of the Achæmenidan Persian with the Zend; for, like the corresponding sign of the Zend alphabet, it stands, by a peculiar law of euphony, for the Sanskrit *w* after a palatal sibilant. We have, for example, the ground-form *â'spa*, both in our inscriptions and in the Zend language, as the correspondent of the Sanskrit *a'swa*. The *m* and the *b* of our cuneiform alphabet, however, interchange with the *p* put for the Sanskrit *w* after a palatal sibilant, as: *vi'sma* or *vi'spa*, all, S. *vi'swa* and Z. *vi'spa*, id.; and *â'sba*, which we have already seen, instead of *â'spa*, corresponding to the Sanskrit *a'swa*.

The second sign in this series denotes an aspirate of *p*. But its equivalent is not the Sanskrit *ph*; for, while there is no instance of its occurring as the correspondent of that letter, it clearly appears to have been put in the place of the Sanskrit *p* before *r*, as:  *ramânâ*, by the authority, S. *pramânêna*, id.; and inasmuch as the Zend language uniformly changed a Sanskrit *p* before *r* into *f*, we may conclude that the same principle of euphony was operative in the Achæmenidan Persian, and, therefore, that this sign substituted for a Sanskrit *p* before *r* in the orthography of the latter, was articulated as an *f*. It must be observed, however, that the *f* of the language of our inscriptions, may have extended beyond the limits of the law of euphony which required it in the place of *p* before *r*; for in the word *kaufa*, probably "a mountain," we have its sign before a vowel. Yet this is a solitary example, and we are ignorant of the derivation of the word. There was, also, a noticeable restriction upon the application of this euphonic law substituting *f* for *p*, in the language of our inscriptions, namely, that here, apparently, the semivowel *r* did not aspirate a preceding *p*, if followed by either *u*, or *i*. Nor is the ground of this restriction entirely hidden, since it may be reasonably conjectured that the liquid *r*, if followed by *u*, did not aspirate a preceding *p*, on account of that modification of its own power, whatever it was, which occasioned, as we shall see, the appropriation of a distinct sign to represent it, when coming before the vowel *u*. So, also, that a following *i* annulled the aspirating influence

of *r* upon a preceding *p*, may be referred to some modification of the power of *r*, in combination with the vowel *i*; for we have shown, in the case of the sonant palatal of the language of our inscriptions, that the vowel *i* could so alter the articulation of a preceding consonant as to require it to be expressed by a distinct sign.

The last of our labial-signs has for its correspondent in the Sanskrit, generally, the aspirate *bh*, as: 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢 *âjim*, tribute, (acc.) from the root 𐎠𐎫𐎹 *aj*, S. *bhaj*, to apportion; *â* 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎹𐎢 *iya*, to, S. *abhi*, id.; and 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎹𐎢𐎢 *umim*, the earth, (acc.) from 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎹 *umi*, S. *bhûmi*, the earth; but it sometimes stands for the Sanskrit *b*, as: 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢 *adaka*, S. *bandha*. The comparison of Sanskrit words would, therefore, seem to authorize us to fix upon *bh* as the proper power of this sign, and to affirm that in the Persian cuneiform alphabet there is no distinct representative of the Sanskrit *b*. But there is a certain letter of the Zend alphabet, used precisely like our last cuneiform labial-sign, with respect to Sanskrit consonants, which Burnouf makes to be an unaspirated letter; and one of the grounds of this opinion, namely, that the Zend letter stands, also, for the Sanskrit *w*, which Burnouf regards as decisive of its not having denoted the aspirate *bh*, may be assumed as evidence, equally, of the value of the cuneiform sign now under consideration, since there is a word in which the latter, also, stands for the *w* of the Sanskrit alphabet, as: *â's* 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎹𐎢 *âraibish*, formed from *â's* 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢 *a*, S. *a'swa*. We prefer, therefore, to give to this sign the value of the Sanskrit and Zend *b*, and to suppose, accordingly, that the Persian cuneiform alphabet has no distinct sign for *bh*.

V. The *nasal-signs*, namely,

1. 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎹 , 2. 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎹𐎢𐎢 , 3. 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎹𐎢 , 4. 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢𐎹 , 5. 𐎠𐎫𐎹𐎢𐎢 .

It will be noticed that these are numerous; yet their variety has little analogy with the rich provision of signs, in the Sanskrit and Zend alphabets, to denote nasals of the different organs.

The first of these signs represents the Sanskrit and Zend *m*, as: *mâhyâ* for *mâhahyâ*, of the month, S. *mâsasya* and Z. *mâhanghê*, id. It seems not to have been clearly distinguished, however, as the sign of a labial nasal; for we find it used before a palatal consonant, in the compound *githâmtshâ* and the chaunting,* (acc.); before a guttural, in *âdam khshâyathiya*, I (am) the king; and before a dental, in *imâm dahyâum*, this province, (acc.); though in the two latter cases, as it is a final letter, the following guttural and dental are the initials of new words. But since the language of our inscriptions rejected terminal consonants, as a general rule, it appears not improbable that this cuneiform nasal-sign, at the end of words, where its occurrence is by far the most frequent, denotes only an indistinct nasalization of a preceding vowel; and that it is therefore admissible, without impropriety as regards euphony, before any consonant, even in the middle of words. According to this, its articulation as a final, and as a medial before a consonant, must have resembled what is called, in Sanskrit grammar, the proper *anuswâra*.

The second sign in our nasal-series denotes an uncertain modification of *m* before *i*, as appears from *bu* 𐎲𐎼 *im*, the earth, (acc.) compared with *bu* 𐎲𐎼𐎼 *âm*, id.; and from the orthography of the word 𐎲𐎼 *thra*, O Mithra! which shows this sign to have been so intimately associated with the vowel *i*, that, even by itself, it could express the syllable *mi*.

Our third cuneiform nasal-sign is the *n* of the Sanskrit and Zend alphabets, as: *'stâna*, position, (nom.) S. *sthânas*, and Z. *'stânô*, id.; *naiya*, not, S. *nêt*, if not, and Z. *nôit*, not; and *âkunusha*, he made, where the syllable *nu* is equivalent to Sanskrit *nu* the distinctive mark of a certain conjugation of verbs. Its articulation seems, moreover, to have been recognized as partaking of the quality of a dental; for the fact of its being invariably elided in the orthography of the Achæmenidan Persian, where *n* occurs before a dental in the Sanskrit and Zend, as: *âtara*, within, S. *antar* and Z.

* This signification of *githâm* is the most plausible.

antarĕ, id., is only to be explained on the principle that of two consonants organically similar, coming together, one must be dropped in the pronunciation. The elision of *n* before the nasal *m* in the word *âkumâ*, we did, for *âkunmâ*, is to be referred to the same principle. This nasal-sign is never found at the end of a word.

The fourth sign in this series denotes *n* before *u*. It is not exclusively employed in combination with *u*, for the preceding sign is also used before that vowel. The peculiar articulation which it implies can not have belonged, therefore, to the language of our inscriptions, originally. Yet there is no doubt as to the real appropriation of this sign; for the only word in which it occurs, the preposition *ânu* in composition, or by itself *ânuva*, along, S. *anu*, id., compels us to regard it as having been appropriated to the representation of *n*, modified in its articulation by a following vowel *u*.

The last of our cuneiform nasal-signs remains to be identified. Of this there are only two examples, both occurring only at Behistûn, which are given us in the proper names *na* *dita* and *dubâ* , or *dubâ* *a*. It may reasonably be considered as representing some nasal akin to *n*, on account of its identity in form with the Median correspondent of the ordinary Persian cuneiform sign of *n*, in certain proper names. But in Persian cuneiform inscriptions, it is not lightly to be supposed equivalent to that Persian sign; for this would make it a mere superfluity. Probably, therefore, the value of the sign, as well as the sign itself, was introduced from a Median source. Now, Rawlinson informs us that, in the Median cuneiform orthography, this sign may be considered as denoting a complemental nasal, that is, a nasal appropriate to the end of a syllable. Such, then, was probably its use, in our cuneiform inscriptions. But what the precise value of it is, in the Median alphabet, remains uncertain; and so there is no ground for arguing from that, as to its value in the Persian. In view, however, of an inconsistency between the orthography and the actual pronunciation of the language of our inscriptions, which has been intimated, namely, that our cuneiform sign of *m* was allowed to stand before any con-

sonant, while yet, being a final, or preceding a consonant, it was not articulated as an *m*, it may perhaps be conjectured, that the sign now in question was introduced into the orthography of the Achæmenidan Persian, in order to indicate the indistinct nasalization which we suppose to have been sometimes given, inappropriately, to our cuneiform sign of *m*, and so to remove the inconsistency alluded to. We may remark, also, that the existence, in the Achæmenidan Persian, of an indistinct nasalization, to which there was no sign appropriated in its alphabet, originally, is perhaps indicated by the orthography of two proper names of our inscriptions, *zaraka* and *kabujiya*, compared with their Greek forms, Ζάραγγοι and Καμβύσης. For the latter contains nasals which are wanting in the former. But the suggestions here made need to be confirmed by the definite deciphering of the Median cuneiform alphabet. For, as has been said, the sign under consideration was probably used, in our inscriptions, with a Median value; which is the more likely, because the two proper names exemplifying it here, are neither of them Persian.

VI. The *semivowel-signs*, namely,

1. or ,* 2. , 3. , 4. , 5. .

The first of these signs denotes the *y* of the Sanskrit and Zend, as: *yathâ*, S. and Z. *yathâ; yim*, whom, (masc.) Z. *yim* and S. *yam*, id.; and *yunâ*, the Ionians, (nom.) S. *yavanâs*, id.

The second represents the *r* of the Sanskrit and Zend alphabets, as: *âura*, the living one, S. *asura* and Z. *ahura*, id.; and *kariyishiyâmiya*, S. *kârayishyâmi*, I will cause to make, from the root *kar*, Z. *kĕrĕ*. An unaspirated surd consonant of either the guttural, the dental, or the labial class, preceding this semivowel, was made an aspirate by it, as: *tshakhriyâ*, *mithra*, and *framânâ*. But this law and the qualifications to which it was subject, have been already noticed in speaking of the several classes of consonant-signs affected by it; and we have also seen that there was an analogous principle in the Zend language.

* The latter form is found only at Behistûn, and is there exclusively employed.

The third sign in this series denotes some modification of *r* before *u*, as appears from *bâbi* *ush*, Babylon, (nom.) compared with *bâbi* *auva*, in Babylon. As to its articulation, more especially considered, the Greek forms *Βαβυλών* and *Κῦρος*, compared with their correspondents in our inscriptions, *bâbi-* *ush* and *kyu* *ush*, where this sign, representing *r* before *u*, stands for both the *λ* and the *ρ* of the Greek, seem to indicate that its articulation vacillated between *l* and *r*.

The fourth sign in our series of semivowels, is the semivowel of *u*, of the Sanskrit and Zend. It stands for the Sanskrit semivowel of *u* in combination with a preceding consonant, which is the English *w*, as: *tu* *am*, you, S. *twam*, id., as well as for that semivowel, when standing between two vowels, which is the English *v*, as: *na* *ama*, the ninth, (masc. nom.) S. *navamas*, id. But its articulation can not have varied after the manner of that of its Sanskrit correspondent. For it always required to have an *u* between itself and any consonant originally preceding, or, at least, its following a consonant immediately is contrary to rule in the orthography of our inscriptions. Of course, therefore, that articulation of the semivowel of *u* recognized in the Sanskrit, which depended upon its having a consonant immediately before it, can not have been established in the Achæmenidan Persian. On this ground, then, we might infer that, as the occasion for articulating the semivowel of *u* like the English *w* could not properly exist in the language of our inscriptions, our cuneiform sign of this semivowel must have been articulated like the English *v*. Its articulation, however, may not have been regulated by Sanskrit principles. We must see how it appears in the light of the Zend language. If, then, we compare words in which this sign occurs with their correspondents in the Zend, we find it standing alike for either of two forms of the semivowel of *u*, which in this language distinguish the articulation of the English *w* from that of the English *v*, as: *tu* *am*, Z. *thwãm*, you, and *hu* *a*, he, Z. *hva*, self. But it is doubtful wheth-

er any of the occasions for giving the articulation of the English *w* to the semivowel of *u*, in the Zend, existed in the language of our inscriptions. The circumstance to which the pronunciation of the semivowel of *u* as equivalent to the English *w*, was most frequently owing in the Zend, namely, that a *th*, or *dh*, preceded, could not occur in the language of our inscriptions, consistently with its rule, as indicated by its orthography, to insert an *u* between its own semivowel of *u* and any preceding consonant. It may be added, that the representative of the English *w*, in the Zend, is much more rarely used than its fellow which denotes the English *v*. Thus we see that the principles of the Zend, so far as they can be applied, as well as those of the Sanskrit, point to the English *v* as the equivalent of our fourth cuneiform semivowel-sign.

The last sign in our semivowel-series, being sufficient of itself to represent the syllable *vi*, as: *tham*, the family, (acc.) from *vitha*, S. *vîja*, seed, was evidently appropriated to combination with the vowel *i*; and that it denoted some modification of *v* before that vowel, appears from the word *paru-iyata*, of old, an adverb in *ta*, S. *tas*, with the sense of the ablative singular, made out of a substantive which was derived from *paruva*, S. *pûrwa*, preceding, compared with *paru-â*, the former, from this same ground-form. What modification of *v* the vowel *i* following may have occasioned, it is useless to conjecture, as we have no means of determining. This sign seems not to have been completely established in use; for we find examples of the ordinary form of *v*, even where the vowel *i* follows, as: *du-ishtam*, to the remotest time, S. *davishtham*, very distant.

VII. The *sibilant-signs*, namely,

1. , 2. , 3. .

The first of this series represents an unaspirated surd sibilant, as: *uguda*,* Sogdiana, (nom.) S. participle *'Suktas*,

* The *u* of the second syllable is implied by the form of the *g*.

pure,* and the Zend proper name *'Sughdhô*, Sogdiana; and

tiya, it is, S. *asti* and Z. *a'sti*, id. It took the place, as these examples show, of both the palatal *'s* and the dental *s* of the Sanskrit, and of the *'s* of the Zend; from which we may infer, in the absence of all opposing evidence, that the language of our inscriptions did not distinguish between the palatal *'s* and the dental *s* of the kindred languages. But this distinction, fully sustained in the Sanskrit, barely appears in the Zend; inasmuch as the palatal *'s* is found, to quote the words of Burnouf, to have "almost displaced the dental sibilant, in the usage of that language." The Achæmenidan Persian stood, therefore, in a much nearer relation to the Zend than to the Sanskrit, with respect to the employment of the power of this sign, and in view of the many analogies between the Zend and the language of our inscriptions, already pointed out, it seems most likely that the latter, in dispensing altogether with the distinction between a palatal and a dental sibilant, was deficient in the same way as the Zend, only to a greater degree. Consequently, the sign which stands in the Persian cuneiform orthography for both *'s* and *s* of the Sanskrit and Zend, may be considered as properly denoting the palatal *'s*. This conclusion is strengthened by an example of the elision of a following surd palatal of the Sanskrit, after the sibilant denoted by this sign, as: *pa'sâva*, afterwards, S. *pa'stshât*, id., which would seem to depend upon the principle that two consonants organically similar might not immediately follow one another. Another consideration favoring our identification of this sign, is that, like the palatal *'s* of the Zend, it is found sometimes to stand for the hard palatal *tsh* of the Sanskrit alphabet, as: *ra's* in *âra'sam*, I came, S. *rĭtsh*, to go; and *para's* in *âpara'sam*, I took in hand, S. *prĭtsh*, to handle, which in Zend has the form *pĕrĕ's*.

The second of our cuneiform sibilant-signs denotes the aspirated surd *sh* of the Sanskrit and Zend. Its power is proved by the following specifications of its usage:

1. It is used as the correspondent of an original *sh* of those languages, as: *âisha*, he went, from the root *ish*, S. *ish*, to go; and *âdarshanusha*, he dared, from the root *darsh*, S. *dhrĭsh* and Z. *dĕrĕsh*, to dare.

* See Burnouf's *Comment. sur le Yaçna*, Notes, p. 56.

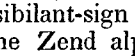
2. It stands for the *sh* of the Sanskrit, put in the place of an unaspirated sibilant, as: *mathishta*, the greatest, from *matha*, S. *mahat*, with the superlative suffix *ishta*, S. *ishtha*, put for *istha* according to a general law, that the dental *s*, being a medial, after any other vowel than *a*, or *â*, and followed by *t*, or *th*, should become *sh*. The language of our inscriptions dispensed with the aspiration of the dental of the Sanskrit *ishtha*, while it took that of the sibilant; thus standing mid-way between the Sanskrit and the Zend, for the Zend form of this word is *mazista*.

3. It is used euphonically, for an unaspirated sibilant of the Sanskrit, or Zend, on principles which are recognizable, wholly or partially, in the former of these languages. Thus, in the word *hushiya*, compounded of *hu*, S. *su*, and *ushiya*, from *usha*, S. *va'sa*, as well as in the word *dushiyâram*, compounded of *dush*, bad, S. *dus*, id., and *yâram* from *yâra*, year, Z. *yârĕ*, id., the *sh*, substituted in the one case for the palatal sibilant, and in the other for the dental, of the Sanskrit, which the language of our inscriptions did not distinguish, may be explained by the Sanskrit law, that the dental *s*, after any other vowel than *a*, or *â*, and followed by a vowel, or by *y*, should become *sh*. The same law will also account for the aspirated sibilant of the word *vashnâ*, by the will, if we only suppose this word to be a contraction from *ushanâ*, from *usha*, a ground-form which we have already met with in the compound *hushiya*, with a nasal inserted between its final vowel and the sign of the instrumental case. The corresponding Zend word *va'snâ* may have been likewise contracted from *u'sana*. So, the proper name *vishtâ'spa*, Hystaspes, Z. *vîstâ'spa*, from which comes the genitive singular *vishtâ'spahyâ*, may be supposed to owe its aspirated sibilant to the law of the Sanskrit already referred to, which gave to the superlative suffix of that language the form *ishtha*. Again, a final *s* of the Sanskrit having its correspondent in the orthography of our inscriptions, after the vowels *u* and *i*, as: *dârayavush* and *shiyâtish*, nominatives singular from *dârayavu* and *shiyâti*, while after *a*, or *â*, it is elided, as: *âuramazdâ* and *ârmina*, which are also nominatives singular, from *âuramazdâ* and *ârmina*, that Sanskrit dental sibilant has evidently been replaced by *sh*.

4. It is used euphonically, for a *t*, as: *âniyashtshiya*, any other thing, compounded of *âniyâsh* for *âniyat*, other thing, S. *anyat*, id., and *tshiya*, any, S. *tshi* in *tshit*, soever; and *âvashtshiya*, that whatever it is, compounded of *âvash* for *âvat*, that, Z. *aom*, id., and *tshiya*. Here it seems to be the palatal *tsh*, following the dental *t*, which has softened it into *sh*, on a scale of euphonic change through which *t* is naturally prone to pass, namely, *t—tsh—sh*. The transition of the dental could not have stopped, here, at *tsh*, because the language of our inscriptions allowed no two consonants organically similar to come together, without an intervening vowel.

Our third cuneiform sibilant-sign has the value of the unaspirated sonant *z* of the Zend alphabet. This is argued from its being put in the place of the Sanskrit *h*, or *j*, in words where the Zend puts *z*, as: *maz*, great, in *âuramazdâ*, Z. *maz* and S. *mahat*, id.; and *zanânâm*, of people, from the root *zan*, Z. *zan* and S. *jan*, to engender, to be born. The close relationship between the powers of the Zend alphabet and our cuneiform, generally, which has been proved to exist, may be considered as authorizing such a mode of argument. But the laws which regulated the substitution of this *z* of the language of our inscriptions, for *h* and *j* of the Sanskrit, have not been clearly defined.

VIII. The *aspirate-sign*, namely,



This has the value of the *h* of the Zend alphabet. It sometimes corresponds, indeed, to the Sanskrit *h*, as: *âmahya*, we were, S. *âsmahi*,* id., and so does the *h* of the Zend. But it is chiefly used, like the Zend *h*, in the place of the dental sibilant of the Sanskrit; and the laws of the language of our inscriptions, by which this substitution appears to have been regulated, entirely coincide with rules of the Zend, requiring the substitution of *h* for that Sanskrit consonant. Thus, the dental sibilant of the Sanskrit, at the beginning of a word, and followed by a vowel, or by the semivowel *y*, is replaced by this cuneiform sign, as: *haruva*, all, (masc.

* Comp. *âmahi*, first pers. plur. of that form of the imperfect of the substantive verb *as* which was attached to roots in the Sanskrit, to make one of its aorists: see Bopp's *Gramm. Critica*, p. 182.

nom. sing.) S. *sarwas*, id., which, by the same law, is *haurvô* in the Zend; and *hya*, he who, Vêdic S. *syas*, this, (masc. nom.) and Z. *hya* in *hyat*, that which. So, in the middle of a word, preceded by the vowel *â*, or *a*, and followed by another vowel, or by the semivowel *y*, the dental sibilant of the Sanskrit is replaced by the same sign, as: *âha*, it has been, it was, S. *âsa*, id., which, by the same law, is *âonghа* in the Zend; and *âhyâyâ*, S. *asyâs* and Z. *anghâo* or *ainghâo*. These laws cover all the cases in which the cuneiform sign, now under consideration, stands for the Sanskrit dental sibilant; and both of them being operative in the Zend, with respect to the substitution of the *h* of that language for the Sanskrit *s*, we are fully justified in giving to the sign before us the value of the Zend *h*. Yet it must have had a weaker articulation than the *h* of the Zend; for it is sometimes elided where the Zend retains its *h*, as: *âura*, Z. *ahura;* and *uvaja*, Susiana, Z. *hvaja* or *hvaza*, as presupposed in the modern Persian proper names *Ahwâz* and *Khûzistân*. Nor is it ever hardened into a guttural, like the Zend *h* in such examples as *daqyu* corresponding to S. *dasyu*.

We have now to identify a few signs, employed in our inscriptions, which require to be classed by themselves as compounds, and are purely orthographic, namely,

1. , 2. , 3. or , 4. or .*

The first of these signs probably represents the compound articulation *rp*. It occurs in only one word, used as a royal title; and by calling it *rp* we obtain the word *narpa*, an exact equivalent, according to rule in the Achæmenidan Persian, for the common Sanskrit epithet of a king, *nṛîpas*. Besides, what is more, this Sanskrit word appears, as it is said, in the Median transcripts of our inscriptions, under the form of *narap*, not only in the passages corresponding to those where *narpa* may be read on the Persian cuneiform tablets, but also in all passages where the title of king is required. Nor does there seem to be any objection to sup-

* The first of the equivalent forms of this series is Rich's copy; the second, that of Westergaard.

posing that the Achæmenides introduced a title for king into their own language from the Median. It can not have become fully incorporated, however, into the Achæmenidan Persian, since we find it used in only two or three instances, in our inscriptions; and this accounts for what Rawlinson considers strange, and favorable to another identification of the sign before us, that there are no traces of the word *narpa*, "either in the construction of (Persian) proper names, or in the vocabulary of the modern language." But Rawlinson certainly errs in the principle which he lays down, in treating of this sign, "that the expression of two consonants by a single letter is altogether opposed to the simplicity of primitive cuneiform orthography." This will appear presently.

The second sign, classed as a compound, unquestionably represents the double articulation *thr;* for it has precisely the same orthographic value in the word *pu* 𐎠 *a*, S. *putras*, for example, which the separate signs for *thr*, 𐎹𐎼𐎽, have in the proper name *mithra*, S. *mitra*, both modes of orthography being substitutes for the Sanskrit *tr*. This sign is exclusively used to denote *thr*, in our inscriptions, excepting the very latest of them, a monument of Artaxerxes Ochus, where the equivalent separate signs are also employed to represent the same double articulation; which proves that what Rawlinson would regard as a more primitive orthography, was in fact, in this case, the latest to come into use.

The remaining two of our compound signs represent, respectively, the syllable *dah* in the words *dahyunâm*, of the provinces, and *dahyum*, the province, (acc.) and the combined syllables *bumi* in the word *bumiyâ*, of the earth. These were undoubtedly introduced at a late period, for we find them only in the examples given, which are both taken from an inscription of Artaxerxes Ochus; and they must have originated under an orthographic system radically different from that exemplified in our inscriptions.

In the course of the foregoing observations the powers of the Persian cuneiform, Sanskrit and Zend alphabets have been continually brought into comparison. The results thus

obtained it may, now, be interesting to review. We therefore present the following table, which shows, first, what powers were common to all these alphabets; next, the coincidences, with respect to its powers, between the Persian cuneiform and each one, in particular, of the other two; next, what the Persian cuneiform had which was peculiar to itself; and lastly, what each of the other two had, which was wanting to the Persian cuneiform.

1. Common to the Persian cuneiform, Sanskrit and Zend alphabets:
   â; i; u; k; kh; g; tsh; j; t; d; p; b; m; n; y; r; v; 's; sh.
2. Common to the Persian cuneiform and the Sanskrit:
   anuswâra, which we may represent by *ṅ;* but this is doubtful.
3. Common to the Persian cuneiform and the Zend:
   th; f; z; h.
4. Peculiar to the Persian cuneiform:
   k before *u;* a peculiar surd guttural before *u;** *g* before *u; j* before *i; t* before *u; d* before *u; d* before *i; m* before *i; n* before *u; r* before *u; v* before *i.*
5. Belonging to the Sanskrit, and not to the Persian cuneiform:
   a; î; û; r̃i; r̃î; l̃ri; l̃rî; ê (a+i); ô (a+u) diphth. *âi;* diphth. *âu; visarga; gh; ng; tshh; jh:* palatal *ñ;* all the linguals; *th; dh; ph; bh; l; w; s; h; lra.*
5. Belonging to the Zend, and not to the Persian cuneiform:
   a; î; û; ĕ; è; ê (a+i); o or *ô (a+u); âo; ã;* diphth. *âi;* diphth. *âu; q; gh; ng; zh* (softer than *j*); palatal *ñ; dh; w; s.*†

There are certain phonetic elements, namely, *a*, *î* and *û*, which, though not represented in the Persian cuneiform

* Lassen represents it by *ch*, and we have accordingly adopted the orthography *chudra* and *chudrá*, above. But of course we have no means of defining the peculiarity of this guttural.

† Several of these powers of the Zend alphabet may require more explanation. Z. *ĕ* and *è* were modifications of *a*, regarded as simple sounds, rather than proper diphthongs. Z. *âo* was a peculiar compound sound, substituted for terminal *âs* of the Sanskrit. Z. *ã* had the sound of *a* nasalized by an *n* following it. This and *ñ* were sometimes used for the Sanskrit *anuswâra*. The *âi* and *âu* of the Zend were expressed by the separate signs of *â* and *i*, or *u;* but we have sufficient reason to believe that they were recognized as diphthongs, because the Zend alphabet plainly distinguishes the diphthongs *a+i* and *a+u*.

alphabet, without doubt belonged to the language of our inscriptions. But the alphabet of a language may be assumed as an index, in general, of its phonetic development. From this tabular view of the relations of the Persian cuneiform, Sanskrit and Zend alphabets to one another, we may, therefore, draw the following inferences.

1. That most of the vowel-sounds and articulations of the language of our inscriptions were common to it with the Sanskrit and Zend.

2. That the language of our inscriptions, in its phonetic elements, agreed with the Zend, rather than with the Sanskrit, and generally, where these differed from each other.

3. That the phonetic peculiarities of the language of our inscriptions arose chiefly from its recognizing different articulations as belonging to the same consonant, according to the vowel which followed;* but it had one articulation which does not appear, at all, in the Sanskrit and Zend alphabets.

4. That the natural development, phonetically, of the language of our inscriptions, was less complete than either that of the Sanskrit, or that of the Zend, inasmuch as it confounded vowel-sounds and articulations which in those languages were distinguished, while many of the phonetic elements of the Sanskrit and the Zend can not be shown to have belonged, at all, to the language of our inscriptions. The fact that the language of our inscriptions recognized different articulations of the same consonant, determined by the following vowel, as it has no analogy in either the Sanskrit or the Zend, is to be referred to some foreign influence, and not to the natural phonetic development of this language.

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* It has been suggested that the association of particular forms of consonants, belonging to this alphabet, with certain vowels, is to be regarded as "the remains of an original syllabic system of writing;" see the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* for November, 1847, p. 854. But there are objections to this view. For, in the first place, the instances are very few in which one and the same sign appears to have stood for a consonant and its vowel, unless the latter was short *a*. Then, again, the separate expression of *i*, or *u*, by its own sign, after signs which, according to this view, originally denoted the combination of one of those vowels with certain consonants, shows that, in the Persian cuneiform orthography, as it now lies before us, these signs were not recognized as syllabic. The few cases in which a single sign occurs with the double value of a consonant and the vowel *i*, or *u*, following it, are sufficiently explained on the supposition that the sign was properly alphabetical, but, by the force of association with one of those vowels, came to be used to denote the vowel as well as the articulation depending upon it.

The language of our inscriptions may therefore be briefly described, with respect to its phonetic elements, as a language belonging to the family of the Sanskrit and the Zend, the so-called Arian family, but more akin to the Zend than to the Sanskrit, though more antique than either.

Were it our intention, at the present time, to consider the Persian cuneiform inscriptions from every point of view, we should now proceed to analyze them, with special reference to the grammatical forms of the language which they reveal to us. The tablets of Persepolis and its vicinity have been somewhat variously interpreted; and there is still room for suggestions with respect to the meaning of particular passages in them, as well as in the inscription of Behistûn, of which Rawlinson alone has as yet published an interpretation, if we except the small pamphlet by Benfey. But we can not here extend our investigations so far. Yet it seems desirable to give an analysis of one of the inscriptions, word by word, in order that some things which have been noticed in the foregoing discussion, may be seen in a clearer light, or farther impressed upon the mind, and that the views with respect to the values of the signs of the Persian cuneiform alphabet, generally, at which we have arrived, may be proved capable of application to the unlocking of these venerable and interesting records.

The inscription which we have selected for analysis, particularly adapts itself to our purpose. It is a memorial of Xerxes, the son of Darius, found at Persepolis. A very accurate copy of it has been obtained, through the Danish scholar Westergaard, by his collating with the original a copy which Niebuhr made; and it has been more studied than perhaps any other of the series, while at the same time its contents are simple. It is sculptured on one side of the first flight of steps leading up to the second grand portico of entrance to the palaces of Persepolis, at *d* in Niebuhr's ground-plan of the ruins. A procession of men, apparently bearing presents, appears in bas-relief along side of it, divided into rows, longer or shorter as the ascent of the steps allowed room. It reads thus:

baga . vazarka . âuramazdâ
. hya . imâm . bumim .

âdâ . hya . âvam . â'smâ
nam . âdâ . hya . martiya
m . âdâ . hya . shiyâti
m . âdâ . martiyahyâ .
hya . khshayârshâm* . khshâ
yathiyam . âkunusha . âi
vam . parunâm . khshâyath
iyam . âivam . parunâm
. framâtâram . âdam . kh
shayârshâ . khshâyathiya
. vazarka . khshâyathiya . khsh
âyathiyânâm . khshâyath
iya . dahyunâm . paruvaza
nânâm . khshâyathiya .
âhiyâyâ . bumiyâ . va
zarkâyâ . duriya . â
piya . dârayavahush . khsh
âyathiyahyâ . puthra . hakh
âmanishya . thâtiya . kh
shayârshâ . khshâyathiya . va
zarka . taya† . manâ . kartam
. idâ . utâ . tayamaiya .
âpataram . kartam . âva . v
i'sma . vashnâ . âuramazdâ
ha . âkunavam . mâm . âura
mazdâ . pâduva . hadâ . ba
gaibish . utâmaiya . khshathra
m . utâ . tayamaiya . kartam .

Respecting this transcription, it is only necessary to observe, that the dot, separating each word from the next, represents an arrow-head so placed, as a punctuation-mark, in the original. This has its equivalent, in the orthography of the Zend language, in a dot placed between each two words.

The following is a literal translation, made, as far as possible, line for line. There is some uncertainty, however, re-

* This reading is to be preferred to *khshyârsham*, and so *dârayavahush*, below, to *dâryavahush*, on account of the repugnance of *y*, in the language of our inscriptions, to following a consonant. See *Allgem. Lit.-Zeit.* for 1847, p. 865.

† We are obliged to read *taya* for S. *tyat*, in our inscriptions, on account of the euphonic laws, here exemplified, respecting the separation of *y* from a preceding consonant, and the aspirating influence of *y* upon a *t* which it followed.

specting the syntax; for as to the relative collocation of adjectives and the substantives with which they agree, and of genitives and substantives the signification of which they limit, and some other points of syntax, no very definite rules have been discovered, as yet, in the Achæmenidan Persian.

The great divinity Ormuzd
(is) he who this earth
made, (is) he who that sky
made, (is) he who mankind
made, (is) he who the support
made of mankind,
(is) he who Xerxes the king
created, sole
of many (people) the king,
sole of many (people)
the sovereign. I (am) Xerxes the king,
the great king, of kings
the king,
of provinces populous
the king,
of this great earth
the commissioned upholder even,
of Darius the king
the son, an Achæmenide.
Says Xerxes
the great king:
that which of me (is) done
here, also that which of me
elsewhere (is) done, all that
by the will of Ormuzd
I did . Me, O Ormuzd!
do you protect, with the deities,
also of me the royal power,
also that which of me (is) done.

According to the foregoing translation, the separate words of this inscription are to be explained as follows:

baga, "The divinity," masc. nom. sing., the sign of the case, a final *s*, being elided, the subject of "is" understood; comp. S. *bhaga* in the title *bhagavat*, the holy, the blessed one.

vazarka, "great," masc. nom. sing., agreeing with *baga;* comp. mod. Pers. *buzurg*.

âuramazdâ, "Ormuzd," masc. nom. sing., in apposition with *baga*, from *âuramazdâ*, compounded of *âura*, S. *asura*, the life-giving, the living one, and *mazdâ*, possessing great intelligence, which is itself a compound of *maz*, great, and the root *dâ*, to know; comp. Z. *ahuramazdâo*.

hya, "he who," masc. nom. sing., including a relative pronoun which is the subject of *âdâ* below, from *hya*, compounded of *ha*, he, and *ya*, who; comp. Vêdic S. *syas*, this, from *sya*, compounded of *sa* and *ya*.

imâm, "this," fem. acc. sing., agreeing with *bumim* below; comp. S. *imâm* and Z. *imõm*.

bumim, "earth," fem. acc. sing., the direct object of *âdâ* below, from *bumi;* comp. S. *bhûmim*.

âdâ, "made," third pers. sing. of an aorist, formed with the augment *â* from the root *dâ*, the sign of the person, a final *t*, being elided; comp. S. *adhât*, from the root *dhâ*, to set, to place, and also the Zend root *dâ*, to create.—*hya*, "he who," as above, including the subject of *âdâ* below.

âvam, "that," masc. acc. sing., agreeing with *â'smânam* below, from *âva;* comp. Z. *aom*, contracted from *avam*, and S. *ôm*, a title of the Supreme Brahma.

â'smânam, "sky," masc. acc. sing., the direct object of *âdâ* below, from *â'smâna;* comp. Z. *a'smanĕm*.—*âdâ*, "made," as above.—*hya*, "he who," as above, including the subject of *âdâ* below.

martiyam, "mankind," probably neut. acc. sing., the direct object of *âdâ* below, from *martiya;* comp. S. *martyam*. —*âdâ*, "made," as above.—*hya*, "he who," as above, including the subject of *âdâ* below.

shiyâtim, "the support," probably fem. acc. sing., the direct object of *âdâ* below, from *shiyâti;* comp. the Zend ground-form *jyâiti*, the means of living, from the root *jyâ*, S. *jîv*, to live.—*âdâ*, "made," as above.

martiyahyâ, "of mankind," gen. sing., limiting *shiyâtim*, from *martiya;* comp. S. *martyasya*, and the Zend sign of the genitive *hyâ* in *thwahyâ*, of you. In the word *âurahya*, occurring in one of our inscriptions, we find the sign of the

genitive with the final short *a* of the Sanskrit.—*hya*, "he who," as above, including the subject of *âkunusha* below.

khshayârshâm, "Xerxes," acc. sing., the direct object of *âkunusha* below, from *khshayârshâ*, probably compounded of *khshaya*, royal, from *khshi*, and *ârshâ*, devout, S. *ârsha*, the final *a* of the Sanskrit being lengthened into *â*.

khshâyathiyam, "the king," acc. sing., in apposition with *khshayârshâm*, from *khshâyathiya*, formed from *khshâya*, royalty, with the suffix *thiya*.

âkunusha, "created," third pers. sing. of an aorist, formed with the augment *â* and the auxiliary affix *sha* for *shat*, S. *sat*, from the root *ku* substituted for *kar*, with the conjugational sign *nu*; comp. the Sanskrit root *kur* for *krĭ*, and mod. Pers. *kun*, to make. In the same tense of the Sanskrit the conjugational sign did not appear.

âivam, "sole," masc. acc. sing., agreeing with *khshâyathiyam* below, from *âiva*; comp. Z. *aêva*, where the *a* of *aê* simply marks *ê* as the compound of *a*+*i*.

parunâm, "of many (people,)" gen. plur., limiting *khshâyathiyam* below, from *paru*; comp. S. *purûnâm*.—*khshâyathiyam*, "the king," as above, in apposition with *khshayârshâm*.—*âivam*, "sole," as above, agreeing with *framâtâram* below.—*parunâm*, "of many (people,)" as above, limiting *framâtâram* below.

framâtâram, "the sovereign," masc. acc. sing., in apposition with *khshayârshâm*, from *framâtar*, formed from the root *framâ*, with the suffix *tar*; comp. S. *framâtâram* and Z. *framâtârĕm*, the regulator.

âdam, "I," the subject of "am" understood; comp. S. *aham* and Z. *azĕm*. A comparison of this pronoun with the nom. sing. of the pronoun of the first person in the Sanskrit, shows that the original form of both was *adham*, of which the Sanskrit preserved the aspiration alone, while the language of our inscriptions retained the dental, unaspirated. The *z* of the Zend *azĕm* exemplifies a common phenomenon in language, the transition of an original dental into a sibilant.

khshayârshâ, "Xerxes," nom. sing., from *khshayârshâ*.

khshâyathiya, "the king," nom. sing., in apposition with *khshayârshâ*, from *khshâyathiya*.—*vazarka*, "great," as

above, agreeing with *khshâyathiya* below.—*khshâyathiya*, "the king," as above, in apposition with *khshayârshâ*.

khshâyathiyânâm, "of kings," gen. plur., limiting *khshâyathiya* below, from *khshâyathiya*; comp. S. *ânâm* the sign of the gen. plur. from ground-forms in *a*.—*khshâyathiya*, "the king," as above, in apposition with *khshayârshâ*.

dahyunâm, "of provinces," fem. gen. plur., limiting *khshâyathiya* below, from *dahyu*; comp. S. *dasyûnâm*.

paruvazanânâm, "populous," fem. gen. plur., agreeing with *dahyunâm*, from *paruvazanâ*, compounded of *paruva* for *paru*, many, and *zana*, people, with the sign of the fem. gen. In the former part of this compound, the *u* of *paru* is treated like a final vowel, and *paruvazanânâm* is merely a union in form of two words which are several times separated, in the orthography of our inscriptions, thus: *paruva. zanânâm.*, while yet the sense requires them to be taken together as making a compound. The strictly proper orthography *paruzanânâm* also occurs.—*khshâyathiya*, "the king," as above, in apposition with *khshayârshâ*.

âhiyâyâ, "of this," fem. gen. sing., agreeing with *bumiyâ* below, from *âhiyâ*, compounded of *â* + *hiyâ*; comp. S. *asyâs*, where the sign of the case, *âs*, is attached to the original ground-form, while *âhiyâyâ* is formed like the gen. sing. from a feminine ground-form in *â* of the Sanskrit, not pronominal, the final *â* of the ground-form becoming *âi*, and consequently *ây*, before *â* for S. *âs*.

bumiyâ, "earth," fem. gen. sing., limiting *duriya* below, from *bumi*; comp. S. *bhûmyâs*; but the *y* here not being original, we must regard the *iy* of *bumiyâ* as standing for *i* before the sign of the case, and not for S. *y* after a consonant.

vazarkâyâ, "great," fem. gen. sing., agreeing with *bumiyâ*, from *vazarkâ*, formed like *âhiyâyâ* from *âhiyâ*.

duriya, "the commissioned upholder," masc. nom. sing., in apposition with *khshayârshâ*; comp. S. *dhuryas*, a bearer of burthens, a sovereign's minister. Xerxes here claims to be the vicegerent of Ormuzd.

âpiya, "even;" comp. S. *api*.

dârayavahush, "of Darius," gen. sing., limiting *puthra* below, from *dârayavu*; comp. with *ahush*, the ending of the genitive from masculine ground-forms in *u* of the Sanskrit, namely *ôs*, which consists of the sign of the case, *s*, affixed

to the final vowel of the ground-form, with *a* before it; but in *ahush* for S. *ós*, we have the vowels *a* and *u* joined together by an aspirate inserted between them, which accords with the view already expressed, that proper diphthongs were unknown in the language of our inscriptions.

khshâyathiyahyâ, "the king," gen. sing. in apposition with *dârayavahush*, from *khshâyathiya*, formed like *martiyahyâ* from *martiya*.

puthra, "the son," nom. sing., in apposition with *khshayârshâ*; comp. S. *putras* and Z. *puthrô*.

hakhâmanishiya, "an Achæmenide," masc. nom. sing., in apposition with *khshayârshâ*, from *hakhâmanishiya*, a patronymic formed with the suffix *ya* from *hakhâmanish*, which may be resolved into *hakhâ*, S. *sakhâ*, a friend, and *manish*, S. *manas*, mind, signifying, as compounded together, "the friendly minded."

thâtiya, "says," third pers. sing. of the present, the predicate of *khshayârshâ* below, from the root *thas* with the conjugational sign *a*, making *thaha*, *thâtiya* being a contraction from *thahatiya*; comp. S. *sansati*.—*khshayârshâ*, "Xerxes," as above.—*khshâyathiya*, "the king," as above, in apposition with *khshayârshâ*.—*vazarka*, "great," as above, agreeing with *khshâyathiya*.

taya, "that which," neut. nom. sing., the sign of the case, a final *t*, being elided, including a relative pronoun which is the subject of "is" understood, from *taya*, compounded of *ta*, that, and *ya*, which; comp. Vêdic S. *tyat*, that.

manâ, "of me, i. e. by me," gen. of the instrument, limiting *kartam* below, from *âdam*; comp. S. *mama* and Z. *mana*.

kartam, "done," neut. nom. sing., agreeing with the relative pronoun included in *taya*, from the perfect passive participle *karta*; comp. S. *kartam* and Z. *kĕrĕtĕm*.

idâ, "here," an adverb qualifying *kartam*; comp. S. *iha* and Z. *idha*.

utâ, "also," a conjunction connecting *taya kartam idâ* with *taya âpataram kartam* below; comp. Vêdic S. and Z. *uta*.

tayamaiya, "that which of me, i. e. by me," *taya*, "that which," as above, and *maiya*, "of me," a form of the gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person, limiting *kartam* be-

low; comp. S. *mê* for *mama*. A final *t* of the former of the two words here united is elided, as if the word stood by itself.

âpataram, "elsewhere," an adverb qualifying *kartam* below, originally a neut. acc. sing., from *âpatara*, an adjective formed from the preposition *âpa*, away, with the suffix *tara*; comp. S. *uttara*, superior, from the preposition *ut*, above, and S. *apara* for *apatara*, other, from *apa*.—*kartam*, "done," as above.

âva, "that," neut. acc. sing., the sign of the case, a final *t*, being elided, in apposition with the demonstrative pronoun included in *taya*, the direct object of *âkunavam* below.

vi'sma, "all," neut. acc. sing., agreeing with *âva*, from *vi'sma*; comp. S. *vi'swam*; but *vi'sma* was declined like a pronoun, taking *t* instead of *m* for the sign of its nom. and acc.

vashnâ, "by the will," masc. or neut. instrum. sing., used adverbially to qualify *âkunavam* below, probably contracted from *ushanâ*, from *usha*; comp. S. *va'sêna*.

âuramazdâha, "of Ormuzd," gen. sing., limiting *vashnâ*, from *âuramazdâ*; comp. with *âha*, the ending of the genitive from masculine ground-forms in *â* of the Sanskrit, *as*, final long *â* being thrown off before the sign of the case *as*; but in *âha* for S. *as*, we have the final long *â* of the ground-form retained, and an *a* added after the sign of the case, to preserve its final consonant, and thus distinguish the genitive from the nominative.

âkunavam, "I did," first pers. sing. of the imperfect, formed with the augment *â* from the root *ku*, substituted for *kar*, with the conjugational sign *nu*, which before the sign of the person, *am*, became *nau* and consequently *nav*; comp. Vêdic S. *akrinavam*.

mâm, "me," acc., the direct object of *pâduva* below, from *âdam*; comp. S. *mâm* and Z. *mãm*.

âuramazdâ, "O Ormuzd!" voc. sing., of the same form as the nom. above.

pâduva, "do you protect," second pers. sing. of the imperative, from the root *pâd*, the ending *uva* being contracted from *ahuva*; comp. S. *aswa*, the ending of the second pers. sing. of the imperative in the Sanskrit, from verbs which have the conjugational sign *a*; comp. also the root *pâd* with S. and Z. *pâ*, to which a dental has been affixed after the analogy

of Zend *dh* and *th* affixed to Sanskrit roots in *â;* but in the language of our inscriptions *d* was sometimes affixed also to roots ending in *ar* for S. *ṛi*, as: *barduva*, do you bring, from *bar*, S. *bhṛi*. The elision of the *a* before *h*, together with that aspirate, in *uva* for *ahuva*, seems to imply the avoiding of a hiatus between *a* and a following *u*.

hadâ, "with," a preposition connected with *bagaibish* below; comp. Vêdic S. *sadha*, S. *saha*, and Z. *hadha*.

bagaibish, "the deities," instrum. plur. from *baga;* comp. with *aibiṣh*, the ending of the instrum. plur. from ground-forms in *a* of the Vêdic S., *êbhis;* both of these endings exhibit the Zend characteristic of the epenthesis of *i*, reflected back, as it were, from a following syllable. Ormuzd is here regarded as having other deities associated with him in his actions.

utâmaiya, "also, of me, i. e. my" *utâ*, "also," as above, and *maiya*, "of me," as above, limiting *khshathram* below; in the former of the two words here united we have a final *a* of the Sanskrit and Zend lengthened, as if the word stood by itself.

khshathram, "the royal power," neut. acc. sing., the direct object of *pâduva* understood, from *khshathra;* comp. S. *kshatram* and Z. *khshathrĕṁ;* but the same word in the Sanskrit and Zend was used in the concrete, to signify "king."—*utâ*, "also," as above.—*tayamaiya*, "that which of me, i. e. by me," as above.—*kartam*, "done," as above.

The grammatical forms of the language of our inscriptions, to which the foregoing analysis may serve as an introduction, and the contents of these inscriptions, will probably form the subject of another article in this Journal. One of the tablets of Persepolis, and that at Nakshi-Rustam, in the vicinity of the ancient residence of the Persian kings, each gives us a list of the names of the tributaries of Darius which is of much historical interest; while the great inscription of Behistûn, of four hundred and two lines more or less legible, is of still higher interest, being a summary of unquestionable authenticity, of the most important events which distinguished the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes, or marked the period immediately preceding his accession

ON THE

PRESENT CONDITION

OF THE

MEDICAL PROFESSION IN SYRIA.

BY

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THE East has been called the cradle of medical science. Under the patronage and protection of the Khalifehs of Baghdad and Egypt, various departments of knowledge were pursued with eagerness, and many arts were carried to a good degree of perfection; but particular precedence was ever given to the science of medicine, and its votaries often received the highest honors and emoluments. This high respect paid to the healing art must have arisen not only from the nature of its primary object, the relief of the various ills to which flesh is heir, but also from its intrinsic difficulties, and from the fact of its involving, to a great degree, an acquaintance with the whole circle of the sciences. Physicians were generally at the same time naturalists, metaphysicians, astrologers and alchemists, a fact which accounts for their being called حكماء *Ḥukema*, wise men, their proper designation being أطبّاء *Ṭibba*, healers. Both titles continue in use, although the present "incumbents" deserve neither the one, nor the other.

The names of Avicenna, Abulcasis, Avenzoar, Averroes, and Rhazes, are familiar to every medical man. The works of the latter are very rare, and are not so much valued by the present Arab physicians as those of Avicenna, whose elaborate treatises upon pathology, materia medica, theory and practice, and natural science, form the basis of oriental practice at the present day. The work of Razi in which

he notices some of the exanthemata, and prescribes treatment much the same as that now employed by our own practitioners, is thrown aside; and the most decided preference is given to the treatment based upon the theory of morbific humors as advanced by Avicenna, who drew most of his information from the works of Galen, Dioscorides, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and other ancient Greek authors.

Much has been said about Arab science in general, and high praises have been bestowed upon Arab philosophers; but I imagine that a full development of facts would show, that by far the greater part of Arab science has been derived from Greek sources. The questions how, and when, and by whom, Greek literature was introduced into the Arabic language, would afford abundant matter for research to the Arabic scholar. Something may be learned on this subject from the following brief accounts of a few eminent Arab physicians, drawn mostly from Ibn Khallikan's "Memoirs of the eminent men of Islamism."*

1. Abu Ḥashim Ibn Yezid Ibn Mu'aweh Ibn Abi Sofyan El-Amawi. He was one of the most learned men of the Koreish, particularly in medicine and alchemy, subjects upon which he wrote several tracts. He obtained most of his information from a monk called "Merjanus the Greek," and one of his tracts is devoted to an account of his transactions with this monk, mingled with snatches of poetry, some of which are in praise of his teacher. His grandfather Abu Sofyan was the conductor of the caravan of the Koreish which caused the battle of Bedr. He died in the 85th year of the Hegira.

2. Abu 'Abdallah Ja'far Es-Ṣadik Ibn Mohammed El-Bakir Ibn 'Ali Zein El-'Abidin Ibn 'Ali Ibn Abi Ṭalib, who was born in the 80th year of the Hegira, and was surnamed Es-Ṣadik in consequence of the uprightness of his character. He wrote a work on alchemy and magic, which was commented upon and enlarged in a work of 2,000 pages by his disciple Abu Musa Jabir Ibn Ḥayyan Es-Ṣufi Et-Ṭartusi. He died in the 148th year of the Hegira, and was buried at Medina, in the sepulchre of his ancestors. His mother was a descendant of Abu Bekr Es-Ṣiddik.

* A manuscript copy of this work was offered for sale at Aleppo a few years since, for sixty dollars, and was considered cheap.

3. Abu Zeid Ḥunain Ibn Ishak El-'Abadi, who was one of the most distinguished physicians of his day, and familiar with the Greek language. He was the principal translator of Greek works into Arabic under the Khalifeh Harun Er-Reshid, who, in connection with his Wezir Ja'far El-Barmaki, made great exertions towards introducing the literature of Greece among the Arabs. His translation of Euclid alone would give him a deserved celebrity. He also wrote several works on medicine. His death occurred in the 260th year of the Hegira.

4. Abu Ya'kub Ishak Ibn Ḥunain Ibn Ishak El-'Abadi, son of Abu Zeid above mentioned. He was taught medicine and Greek by his father, whom he was in the habit of accompanying in his professional visits. He also made several translations from Greek into Arabic, and, among others, some of selections from Aristotle. His death was caused by a paralytic attack in the 298th or 299th year of the Hegira. The family name 'Abadi is derived from 'Abad El-Ḥira, a title given to several families, originally Christian, who settled in the province of El-Ḥira, in consequence of their allegiance to the kings of Persia. In the 17th year of the Hegira, Sa'ad Ibn Abi Waḳḳaṣ destroyed El-Ḥira, by order of 'Omar Ibn El-Kaṭṭab, and built El-Kufa in its stead.

5. Abu-l-Ḥasan Thabit Ibn Ḳurra Ibn Zehrun Ibn Marinus Ibn Malajerius El-Ḥarrani, the arithmetician and physician. He was born in the 221st year of the Hegira, at Ḥarran in Mesopotamia, which is said by Jarir Et-Ṭabari, in his history, to have been built by Ḥarran the father of Lot. He wrote several works on medicine and philosophy, besides correcting and enlarging Euclid as left by Ḥunain Ibn Ishak El-'Abadi. His son Ibrahim followed in the footsteps of his father, and became one of the eminent men of his time. One of his descendants, Abu-l-Ḥasan Thabit, also became a noted physician and Greek scholar. He was well versed in the writings of Hippocrates and Galen, and had some reputation as a mathematician.

6. Er-Rais Abu 'Ali El-Ḥusein Ibn 'Abdallah Ibn Sina, familiarly known as Avicenna. His father was originally from Balkh, in the southern part of Grand Bokhara, whence he afterwards removed to Kharmeithen, near Bokhara the capital, where he held the office of a government-agent. The

subject of this notice was born at Kharmeithen, in the month of Ṣafar, of the 370th year of the Hegira. His parents afterwards removed to Bokhara the capital, and the son commenced his literary career by picking up knowledge from various sources, as he best could. At the age of ten years, he had become familiar with the Koran, had acquired some knowledge of the belles-lettres of the day, and had made a laudable proficiency in casuistry, arithmetic, and algebra. About this time, his father received as a guest a learned man and physician, named Abu 'Abdallah En-Nateli, under whose tuition Abu 'Alí read "Kitab el-Eisagoge"* on logic, Euclid, and the Almagest,† in which he soon so far surpassed his teacher as to point out many things either unknown to him, or previously unobserved by him. En-Nateli being afterwards called to the prince Khuwarezm Shah Mamun Ibn Mohammed, Abu 'Ali continued the pursuit of physics, theology, and medicine. As a physician he soon surpassed the best practitioners of his own and former ages, so that, by the time he arrived at the age of sixteen, the learned from all parts sought his acquaintance and instruction. It is said of him that, during this period, he rarely allowed himself the amount of sleep necessary to nature; and, whenever a difficult question presented itself, it was his custom to perform his ablutions, and then proceed to the mosque, and ask assistance from God. The Emir Nuh Ibn Naṣr Es-Samani prince of Khorasan being taken ill, Abu 'Ali was called to prescribe for him, and succeeded in effecting a cure. This circumstance attached him to the prince, at whose court he remained, having free access to the library, which is said to have been the most choice collection of the age. Here Abu 'Ali pursued his studies with the utmost assiduity, until he had made his own all that was valuable in the collection of books just mentioned; which being soon after burnt, he remained sole possessor of its treasures of knowledge. It has been hinted that he was himself privy to its destruction, with a view to securing the superiority he had acquired from an acquaintance with its contents.

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* The *Εισαγωγή* of Porphyry.

† In Arabic المجسطي, Gr. ἡ μεγίστη i.e. the *Μεγάλη σύνταξις* of Ptolemy.

When Abu 'Ali had arrived at the age of twenty-two, his father died, and, the Samani dynasty falling into decline, he left Bokhara, and went to Kurkanj the capital of Khuwarezm, and entered the service of Khuwarezm Shah 'Ali Ibn Mamun Ibn Mohammed, who gave him a salary adequate to his support. He afterwards remained for a time in the service of the Emir Shems El-Mu'ali Kabus Ibn Weshemkir, prince of Tabaristan; but, upon the breaking out of the revolution by which that prince was overthrown and imprisoned, Abu 'Ali went to Dahistan, where he suffered a severe illness. He then returned to Jurjan* and while there wrote his work entitled "Kitab el-Awsat El-Jurjani." After several removals, he at last became Wezir to Shems ed-Dôlet, prince of Hamadan; but the troops of that prince, becoming enraged against him, plundered his dwelling, seized his person, and demanded of the prince permission to put him to death. To avoid this, he was dismissed from the service, but Shems ed-Dôlet, being soon after seized with a violent fit of colic, recalled Abu 'Ali, apologized for his former conduct, and restored him to the dignity of Wezir. Shems ed-Dôlet soon after died, and was succeeded by his son Taj ed-Dôlet. The latter dismissed Abu 'Ali, who came to Ispahan, where he received many favors from the prince 'Ala ed-Dôlet Ibn Ja'far Ibn Kakweh. During his residence at Ispahan, he was seized with a fit of colic, and treated his own case, making use of enemata as the principal means of relief, using them, it is said, to the number of eighty every day. Dysentery succeeded, by which he was very much reduced. After recovering from this attack, he accompanied 'Ala ed-Dôlet on a journey, and was again seized with colic while on the road. He again resorted to enemata, and ordered his attendant to add to each one-third of a drachm of parsley.† By mistake, or intentionally, five drachms were added, which aggravated the disease. Some of his servants also added opium to his medicines, in order to cause his death, because, having fallen under his displeasure, they feared the consequences, in case

* The Arabic form of the name Kurkanj.

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† The word كرفس *karafs*, or *kurfus*, is used indiscriminately for parsley, celery, and water-cress. See "Avicennæ opera." Romæ: 1593, p. 195.

of his recovery. The disease continued upon him for a considerable time, with occasional relapses and recoveries, until he accompanied Shems ed-Dólet on a journey from Ispahan to Hamadan. He was again seized with colic on the way, and arrived at Hamadan in a state of complete exhaustion. Despairing of recovery he purified himself, gave alms, freed his Mamelukes, read the Koran through every three days, and died on a Friday during the month of Ramadhan, in the 428th year of the Hegira.

Abu 'Ali is said to have written works, on various subjects, to the number of a hundred, of which I have been able to obtain only his "Canon of Medicine," a tract on logic, one on physics, one on metaphysics, and a medical work in verse, in the composition of which last he has followed the desperate propensity which Arabs seem to have had for putting all their sciences into rhyme. His "Canon of Medicine" was printed at Rome in the year 1593, probably for the use of the medical schools of Europe. The following general outline will convey some idea of the subjects of which he treats.

Book I.

Chapter 1. Introduction—Objects of medical science—Elementary bodies—Temperaments—Humors—Anatomy of the bones—Muscles, nerves, arteries, veins—Functions animal and mental.

Chapter 2. Nosology—Physical agents, and changes of the seasons—Etiology—Symptomatology—On the pulse—On the excrementitial secretions, and their value in diagnosis and prognosis.

Chapter 3. On the management and education of children—Their diseases and treatment—Exercise, its necessity and varieties—On shampooing—On the use of hot and cold bathing—On diet and regimen—On fatigue—On old age, and preservation of health at that time of life—Diet and exercise proper for old persons—On maintaining the equilibrium of the system—On the change of habits required by the change of the seasons—On preventives of disease and precautions against it, particularly as regards travelling, by sea or land.

Chapter 4. On the use of evacuants—Emetics—Cathartics—Hyperemesis and hypercatharsis—On enemata—Lin-

iments and embrocations—Douches—Venesection, cupping, leeching—On tumors and opening them—On the actual cautery and means of allaying pain.

Book II.

Chapter 1. On the combination of medicines—Classification of remedies—Pharmaceutical preparations—Collection and preservation of medicines.

Chapter 2. Articles of the materia medica described, and their uses pointed out, arranged alphabetically.

Book III.

Chapter 1. Diseases of the various organs, beginning with the head, preceded by an anatomical account of each organ as treated of.

Book IV.

Chapter 1. On fevers and exanthemata.

Chapter 2. On crises and critical days.

Chapter 3. On phlegmonous and other tumors.

Chapter 4. Wounds—Concussions, contusions—Ulcers—Diseases of the bones.

Chapter 5. Dislocations—Fractures simple and compound.

Chapter 6. On poisons, mineral and vegetable, and their antidotes—Stings of serpents—Hydrophobia.

Chapter 7. On the hair—Causes of baldness—Diseases of the scalp—On grey hairs and the prevention of them—On coloring the hair—On dandruff and scurf—On the complexion, what beautifies and what injures it—Cicatrices—Freckles—On the bohak, and white and black leprosy—Scurvy, itch, and other cutaneous diseases—Excrescences—Chaps—Marasmus—Obesity.

Book V.

Chapter 1. Pharmacy—Conserves, electuaries, ointments, etc.

Chapter 2. Tried remedies—Specifics and recipes.

The above, together with a tract on logic, one on physics, and one on metaphysics, form a folio volume of 1036 pages, closely printed in small type.

Others might be added to our list of eminent Arab physicians, but I fear too much has been said already, which is foreign to the proper subject of this paper. Although great praise may justly be given to the Arab nation as the preservers of science, they deserve none as discoverers. Even their claims as the originators of chemistry, so long conceded, have proved unfounded, and the most that can be said in their favor is that they made some improvements in what they derived from extraneous sources; and, by their conquests in the north of Africa and in Spain, became the means of awakening Europe from its lethargy, and of introducing into its seminaries of learning branches of science for which they were themselves indebted to Greece and India.* Few individuals, even of the most learned and enlightened nations of the earth, cultivate science for its own sake. Honor and emolument have ever been the great stimuli to exertion and study; and the Arab race differs not from the rest of mankind, in this respect. As long as such men as Harun Er-Reshid, and his immediate successors, continued to be the patrons of literature, and honored and rewarded its votaries, so long the Arabs continued its pursuit, and no longer. The neglect into which literary accomplishments had fallen, even in the time of El-Hariri, is beautifully hinted at in his forty-third Makameh. Besides this, Islamism, in itself considered, must be regarded as a desolating superstition. The same principle which led the Khalifeh 'Omar to order the burning of the Alexandrian library, has since then worked the ruin of many a fair structure, and given the death blow to many a worthy enterprise. Improvement among the Osmanli Turks began, when their religion began to lose its hold upon their minds. That the science of medicine, under these pernicious influences, has not altogether shared the fate of its kindred, and been buried deep under the same wave which swept away the writings of astronomers, chemists, naturalists, and historians, must be attributed in part to its nature and object, which give it high respect even among the most barbarous tribes, and in part to those faint remembrances of the past, which dimly shadow forth the celebrity and success of the

* But see Humboldt's Cosmos, Sabine's transl., II. pp. 201 and ff.
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old Arab physicians. Faith in the power of the medical art is thus maintained, notwithstanding ignorance and want of success on the part of its practitioners; and this faith has been strengthened by the occasional visits of educated European physicians, whose dexterity in operation and skill in managing disease have shown the capability of the science, when rightly understood and applied.

It may at first sight seem inconsistent, that those who believe in irrevocable fate, should place confidence in preventive, or remedial means. The two things are partly reconcilable by falling back upon human ignorance of what may be the fated decree in any particular case; and partly, by a retreat upon the creed itself. If Zeno's slave was fated to steal, he was also fated to be whipped; and so Mohammed, when some one said: "O prophet of God! inform me respecting charms, and the medicines which I swallow, and the shields which I make use of for protection, whether they prevent any of the orders of God," replied: "These are also by the order of God."*

Small as is the amount of medical knowledge among the Arabs, at the present day, the means of obtaining it are still more limited. Medical works, like all others, exist only in manuscript; and there are few persons who have the means of gathering around them more than two or three of the minor ones. Besides this, the West has plundered the East of a large part of its literature. Many valuable works which can not now be found at all among the Arabs, are preserved in the libraries of Europe. I have never seen or heard of a manuscript copy of Avicenna's works, and copies of the edition printed at Rome are rare and costly. A later work on materia medica and therapeutics by Dawud El-Basir El-Antaki, is more common, and much esteemed; though it is little more extensive than Avicenna's work in those departments, and is founded upon it. Ibn Beitar's botanical dictionary is scarcely to be found. Minor works, apparently borrowed in part from it, are quite common, such as "The book of what the physician may not be ignorant of" and a Materia Medica, animal, mineral, and vegetable,

* For a full account of this matter, see Lane's Translation of the Thousand and one Nights. Chapter I. note 5.

by Mesih Ibn Yehya of Damascus. Translations from Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Paracelsus, and others, are comparatively abundant, and the possession of any one of them is sufficient to give to a man the title of Doctor.

The efforts of Mohammed 'Ali in Egypt have secured the establishment of medical institutions and hospitals, where numbers of Egyptian youth are instructed according to the principles of the French school, and European works upon the various departments of medicine, and other sciences, have been translated into Arabic and printed. It is, however, an objection to these works, that, in the process of translation, sufficient care has not been taken to search out the proper Arabic technical terms, particularly as regards the names of medicines. It is true that, in consequence of the advancement of science, many new words must necessarily be introduced into the language. But, in the works alluded to, new words have been coined for things which have pure Arabic names; and, where this is not the case, the terms are not only not rendered into Arabic, but are so much changed as not to be recognizable even to one familiar with the languages from which they are drawn, so that they remain like the olive tree mentioned in the Koran, neither oriental nor occidental.* Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the profession in Egypt is far in advance of what it is in any other part of the East. A very few individuals in Syria have profited by the Egyptian books, and by associating with the physicians of the army, during the continuance of the Mohammed 'Ali's dominion in that province. The old Emir Beshir sent several promising Syrian youth to be educated in the Egyptian schools and hospitals, some of whom are still pursuing their studies there. Those who have returned have not fulfilled the expectations formed with regard to them, except in the single instance of a young man now practising in Beirut.

Though, as has been stated, the means of acquiring an adequate knowledge of modern medical science are altogether wanting in Syria, and the ancient authors are accessible to few, yet this does not prevent any individual, high or low, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, from setting up as a practitioner at any moment. Almost innumerable are the instan-

* Sûrah xxiv. v. 35.

ces in which poor tradesmen, mechanics, and farmers, suddenly conceiving the idea of practicing medicine, leave their several employments, buy a lancet, or grind an old knife-blade into the shape of one, and give themselves out as Doctors; and strange to say, all these individuals find more or less encouragement. Incapacity to read and write forms no impediment to becoming a physician, and we find many of these vain pretenders going about, bleeding, and administering medicines, from simple colored water to the powerful elaterium.* This state of things finds a support in the universal belief in specifics, which exists both among Mohammedans and Christians. Tradition informs us that Mohammed said: "There is a medicine for every pain; then, when the medicine reaches the pain, it is cured by the order of God;" consequently, the poorest and most illiterate vagabond may have a specific for certain cases, and the case to which he is called may be one of those to which his remedy is adapted. The injury which may result, should not such a fortunate coincidence occur, is not taken into the account. An effort was made by an intelligent man residing in Damascus, to remedy this state of things in that city. Having raised himself above the common level by a careful study of the modern Egyptian medical works, and acquired much from the visits of Clot Bey and other practitioners, he succeeded in organizing a Board of the most respectable physicians of Damascus, and obtained a decree from the then existing local authorities, that no man should be allowed to practice medicine in the city, without a certificate from that Board, thus excluding from the exercise of the profession all such as were not possessed of some acquaintance with either ancient, or modern authors. I have not learned whether this Board is still in existence, or not, or whether the decree of the local government has been renewed, or nullified.

As the practitioner seldom receives a fee for mere advice, it becomes his interest to do something in every case to which he may be called. Were the means usually employed of such a nature as to do no harm, in case no good resulted, this might be well enough; but in the great majority of ca-

* The Momordica elaterium abounds in nearly all parts of the country, and is usually given in the fresh state, and rather weak. The people are not in the habit of preparing the concentrated extract.

ses, blood-letting is the resort at all events; and it is often-times repeated at each succeeding visit, until the patient dies, or gets well in spite of the efforts of his physician to kill him.* It is common, in cases of chronic disease, for the practitioner to make a contract with the patient for a certain sum, and, in case of failure in effecting a cure, to receive nothing; but he generally manages to secure at least a part of the compensation in advance, upon pretence of purchasing medicines, or the like, so as to be sure of not coming off entirely empty-handed.

The theory of medicine in the East corresponds, in very nearly all points, with the old humoral pathology, its basis being the four humors, namely, blood, bile, phlegm, and black bile. To these must be added an all pervading agent denominated ريح *rih*, wind, to which a great variety of morbid affections are referred. It acts upon any part of the system, often removes suddenly from one organ to another, and is treated with stimulating remedies. Inflammatory and febrile affections are called نزل دم *nazal dam*, determination of blood, and are treated by blood-letting. A large majority of practitioners recognize only these two classes, that is, they make all diseases sthenic, or asthenic, and in practice are as good Brunonians as Brown himself could wish to see. But the difficulty is that they have no true idea of the nature of these two classes of disease, which in reality are not altogether without basis; and consequently, the diagnosis between them must be very liable to error. So we often see a poor fellow, tossing about with griping flatulent pains in the bowels, bled to the extent of a pound or two,

* The following case occurred in Aleppo. A man came to the shop of a physician with a slightly inflamed eye; after examining it, he sprinkled in a little eye-powder, took his pay, and directed the man to call again the day following; he did so, and the operation was repeated, but the payment was forgotten. This happened several times, until one day the principal was absent from the shop, and the clerk, examining the eye, found in it a little piece of the beard of wheat, which he removed, and the cure was effected. Upon informing his master, he replied: "O fool! do you suppose I did not know what was in his eye; you have only made us lose our fee."

while one who can not bear the slightest pressure upon the abdomen is filled with cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, and highly seasoned animal food. Phlegm is supposed to arise principally from the nature of the water habitually drank, and to it are attributed coughs and diarrheas. Bile occasions an infinite number of ailments of various sorts. Black bile is supposed to operate principally by causing low spirits, bad temper, and sometimes mental derangement, and must be treated by travelling, cheerful society and amusements. From the foregoing statements, ignorance of the circulation of the blood will be readily detected, and the fancies of the old humoralists recognized. Every individual has a more or less perfect idea of this system, which shows itself daily to one engaged in practice among the Arabs, especially in the examination of patients. It is often with the utmost difficulty that an account of the patient's feelings and symptoms can be obtained; instead of which, one is annoyed with his ideas and those of his friends, as to the nature of his complaints. One has a cold wind in his stomach; another, superabundance of bile; another, a great deal of black bile; another, phlegm; another, wind in the joints; another, a determination of blood to some part, and so on *ad infinitum;* and it is only by examining and cross-examining, with a severe trial to patience and good humor, that a satisfactory idea of the nature of the case can be obtained. Moreover, such is the disposition to exaggerate, that liberal discount must often be made, which can be done *ad libitum* when one has gained a little experience, and all statements require to be taken *cum grano salis.* It may be as well here, as elsewhere, to notice a fanciful complaint to which the Arabs are subject, called وثّاب *weththab.** It is attended with uneasy sensations, especially a feeling of weight about the præcordia, and sometimes difficult respiration, a feeling of languor, and other symptoms of fatigue or of indigestion. The cause is supposed to be a swelling of the deep dorsal muscles, between

* From the root وثب to spring upon, to leap suddenly,—from the suddenness of its attacks.

the scapulæ, and a person is employed to grasp these muscles with the hand and squeeze them to the utmost of his power, which procedure is said to afford immediate relief. So firm is the belief in this, that no confidence is placed in any other remedy, and no arguments can dispel the prejudice.

Although all the physical agents in the production of health, or disease, are more or less taken into account, yet by far the greatest stress is laid upon water. In removing from one locality to another, nothing is more deprecated than a change of water. In recommending the salubrity of any situation, the highest encomium which can be bestowed is to pronounce its water good. Here, as in most other cases, the old adage that "every crow fancies its own young the whitest," is fully verified. No man can be induced to acknowledge that the water of his own village is not preferable to that of any other. To condemn a locality with an Arab, it needs only to be said that its water is bad; but what qualities constitute good, and what bad water, is a question difficult to decide, prejudice, more than any thing else, determining opinions upon the subject. It is contended that the water of certain localities has a more powerful digestive quality than that of others, and it is said of several places, that if a man eats a stuffed sheep, and drinks of the water, the sensation of hunger very soon returns, as if he had eaten nothing; and that no injury results from any over-loading of the stomach, all bad consequences being prevented by the digestive quality of the water. The ideas of the present Arab physicians, with regard to dietetics and hygiene, are a strange mixture of fancies and absurdities. Persons laboring under a febrile affection are scrupulously deprived of all cold drinks; but animal broths, jellies, sweet-meats, walnuts, hazel-nuts, almonds, and such like articles, are freely allowed. Pomegranates and raw quinces* are considered as highly beneficial in such cases, and are eagerly sought after, insomuch that, in visiting a sick friend, no present is considered more in place

* Quinces are hawked about the streets with the following cry: طيّب عليك يا سفرجل i. e. Cure your sick one—Quinces!

than a few pomegranates. These would probably do no injury, were the seeds rejected, but to avoid swallowing them an Arab considers altogether a work of supererogation, which he is not bound to perform, especially in ill health; consequently, the stomach is filled with a most irritating, indigestible mass, and the symptoms are almost invariably aggravated. If the patient does not eat, it is supposed he must certainly die; and so, various stews, jellies, soups, and mixtures of animal and vegetable food, are prepared in order to induce a loathing stomach to receive something nourishing; while at the same time, unirritating articles of diet, such as sago, arrow-root, gruels, and other farinaceous preparations, are entirely unknown.* The nearest approach to any thing of the kind is a preparation of starch boiled and sweetened with sugar, and also pounded rice boiled with milk; but these are perfectly despicable in Arab eyes, and are regarded as by no means sufficient to support the system under disease. Persons laboring under any affection of the lungs, attended with cough, whether fever be present or not, are directed to avoid carefully all acids, and acidulated food or drink. لبن *leben*, coagulated milk, is said to possess great refrigerant qualities, and is consequently unadapted to such constitutions as are liable to "wind" affections. دبس *dibs*, the juice of the grape boiled to a syrup, is also considered cooling,—what fine cooling wine!—but honey is regarded as heating in the extreme. Wine and spirits, (arrack,) in small quantities, the latter just before and the former during meals, are considered as good promoters of digestion. Mohammedans of course discard both the wine and the spirits, but all classes unite in condemning the use of cold water until an hour or two after the food has been taken. The principle of abstinence from spirituous liquors is seldom reduced to practice, except by those who are more than ordinarily scrupulous in regard to their habits. The staple article of diet, and that upon which the main reliance is placed, is bread. Next to bread, the principal articles of food, in cities, are rice, and mutton with vegetables of various sorts, such as the بادنجان *badenjan*, a variety of the Solanum melongena, beans, let-

tuce, cabbage, beets, turnips, cauliflowers, small squashes, okra, onions, garlick, etc. The tomato, though growing abundantly in all parts of the country, has only within fifteen or twenty years come into general use, and that mostly through its use by the Franks. Potatoes have been cultivated for several years in the neighborhood of Ehden, and on the mountains above Tripoli; but the cultivation of them is now extending. More common is a species of arum, which, though very acrid, like all of its genus, in the raw state, yet when fully cooked makes a palatable and not unwholesome dish. The food of the peasantry, next to bread, consists almost wholly of olives, coagulated milk, and lentiles cooked with mutton fat, or oil, and mixed with a few chopped onions. In the interior, برغول *burghul*, wheat coarsely ground, forms the staple article of food. It is cooked with mutton fat, or, in grazing districts, with butter. Meat is rarely tasted; and there is little variation from this coarse fare from one end of the year to the other. In many localities, rice is unknown except as an article of diet for the sick, and it is a common form of imprecation to say: "May your house never be clear of rice," meaning, may you always have sickness in your family, so as to render rice necessary as an article of diet. It may here be asked why rice was not mentioned above, in speaking of the food for the sick. The reason is that an Arab relishes rice only when cooked with fat, or butter, mixed with chopped meat and the seeds of the pine.

Even the above mentioned coarse fare is often beyond the reach of the abject poor, who subsist, much of the time, upon barley-bread, olives, and raw onions. As might be expected, such aliment gives rise to various affections of the digestive organs. The form of disease most frequently encountered is a most distressing and obstinate dyspepsia. The great uneasiness experienced after taking food, compels the sufferer to endure the gnawings of hunger as long as possible, and, when at last he can hold out no longer, the food is swallowed only to cause more intense suffering, until it is rejected. This state of things sometimes lasts for years, and sometimes terminates sooner in chronic inflammation, or ul-

ceration of the stomach. In other cases, where the irritation is seated in the duodenum, the gastralgia occurs some hours after eating, and continues until digestion is completed. Cases of the latter class are usually connected with hepatic derangement, and though not so urgent in their symptoms, or so speedy in their termination, as the former, are yet quite as obstinate, and usually proceed from bad to worse until the patient is worn out with suffering, or carried off by diarrhea. These cases, occurring generally among laborious, hard-working people, are perhaps the more unmanageable on that account. All remedial means employed upon them may be considered as thrown away, on account of the utter impossibility of restricting the patient to any thing like a simple, unirritating diet. Indeed, as has been remarked before, the Arabs know no such diet. Arab practitioners treat these diseases as "superabundance of bile," and follow them up with repeated drastic cathartics, or denominate them "wind," and exhibit stimulating, heating remedies; both of which courses, it is needless to add, only aggravate the disease.

To the prevailing use of uncooked food, animal and vegetable, may perhaps be attributed the great prevalence of worms among the Arabs. Be this the cause or not, it is a fact that scarcely one person in fifty is unaffected by some variety of these parasites, by far the most prevalent of which is the tape-worm. Aside from the annoyance they occasion, the presence of these worms often gives rise to anomalous symptoms, which frequently confuse the practitioner who has not been in the habit of meeting them; but after a little experience, a glance of the eye is usually sufficient to determine the cause of the difficulty. Very little reliance can be placed upon the statements of the patient; for, unless he has passed worms within two or three days, he will strenuously deny their presence, and is sometimes really ignorant of their existence. The Arab physicians are very deficient in their knowledge of the proper treatment of these complaints. The bark of the pomegranate root, soap, and some few other trifling articles, are all the remedies they use. Of the use of mercurial preparations, tin, oil of turpentine, and such like vermifuges, they are entirely ignorant.

A great majority of the present Arab physicians have not the slightest idea of the true anatomical structure of the human frame. Even those very few who have studied the descriptions of Avicenna, have no clear conception of the arrangement, or relative position, or functions of the different organs of the body. One of the most respectable physicians of Tripoli, a man tolerably well read in Arabic medical literature, maintained very strenuously that the liver occupied the left side of the abdominal cavity. Another, who was prescribing for a patient dying from ulceration of the bowels, declared the disease to be an "opening of the lungs." Another declared a case of bloody urine to be caused by "wind in the bladder." The pain in the back and loins which always accompanies fever, is often treated by a local abstraction of blood. Pain in the stomach is universally denominated "pain in the heart." Cynanche tonsillaris is supposed to be caused by the tonsils, called "daughters of the ears," falling down upon the pharynx, and relief is to be obtained by "lifting them up," which is done by gentle pressure upon the tonsillar region, accompanied by friction with the thumbs along the under margin of the jaw, over its angle, towards the ears. The only difference known between arteries and veins, is that the former pulsate and the latter do not. Hernia and hydrocele are denominated "wind of the scrotum," and hemmorhoids, "wind of the rectum." This entire ignorance of anatomy must continue as long as the present superstitious horror of mutilating the dead prevails. Autopsic examinations could not be obtained in one out of a thousand cases, and dissections are out of the question.

The most implicit reliance is placed upon the state of the pulse, as an indication of health or disease, and a knowledge of its varieties is supposed to enable a person to distinguish all morbid affections, without any inquiry into other symptoms. The patient comes to the physician, and holds out his hand; the pulse is felt in each wrist successively, and if by previous knowledge of his habits, or by catching some complaint which he may have dropped to the bystanders, the practitioner can make out the case within any reasonable degree of probability, he is content; if not, he draws out in a random conversation enough to enable him to prescribe upon some

sort of foundation, but at the same time conveying the idea that his whole dependence is upon the pulse, and his knowledge of the disease derived altogether from that source. So far is this confidence carried, that women in doubt as to their situation present themselves before a physician, that he may decide from the pulse whether they are pregnant, or otherwise, and whether the fœtus be a male, or a female; all of which the physician determines with the utmost gravity and assurance, and a thousand failures can not destroy the confidence built upon a single successful "guess." Neither is it by any means necessary that the physician should see his patient, before deciding upon his case and prescribing for it. It is amply sufficient, if the latter should send a verbal, or written message, naming his complaint, which it is taken for granted he knows, or describing some of the most prominent symptoms, since the pulse can not well be examined at a distance. Such a message calls forth an order for bleeding, purging, or whatever other treatment may suggest itself to the mind of the practitioner at the moment. One individual in particular, residing in a village near the foot of Mt. Lebanon, having acquired some celebrity, at present does little beside prescribing for patients at a distance, after this manner; and in nine cases out of ten, blood-letting and purging are the remedial means directed to be employed.

In many villages of Mt. Lebanon, the priest, who usually knows as much about medicine as a "green goose," acts in the capacity of physician. But some notorious cases of mismanagement having hence occurred, the lower clergy have latterly been forbidden by their superiors to meddle with physic, except so far as to draw blood, when no other person can be obtained to perform the operation, and this only upon the advice of a physician previously consulted by a verbal or written message. Credulity and a fondness for the miraculous still form as prominent traits in the Arab character, as in former times. The story of the king Yunan and the sage Duban, which is familiar to every reader of the Thousand and one Nights, is only akin to many others of a similar character still current in the East.

The confidence in charms and amulets, so implicit in former days, is not at all diminished in the present age. Fe-

males and children have usually a blue bead, or other ornament, suspended over the forehead, just at the parting of the hair, or a string of blue beads about the neck, in order to ward off the effects of the "evil eye." Horses, cows, and other animals, have frequently a blue bead, or a small piece of notched wood, suspended from the neck, and fruit trees and vines are often daubed with a streak of red or blue, for protection against the same evil influence. This is generally supposed to be exercised by old women, sometimes by others, and often unintentionally. If the beauty of a child, or of an animal is remarked upon, it is supposed that it is intended to give the "evil eye," unless at the same time the words: "in the name of God" are uttered, which act as a preventive against any detriment which might otherwise occur. Among other ridiculous notions of this kind, is the idea that the *patella*, or the *trachea* of a wolf will invariably cure the mumps, if suspended from the neck of the patient. As a means of evil influence, خط *khaṭ*, writing, holds a conspicuous place, particularly among Mohammedans and Druzes. It is supposed that some individuals have the power of bringing disease upon others, by merely writing certain words upon a slip of paper. Maladies thus caused do not properly fall within the province of the physician; but he may pronounce whether a case be one of *khaṭ*, or not. There is another class of practitioners, principally from the Barbary States, who pretend to have the power of releasing those so affected, by means of a counter-writing, which is to be worn by the patient under the head-dress, and which takes effect after a longer or shorter time. A great majority of all classes and ages, have usually some paper, or image, or relic, about the person, which confers many imaginary benefits; and during illness, various charms of this nature are employed both by patient and physician, in order to enhance the effect of the remedies used.

It is a principle strenuously inculcated by the Arab physicians, and implicitly received by all classes, that catarrhal affections and pulmonary complaints are highly contagious. No one will smoke from the same pipe, or drink from the same vessel, with one laboring under a cold, for fear of catch-

ing it; and for the same reason cases of phthisis are avoided as much as is practicable, insomuch that the clothes and bedding of consumptives are destroyed, and the room in which one has died of this disease, is left unoccupied for a long time, lest the contagion should be communicated from the walls. Small-pox is supposed to be communicated merely by a glance of the eye, and consequently variolous cases are excluded from view as carefully as possible. Within a few years, confidence in vaccination has been greatly diminished by the fact that many vaccinated persons have latterly suffered from small-pox. But this is easily accounted for by another fact, namely, that the majority of those who have gone about the country vaccinating, have not been able to distinguish a genuine pustule from a spurious one, supposing that, the larger the sore chanced to be, the more effectual would be the vaccination; while others, regardless of all principle, have, for the sake of gain, vaccinated many of the poor ignorant mountaineers, with the juice of the green fig, which, from its producing a large sore, has led numbers to think themselves safe from the disease, from which they afterwards suffered, and perhaps died.

Of the science of chemistry the Arabs are entirely ignorant. Although they are acquainted with a goodly number of substances belonging to the mineral kingdom, yet few of these, except the most common, are used in medicine. Sulphate of soda, sulphate of magnesia, borax, alumen, sulphur, salts of iron, and corrosive sublimate, are the principal articles of this class in general use; but the great majority of remedies are drawn from the vegetable world. The Arabs understand by chemistry what we understand by alchemy,* namely, the art of converting the baser metals into gold and silver. They still hold to the theory of four elements: fire, air, earth, and water, and all the metals and precious stones are supposed to be cooked in the bowels of the earth, by a natural process, such as the combined influence of the sun, moon and stars. Gold being therefore accounted a compound substance, it is not deemed futile to search after its component elements, and

* Derived from الكيميا.

the means of uniting them, or of converting other substances into gold. Notwithstanding all the unsuccessful efforts of the past, there are still those who are engaged in this fruitless search. Instances have recently occurred, in which persons have wasted large fortunes in gold-making experiments, and notwithstanding the failure of all, still continue firm in the belief that the thing is practicable, and attribute their ill success to ignorance, or to want of the necessary materials.

Of botany, as a science, quite as little is known as of chemistry. Although, as has been remarked, most of the articles of the materia medica are derived from the vegetable kingdom, yet plants are known only by names, not by descriptions, and, as names vary with localities, inextricable confusion arises from this source. It would be difficult to recognize any of the plants mentioned by Avicenna, merely from his descriptions, and different names are often given to the same thing in different places, or the same name is given to widely different things. From the almost total ignorance which prevails, in regard to all generic and specific distinctions, or similarities, every plant is considered as existing *per se*, and to bear no relation to others, except perhaps in the case of a few garden vegetables, or cultivated flowers. An Arab sees the widest difference, but no similarity, between the egg-plant, tomato and potato, and knows no difference between the red anemone and wild poppy.

Having previously alluded to the frequency with which abstraction of blood is employed by the present Arab physicians, it may be well to notice here some of the means used for the accomplishment of this. Venesection is by far the most common method, and the bend of the arm, or the back of the hand, is the part usually selected. The old idea of the peculiar connexion of the cephalic vein with the head, and of the basilic vein with the body, is still retained; and the selection of this, or that, for the operation, is determined by the seat of the disease. It is also common to draw blood from the feet, in diseases of the head and derangements of the menstrual secretion, upon the principle of revulsion. In cases of jaundice, one of the veins under the tongue is al-

ways selected. This latter disease is supposed to be recognizable only by a turgid state of the ranine veins, and their being slightly tinged with yellow. Those who have not the means of obtaining a good European lancet, use an iron one manufactured by any smith of ordinary dexterity, and cases are not unfrequent in which the operation is performed with a pen-knife, or even with a piece of glass, or a sharp flint. It is needless to add that these instruments are often broken in the flesh, and produce serious consequences. From the entire ignorance of anatomy which prevails, and to which allusion has been made, it is the custom in the case of fat persons, whose veins are small and not distinguishable by the eye, to feel for the artery at the bend of the arm, and dive down upon it; but as the vein usually crosses the artery at the point where the pulsations of the latter are most distinctly perceptible, it is pierced first, and the blood, gushing out by the sides of the lancet, informs the operator that he has gone deep enough. To one who is aware of the frequency with which all classes resort to this operation, for headaches, stomach-aches, colds, rheumatic pains, and the most trifling affections, it becomes a matter of surprise, not that accidents occur, but that they do not happen a thousand fold more often. Scarification with a razor is very common for all sorts of tumors, or swellings, whether inflammatory or œdematous. Cupping is also practiced, sometimes dry, and at other times after scarification, as above mentioned. The cups employed have contracted orifices, so that they necessarily become heated by the lighted taper employed to rarefy the air, and thus cauterize the patient as well as cup him. The use of leeches has become very common in cities, but they are rarely used in country villages and on the mountains, on account of the difficulty of obtaining them at the proper moment.

The actual cautery is resorted to not less frequently than blood-letting. It is performed with a common iron nail, or a piece of wire; or a piece of lighted spunk is laid upon the part, and suffered to burn out. It is sometimes found difficult to cause the cauterized part to suppurate, and the use of emollient poultices to accomplish this end is not known. The usual application is a green leaf, or a piece of paper, and a pea is inserted to keep the issue open, after it has

been established. Some itinerating oculists carry with them cauterizing irons of various forms, adapted to affections of the eye. As is the case with blood-letting, the cautery is resorted to for the most trifling complaints, and scarcely an individual can be found who has not a greater or less number of cicatrices from this cause. The common aphtha of children, if at all severe, is denominated حبّة الكيّ *ḥubbet el-kai*, pimple of cauterization, and is supposed to be curable only by cauterizing the poor little creatures upon the crown of the head. The cautery is also thought to be the only cure in most cases of ulceration of the mouth and fauces in adults. To such an extent is this practice carried, that it is related of some poor simple-minded people that, finding their pumpkins decaying rather prematurely, they were told that a bad disease had got among them, which was to be cured by the cautery, and they actually heated an iron, and cauterized a pumpkin, in order to try the experiment.

Issues and setons are also in common use, but rather upon the principle of diverting morbid humors from important organs, than upon the principle of counter-irritation. Vesication by cantharides is practiced in a few parts of the country, and in others use is made of such plants as afford an acrid, irritating juice, but much antipathy to this class of remedies is everywhere apparent. Sinapisms are not known. Acupuncturation is often resorted to in affections of the joints, after blood-letting and the cautery have failed. This operation is performed by striking the part repeatedly with one or more needles, as is done in the tattooing of sailors. Wens, warts, swelled bursæ, etc. are also treated in the same manner. Enemata are common, and are usually made of a decoction of the althea, or malva. The place of a syringe, (which is usually found only in cities,) is supplied by a clyster bag, formed commonly of a goat-skin, with a small piece of reed in the place of a pipe. Suppositories of soap are often substituted for enemata; but for children they are usually made of a piece of brown paper firmly rolled into a conical form, and smeared with *dibs*.

The principal articles of domestic medicine are the flowers of the Viola odorata, chamomile, mallows, and the Althea syriaca.

Among the most valued articles of the Arab pharmacopeia may be reckoned the Bezoar stone, commonly called *hajar benzehr* (a corruption of بازهر *bazehr*.) The Bezoar stone is divided by the Arabs into three classes: artificial, mineral, and animal. The artificial is compounded by artificial means, and is always imported; the mineral is supposed to be found in the earth; the animal, to be furnished by various domestic or wild animals. The most esteemed is supposed to be a concretion of the tears of the wild ass, formed upon the cheek of the animal. This species bears a very high price, and is eagerly sought after. Tumors are occasionally found in that situation on the domestic ass, and are in great demand, though not so highly prized as those obtained from the wild animal. This remedy is administered in very small doses to epileptic and hysterical persons, and also in cases of acute disease, as a *dernier resort*, when recovery is all but hopeless, it being contended that, after the administration of this remedy, if the disease is to prove fatal, it will come to a speedy termination, or if not, will immediately assume a more favorable aspect.

Recent attempts to introduce modern remedies have succeeded in some instances, and failed in others. The sulphate of quinine for example, in consequence of its price, precludes the possibility of as much profit being made upon it, as upon other articles; and, notwithstanding its power in intermittents is well known, the physicians have succeeded in spreading the idea that it causes those affections which often appear as the sequelæ of long continued fever and ague, such as enlargement of the spleen, dropsy, and hepatic derangement. The main ground of this objection to it is, that its use is attended with less pecuniary emolument than bleeding and purging. In one village where, during certain seasons, intermittent fever prevailed to a great extent, bleeding and tincture of camphor were the remedies employed by a native physician.

The connection between barbers and surgeons, in the East, is not yet altogether dissolved, and those "most worshipful" gentry still bleed, leech, cauterize, draw teeth, and perform sundry other operations connected with the chirurgical art. The operation of extracting "disorderly" grinders is performed without any previous division of the gum, sometimes with a hawksbill, and sometimes with a straight forceps, which break the tooth quite as often as they extract it. Physicians, so called, confine themselves to the practice of medicine, but those who pass for surgeons act in either capacity, *pro re natâ*. The Arabs have a superstitious dread of all surgical operations, especially such as mutilate the body, and often prefer death to undergoing them.

Malignant and masked intermittents occur occasionally, and under native treatment usually prove fatal, the paroxysmal character of such cases not being noticed, or if noticed, not being taken into account in determining the nature of the complaint. Cutaneous diseases, such as erysipelas, urticaria, scabies, and porrigo, are of frequent occurrence, and may be attributed mostly to want of cleanliness. Porrigo especially abounds in all parts of the country, and after baffling the profession is often cured by some old woman, who by dint of scarifying with a razor, pulling, and the use of the tar-cap, succeeds in extracting the bulbs of the hair, or exciting an inflammation in the parts, which results in a cure. The Aleppo button is well described in Tweedie's "Library of Practical Medicine." Soon after the expulsion of the Egyptians from Syria in 1840, a soldier who had been impressed from one of the villages of Lebanon, returned to his home from Aleppo, affected with the button. In a few months, others in the same village seemed to have taken it from that individual, and it spread to several surrounding places. The appearance of the sore was in all respects like that of the real Aleppine disease, but it differed from the latter in that it healed after a few months, instead of continuing a whole year.

Diseases of the eye, notwithstanding their frequency, are, if possible, more improperly treated than any other class of maladies. In ophthalmia, no regard is paid to the tissue af-

fected, but coarse, irritating powders are sprinkled upon the conjunctiva, whatever may be the stage of the disease, and without any previous depletion. Nearly every practitioner has a *kohl*, eye-powder, of his own; and few are the cases of severe inflammation in which the individual escapes without some specks upon the cornea; and very often deep ulceration, or incurable opacity, is the result. It is a common practice to apply the sulphuret of antimony, (the *kohl* of the Arabs with which they ornament their eyes,) to the roots of the eye-lashes, as often as once a week, from an idea that it conduces to clearness of sight, and women constantly use it as adding to their beauty. One cause of the frequency of ophthalmia in the East must be looked for in the universal custom of keeping the head wrapped up in woolen caps, turbans, and handkerchiefs, which must necessarily debilitate the parts, and render them exceedingly susceptible to morbid impressions. It is an undeniable fact that twenty cases of ophthalmia occur among the Arabs, to one among the Frank residents, after allowing for the greater proportion in number of the former; and yet both are equally exposed to the remote causes of the complaint. Among the females of Mt. Lebanon, the "horn" is a fruitful cause of ophthalmic diseases. This singular appendage, from its height and weight, needs almost as many forestays and backstays to keep it in position, as the mainmast of a seventy-four. It is worn night and day, being taken off only once every week or ten days, in order that the hair may be combed. Its weight always presses more upon one side than upon the other, and the greatest pressure is usually over one eye, which relaxes the palpebral muscles, and causes that eye to appear smaller than its fellow. Those who wear the horn are constantly complaining of headaches and colds, and are exceedingly liable to trichiasis, upon the slightest inflammatory action. One of the fastenings of this horn passes under the chin, and necessarily limits the motion of the jaw. A case occurred to the writer of a woman who could not open her mouth more than an eighth of an inch, and upon examination it was found that the band alluded to, where it pressed upon the lower jaw, just in front of its angle, had formed a groove in the bone, capable of containing the little

finger. After merely laying aside the horn for a few days, the woman could open her mouth more than an inch. Ectropion is of very frequent occurrence in the male, and very rare in the female. Cases of entropion in the latter occasionally appear, and trichiasis occurs daily. Glaucoma is mistaken by the native physicians for cataract. All opacities of the lens are denominated "grey water," and there are a few professed oculists who are in the habit of couching with a plain, straight needle, after having cut through the sclerotica with a common lancet. It is needless to add that the humors often escape, and vision is lost.

Mention is sometimes made of an individual near Tripoli who performs the lateral operation for lithotomy, but with what instruments has not been ascertained.

Phlegmonous tumors are treated with stimulating, resinous ointments, which retard instead of promoting suppuration. Emollient poultices are considered as of little value, and, if used at all, are usually applied cold. Ulcers are also treated with resinous salves, and when these fail, resort is had to the most vile and irritating applications, such as gunpowder, coarsely powdered charcoal, and dung; and instead of being duly cleansed, they are scrupulously guarded from water. Most individuals have a great dread lest any one but a physician should see their sores, from a superstitious notion that the eye exerts an evil influence upon them. Pleasant odors are considered as highly injurious to patients affected with ulcers, and still more so in cases of fresh wounds, but disagreeable smells are accounted harmless; and so the patient goes about with an onion under his nose, lest an agreeable odor should accidentally meet his nostrils, and thereby injury to the sore be occasioned. Sinuous ulcers are plugged up with tents smeared with ointments of various kinds; and these are continued as long as any discharge takes place, it being supposed that the ulcer can not heal until there remains no more pus to be discharged. These tents are often so enlarged, and crammed into the cavity, as effectually to keep down granulation, thus defeating the very end intended to be accomplished. Injections of corrosive sublimate are occasionally employed, which often succeed by exciting inflammation and effusion of lymph, but the art of laying the

cavity open and allowing it to fill up from the bottom is entirely unknown.

Inguinal hernia is one of the most common affections of the East; femoral hernia is rarely found. The relaxing influence of the climate doubtless contributes somewhat to the frequency of this complaint, but the most fruitful cause of it must be looked for in the use of the girdle. This universal article of dress, worn in numerous folds around the body, is usually drawn so tight as greatly to compress the abdominal viscera, and force them to seek an outlet at the inguinal canal, as being the weakest part of the abdominal walls. Cases of incipient hernia, where the intestine had just passed the internal inguinal ring, have been checked by instructing the patient to relax his girdle, and avoid hard exercise. The Arab physicians call these affections "wind," and have no idea how the bowels can protrude from their natural situation without any external wound. The actual cautery is often applied to stop this descent of wind, and it would not be safe to say that this proceeding might not, by the contraction of the cicatrix, result in arresting incipient cases. Trusses are little known, and yield little benefit where they are known, because the patient can not be induced to wear them perseveringly; and, from the same cause, cases of congenital hernia are never cured. Hydrocele and swelled testicle are also denominated "wind;" the latter is often successfully treated by the actual cautery applied to the nape of the neck, just below the hair. How far does this circumstance go to prove the connection between the cerebellum and the genital organs? Lumbago is called, "wind of the kidneys," and hemorrhoids, "wind of the rectum." Some few individuals have the art of opening hemorrhoidal tumors, when seated externally, with a pair of scissors. Great detriment is feared from a suppression of the hemorrhoidal discharge, where it has been long established.

In the treatment of gun-shot wounds, little effort is made to extract foreign bodies, or detached pieces of bone; instead of which, great reliance is placed upon ointments which have the supposed faculty of "drawing," and whatever foreign substance may be present is left to come away with the discharge of pus. The actual cautery and compression are the

only means employed to suppress hemorrhage, the efficacy of ligatures, and their mode of application, not being understood. No precautions are taken to guard against secondary hemorrhage; and often, when the slough comes away, the patient dies from loss of blood, to the astonishment of surgeon and friends, who had supposed all danger from that source to be over, because blood did not flow from the first.

Concussions from falls, or from blows, are treated with bloodletting, without waiting for reaction. It is also common in such cases to wrap the patient in a warm sheep-skin, just stripped from the animal, lest the blood, becoming cold, should "settle" in the injured part. Besides this, wherever it is practicable, the patient is made to drink a decoction of the hand, or foot, or some other part, of one of the mummies brought from Egypt, and great reliance is placed on the efficacy of this vile stuff in preventing any unpleasant consequences. Fractures and dislocations are treated by a class of professed "bone-setters." Many times, these impostors succeed in convincing a person who has received a slight sprain, that it is a bad dislocation, and pull and tug thereat, in order to magnify their own skill in the eyes of the beholders, and get a larger fee from the patient. Old women have sometimes acquired great celebrity in this sort of practice, generally by reducing luxations which never occurred, or fractures which never happened. In cases of undisputed fracture, tight bandages are applied without waiting for the occurrence or subsidence of swelling, and no effort is made to secure any degree of counter-extension.

In regard to the leprosy, as at present existing in the East, it may be sufficient to remark that, besides the scaly eruption corresponding to the *bohak* of Moses, there are two other varieties, the one called جذام *jedham*, which corresponds to the Lepra astrachanica as described in Tweedie's "Medical Library," the other called قرطم *kurtum*, from a root signifying "to lop off," corresponding to the usual descriptions of Lepra tuberculosa. Persons laboring under any variety of this disease, are for the most part assembled at Damascus, where they live in a separate quarter, though they are not excluded from communication with others.

They are supported in part by charity, and in part by legacies to their community. There is also a collection of these miserable creatures in Jerusalem.

Insanity is generally attributed to Satanic possession, and no remedies are used for it, except confinement, exorcising, or a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint. *Khat*, writing, alluded to previously, is supposed often to be a cause of mental derangement, and "counter-writing" is the only remedy relied upon.

Gonorrhea and syphilis are confounded by the generality of practitioners, and are treated alike. The syphilitic ulcer is treated with the vapor of cinnabar; and secondary syphilis, with a preparation of mercury, corrosive sublimate, carbonate of ammonia, and sulphur, sublimed together, and exhibited in the form of pills or powders.

This subject might be pursued almost indefinitely, nor would it be devoid of interest to go somewhat minutely over the Arab materia medica and pharmacopeia. But neither time, nor the limits of this paper, which has already exceeded its intended bounds, will allow of any farther prosecution of the subject.

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